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Alfred T
de Lury

A.S. Carter

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

IRELAND,

ANTERIOR TO THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION,

&c. &c.

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

IRELAND,

ANTERIOR TO THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION;

COMPRISING AN ESSAY ON

THE ORIGIN AND USES

OF

THE ROUND TOWERS OF IRELAND,

WHICH OBTAINED

THE GOLD MEDAL AND PRIZE OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

BY

GEORGE PETRIE, R.H.A., V.P.R.I.A.

Second Edition.

(1845)

TO

THE VISCOUNT ADARE, M.P., M.R.I.A.,

AND

WILLIAM STOKES, M.D., M.R.I.A.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF PHYSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

My Lord, and Sir,

You will remember that in one of the beautiful works of the great painter, Nicolo Poussin, he has depicted a group of shepherds at an ancient tomb, one of whom deciphers for the rest the simple inscription engraved upon it:

"ET EGO IN ARCADIA."

And it was a natural and grateful desire of the Arcadian shepherd to be remembered in connexion with the beloved region in which he had found tranquillity and enjoyment.

In like manner, I would wish to be remembered hereafter, less for what I have attempted to do, than as one who, in the pure and warm hearts of the best and most intellectual of his local cotemporaries, had found, and enjoyed, a resting-place,—far superior to that of the Greek.

As two of the dearest of those friends, equally known, beloved, and honoured by all, as by me,—permit me, then, to inscribe your names on this humble monument; so that, if it

should happily survive the wreck of time, it may be known as that of one who, though but a feeble and unskilled labourer in the fields of Art and Literature, was not deemed unworthy of the warmest regards of such as you, and who was not ungrateful for his happiness.

Believe me, my Lord, and Sir,

With sentiments of the deepest Respect and Gratitude,

Your affectionate and faithful Servant,

GEORGE PETRIE.

21, GREAT CHARLES-STREET, DUBLIN,
February 20th, 1845.

PREFACE.

THE work, of which the first volume is now submitted to the Public, was originally written for, and presented to the Royal Irish Academy, as an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland; and that Essay was so fortunate as to obtain a gold medal and prize of fifty pounds from the Academy in 1833. It may, however, be proper to state that, in its present form, the work contains not only the original Essay on the Round Towers, very much enlarged, but also distinct Essays on our ancient stone churches and other ecclesiastical buildings, of cotemporaneous age with the Round Towers, now first submitted to the Academy, and for the approval of which that distinguished body is in no way committed. For this amplification of my original Essay into a work of great national scope, I am alone answerable; and whatever may be the faults found with its execution, I trust the Academy and the Public generally will give me credit, at least, for the motives which influenced me in thus extending the field of my inquiries, and believe that I was actuated solely to undertake this additional labour by an ardent desire to rescue the antiquities of my native country from unmerited oblivion, and give them their just place among those of the old Christian nations of Europe. Let me add too, that I was further influenced in extending this work by the hope that by making the age and historical interest of these memorials of our early Christianity more generally known to, and appreciated by my countrymen, some stop might be

put to the wanton destruction of these remains, which is now, un-
happily, of daily occurrence, and which, if not by some means checked,
must lead ere long to their total annihilation. I had long felt that
such a work, comprising, as a whole, the several classes of early
Christian architectural remains, was not only essential to the final
settlement of the question of the origin of the Towers themselves, but
was also a desideratum in the general history of Christian civilization
in Europe; and circumstances, unnecessary to be stated here, having
thrown the publication of my Essay on the Round Towers into my
own hands, I immediately determined to avail myself of the oppor-
tunity to make that Essay the basis on which to erect it. I soon
found, however, when it was too late to think of diminishing it, that
the labour was much greater than I had ever contemplated. On such
an intricate subject a popular Essay, feebly supported by facts, and
references to authorities difficult of access, and, for the most part,
hidden in languages unknown to the multitude, would have made
little impression on the learned, and have been of no permanent
value to the country: hence it became imperatively necessary to
submit to the reader all those passages, derived from manuscripts or
scarce books, from which my conclusions were drawn; and, conse-
quently, the work which I had originally expected would have been
comprised in a single volume, will, of necessity, extend to two. The
volume now presented to the Public will, however, be found com-
plete in itself, as a critical and historical dissertation, not only on
the Round Towers, but on the Christian architecture of Ireland
generally, previous to the Anglo-Norman Invasion. It contains all
the opinions which I have formed on this subject, and all the general
proofs which I deemed necessary to substantiate them. I have, there-
fore, considered it proper to meet the wishes of the Academy and of
my friends by giving it immediate publication, instead of waiting to
see the second volume through the Press, which must necessarily
require a considerable time, even if life and circumstances should

permit me to accomplish it. That volume will be altogether supplementary to the present, and will contain descriptive and historical notices of all the remains of ecclesiastical architecture in Ireland, with illustrations similar to those in the present volume, wherever they present features of interest or variety; and it will be closed with a statement of my opinions on the origin of the various styles found in those remains, the ages and purposes of which are now investigated; for it will be seen that until such materials are laid in full before the Public, no conclusions on this point could with safety be hazarded.

The circumstances now alluded to will, I trust, account, to some extent, for the length of time which has elapsed between the reading of the original Essay to the Academy, and the publication of the present volume. For this delay I have exposed myself to the censure of many, but I can truly aver that it was to none a cause of so much regret as to myself. The laborious character of the work will, however, be my best apology,—a work requiring a most intimate acquaintance with the existing monuments, not merely of a county or district, but of the whole kingdom, with its contiguous islands, often most difficult of access;—and again, demanding the most diligent examination of the whole body of our ancient manuscript authorities, as far as they were accessible in the public libraries, as well of England as of Ireland;—and lastly, requiring the labours of the draftsman no less than those of the literary antiquary. It should be remembered, moreover, that works of research of this character are amongst the most tedious that man can undertake; scarcely a page of them can be written without a previous investigation of the most laborious character; and the antiquary who is restrained from rushing prematurely into print by a conscientious desire to make himself previously acquainted with every thing conducive to the discovery of truth, is, as I conceive, more deserving of praise than censure, and will be so judged by posterity.

For the object which this work is intended to effect, as well as the spirit in which it is conducted, I trust I may lay claim to some praise, the pursuit of truth being never lost sight of. Dr. Johnson, with his characteristic wisdom, observes, in one of his letters to the celebrated Charles O'Conor : " Dr. Leland begins his History too late : the ages which deserve an exact inquiry are those, for such there were, when Ireland was the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature. If you would give a history, though imperfect, of the Irish nation, from its conversion to Christianity to the invasion from England, you would amplify knowledge with new views and new objects. Set about it, therefore, if you can ; do what you can easily do without anxious exactness. Lay the foundation, and leave the superstructure to posterity."

It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I am not vain enough to suppose that I have supplied the desideratum in our history which Dr. Johnson has thus ably pointed out. Yet, as the antiquary is the necessary pioneer to the historian, clearing the path before him, and often opening out vistas of the distant country, without which he would have to explore his way through the wilderness of time in doubt and difficulty, if not in darkness,—so, I may, as I trust, without presumption, venture to hope that my humble labours will not be without some value as contributing to that object. What, I may ask, would we know of the true greatness of the Greeks or Egyptians if we were unacquainted with their ancient monuments ? What do we know of the Etruscans but what we have derived from this source ? and, may I not add, would not an erroneous conclusion, such as so many have laboured to establish, as to the indefinite antiquity and uses of the Irish Round Towers, while it was suffered to pass without correction, necessarily pervert, and give a colouring of falsehood to the whole stream of Irish history, and lead to the reception, in the public mind, of the most visionary notions of the ancient civilization and importance of the country ?

That many faults will be found in the execution of this work, I am fully sensible. I have little concerned myself with the graces of style, beyond the necessary attention to clearness; and my object being to illustrate as much as possible the progress of art in the country, I was never deterred from becoming discursive by the dread of being deemed wanting in order and consecutiveness. In short, for its various imperfections, and for my own incompetency to do better, I can truly aver that I would not have undertaken it, however necessary, at this eleventh hour of the existence of our antiquities, if I had seen any probability that a more able hand was disposed to accomplish it. That I have been able to throw some considerable light on the hitherto neglected antiquities of my country, and to remove the very thin veil which involved the origin of her Round Towers in mystery, will, I fondly hope, be the opinion of the learned. I have not, however, any very sanguine expectations that either the evidences or arguments which I have adduced, or those which I have still to submit to my readers, will have any very immediate effect on the great majority of the middle classes of the Irish people (for the lower or agricultural classes have no ideas upon the subject but the true ones) in changing their opinions as to their indefinite antiquity and Pagan uses. Among these such opinions have assumed the form of a sentiment almost religious, and my dry facts have too little poetry in them to reach the judgment through the medium of the imagination. Neither do I anticipate that I shall be able to convince all those who have written recently in support of those erroneous, but popular theories, though I expect to satisfy the more intelligent and candid of my antagonists of their errors, as for example, my friends the members of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, most of whom, I have reason to suspect, are more than half gained over already.

I have but one word to add now respecting the illustrations to this work. It will be seen that they make but slight pretensions to

the character of works of art. Where no fine writing was attempted,
showy illustrations, got up with a view to popular effect, and leading
to an almost necessary sacrifice of truthfulness, would be very little
in harmony. For their accuracy, however, I can fearlessly pledge
myself. This has been the point attended to above all others, and of
which the absence of all affectation of freedom of handling, or forcible
effect, will give abundant evidence. They may be considered as quo-
tations from our ancient monuments, made with the same anxious
desire for rigid accuracy, as those supplied from literary and other
sources in the text; and though slighter or more attractive sketches
might have sufficiently answered my purpose, they would not have
been sufficient to gratify my desire to preserve trustworthy memo-
rials of monuments now rapidly passing away.

It only remains for me now to express my grateful acknowledg-
ments to the kind friends, from whom I have received assistance in
the progress of this work in its amplified form.

To my able and valued friend, Captain Larcom, R. E., Super-
intendant of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, my best and warmest
thanks are, in the first place, due, not only for the most zealous and
prompt exertions at all times to procure me that local and other
necessary information, which his position enabled him to obtain, and
which, otherwise, it might have been difficult, if not impracticable, for
me to procure, but also for the most cheering encouragement during
the progress of my labours.

It is scarcely necessary for me to state, that my greatest obliga-
tions are, in the next place, due to Messrs. John O'Donovan and
Eugene Curry, my former coadjutors, for so many years, on the
Ordnance Survey, and since that connexion has been dissolved, my
warmest and most attached friends,—assisting me by every means in
their power, and lending the weight of their invaluable authority to
the translations from Irish MSS. to be found throughout this work.

To the Librarians of Trinity College, since the period at which

I commenced my antiquarian investigations, namely, Dr. Sadleir, Dr. Wall, Dr. Elrington, and Dr. Todd, I am indebted for the freest access, at all proper times, to the valuable collection of Irish and other MSS. deposited in the Library of the University; but my greatest obligations are due to my respected friends, Dr. Elrington and Dr. Todd, on whose time I could make greater demands, on the score of a greater personal intimacy; and I have, moreover, to thank Dr. Todd, for the valuable aid of his learning and antiquarian knowledge, whenever I deemed such aid necessary.

In like manner, I have to thank the gentlemen of the British Museum, many of whom I have the honour to number amongst my friends; and more especially, Sir Frederic Madden, K. C., the keeper of the manuscripts in that great national depository, through whose personal kindness I was relieved from the difficulties I should have often experienced in using those manuscripts, in consequence of my residence in Ireland.

With reference to the illustrations which appear in the work, I have to acknowledge my deepest obligations to my dear friend and brother Academician, Mr. Frederic W. Burton, R. H. A., who, to obtain me several of these sketches, visited, without regard to loss of time or personal inconvenience, at an inclement season of the year, some of the wildest districts of Ireland. Such devotion of friendship is not to be thanked in words. Nor should I forget my obligations to the talented young artist, Mr. G. A. Hanlon, by whom nearly the whole of the illustrations to this volume have been engraved, with an anxious fidelity, such as I might expect from the son of one of my oldest and dearest friends.

Lastly, as regards the publication of the work, I have to express my warmest acknowledgments to its publishers, Messrs. Hodges and Smith, who have been, through the greater portion of my life, amongst my most attached friends, and without whose assistance on the present occasion, I might have found it difficult, if not impossible, to

bring the work before the Public, in the garb of elegance which it has assumed.   Nor can I conscientiously avoid expressing my conviction, that in employing their capital on a work of this character, they were less impelled by the ordinary feelings which influence publishers on such occasions, than by sentiments of regard for its author, and a desire to raise the character of their country.   And I have also to return my best thanks to Mr. Gill, of the University Printing Press, the printer of the work, and, indeed, to all the intelligent persons of his Establishment, to whose zeal and ability it owes so much of its beauty, and to all whom, I may truly say, the work seemed a labour of love.

<div style="text-align:right">GEORGE PETRIE.</div>

21, GREAT CHARLES-STREET, DUBLIN,
        March 8th, 1845.

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INTRODUCTION.
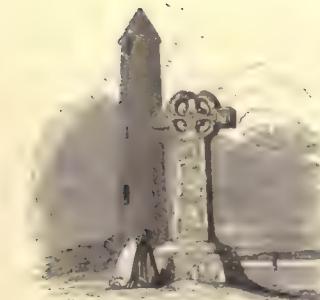
HE question of the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland has so frequently occupied the attention of distinguished modern antiquaries, without any decisive result, that it is now generally considered as beyond the reach of conclusive investigation ; and any further attempt to remove the mystery connected with it may, perhaps, be looked upon as hopeless and presumptuous. If, however, it be considered that most of those inquirers, however distinguished for general ability or learning, have been but imperfectly qualified for this undertaking, from the want of the peculiar attainments which the subject required—inasmuch as they possessed but little accurate skill in the science (if it may be so called) of architectural antiquities, but slight knowledge of our ancient annals and ecclesiastical records, and, above all, no extensive acquaintance with the architectural peculiarities observable in the Towers, and other ancient Irish buildings—it will not appear extraordinary

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that they should have failed in arriving at satisfactory conclusions, while, at the same time, the truth might be within the reach of discovery by a better directed course of inquiry and more diligent research.

Hitherto, indeed, we have had little on the subject but speculation, and that not unfrequently of a visionary kind, and growing out of a mistaken and unphilosophical zeal in support of the claims of our country to an early civilization ; and even the truth—which most certainly has been partially seen by the more sober-minded investigators—having been advocated only hypothetically, has failed to be established, from the absence of that evidence which facts alone could supply.

Such at least appears to have been the conclusion at which the Royal Irish Academy arrived, when, in offering a valuable premium for any essay that would decide this long-disputed question, they prescribed, as one of the conditions, that the monuments to be treated of should be carefully examined, and their characteristic details described and delineated.

In the following inquiry, therefore, I have strictly adhered to the condition thus prescribed by the Academy. The Towers have been all subjected to a careful examination, and their peculiarities accurately noticed ; while our ancient records, and every other probable source of information, have been searched for such facts or notices as might contribute to throw light upon their history. I have even gone further: I have examined, for the purpose of comparison with the Towers, not only all the vestiges of early Christian architecture remaining in Ireland, but also those of monuments of known or probable Pagan origin. The results, I trust, will be found satisfactory, and will suffice to establish, beyond all reasonable doubt, the following conclusions :

I. That the Towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods between the fifth and thirteenth centuries.

II. That they were designed to answer, at least, a twofold use, namely, to serve as belfries, and as keeps, or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics, to whom they belonged, could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack.

III. That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons, and watch-towers.

These conclusions, which have been already advocated *separately* by many distinguished antiquaries—among whom are Molyneux, Ledwich, Pinkerton, Sir Walter Scott, Montmorenci, Brewer, and Otway—will be proved by the following evidences:

For the FIRST CONCLUSION, namely, that the Towers are of Christian origin:

1. The Towers are *never* found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical foundations.
2. Their architectural styles exhibit no features or peculiarities not equally found in the *original* churches with which they are locally connected, when such remain.
3. On several of them Christian emblems are observable, and others display in the details a style of architecture universally acknowledged to be of Christian origin.
4. They possess, invariably, architectural features not found in any buildings in Ireland ascertained to be of Pagan times.

For the SECOND CONCLUSION, namely, that they were intended to serve the double purpose of belfries, and keeps, or castles, for the uses already specified:

1. Their architectural construction, as will appear, eminently favours this conclusion.
2. A variety of passages, extracted from our annals and other authentic documents, will prove that they were constantly applied to both these purposes.

For the THIRD CONCLUSION, namely, that they may have also been occasionally used as beacons, and watch-towers:

1. There are some historical evidences which render such a hypothesis extremely probable.
2. The necessity which must have existed in early Christian times for such beacons, and watch-towers, and the perfect fitness of the Round Towers to answer such purposes, will strongly support this conclusion.

These conclusions—or, at least, such of them as presume the Towers to have had a Christian origin, and to have served the purpose of a belfry—will be further corroborated by the uniform and concurrent tradition of the country, and, above all, by authentic evidences,

which shall be adduced, relative to the erection of several of the Towers, with the names and eras of their founders.

Previously, however, to entering on this investigation, it will be conformable with custom, and probably expected, that I should take a summary review of the various theories of received authority from which I find myself compelled to dissent, and of the evidences and arguments by which it has been attempted to support them. If each of these theories had not its class of adherents I would gladly avoid trespassing on the reader's time by such a formal examination ; for the theory which I have proposed must destroy the value of all those from which it substantially differs, or be itself unsatisfactory. I shall endeavour, however, to be as concise as possible, noticing only those evidences, or arguments, that seem worthy of serious consideration, from the respectability of their advocates and the importance which has been attached to them.

These theories, which have had reference both to the origin and uses of the Towers, have been as follows :

FIRST, as respects their origin :

 1. That they were erected by the Danes.
 2. That they were of Phœnician origin.

SECONDLY, as respects their uses :

 1. That they were fire-temples.
 2. That they were used as places from which to proclaim the Druidical festivals.
 3. That they were gnomons, or astronomical observatories.
 4. That they were phallic emblems, or Buddhist temples.
 5. That they were anchorite towers, or stylite columns.
 6. That they were penitential prisons.
 7. That they were belfries.
 8. That they were keeps, or monastic castles.
 9. That they were beacons and watch-towers.

It will be observed, that I dissent from the last three theories, only as far as regards the appropriation of the Towers exclusively to any one of the purposes thus assigned to them.

PART I.

ERRONEOUS THEORIES WITH RESPECT TO THE ORIGIN AND USES OF THE ROUND TOWERS CONSIDERED.

SECTION I.

THEORY OF THE DANISH ORIGIN OF THE TOWERS.

OF the various hypotheses which I have now to notice, the earliest put forward is that which ascribes the erection of the Towers to the Danes. This hypothesis appears to have originated in an observation of the celebrated John Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, to the effect, that " the Danes, who entered Ireland, according to Giraldus, in 838, are reported (*dicuntur*) to be the first builders of these towers." But, as it will be necessary to refer to this passage hereafter, I shall transcribe the whole of it in this place.

" Exiguas tamen illas orbiculares arctasq; turres Dani Hiberniam Giraldo authore anno Dom. 838 primum ingressi, primi erexisse *dicuntur;* non vt pro campanili, sed pro speculo haberentur, vnde prospectus ad longinqua late protenderetur. Postea tamen vsus inualuit vt campanis in earum culmine appensis, Campanilium vices gererent : Tametsi non è mediâ Ecclesiæ fabricâ extantes fornicibus innixæ in altum tendant, vt modo fit, sed è cæmeterij solo in idoneam altitudinem extollantur. Vel nominis enim ætymon illas indicat illi vsui accomodatas fuisse ; Cloctheach enim perinde est ac domus campanæ, voce *Cloc* campanam, et *teach* domum significante."— *Cambr. Eversus*, p. 133.

This hearsay testimony loses much of whatever little weight it might, at first sight, appear entitled to, when we consider the primary object which its author had in view, in the work in which it occurs, namely, to dispute, or cavil at, every assertion in the work of Giraldus, wherein it is stated that the Towers were built *more patriæ*, or in a mode peculiar to the country.

Lynch's timid surmise was followed by the bolder assertions of Peter Walsh, who, in his *Prospect of Ireland*, published in 1684, translates nearly word for word the observations of the former, only so altering them that what Lynch mentions merely as a report he assumes as a certainty. The following are his words :

" It is most certain, that those *high, round, narrow* Towers of stone, built cylinder-wise, whereof *Cambrensis* speaks, were never known or built in *Ireland* (as indeed no more were any Castles, Houses, or even Churches of stone, at least in the *North* of *Ireland*) before the year of Christ 838, when the Heathen *Danes* possessing a great part of that Countrey, built them in several places, to serve themselves as Watch-Towers against the Natives. Though ere long, the *Danes* being expuls'd, the *Christian Irish* turn'd them to another and much better (because a holy) use, that is to Steeple-Houses or Bell-Fries, to hang Bells in for calling the People to Church. From which latter use made of them, it is, that ever since to this present, they are call'd in Irish *Cloctheachs*, that is Bell-Fries, or Bell-Houses; *Cloc* or *Clog*, signifying a Bell, and *Teach* a House in that Language."—*Prospect of Ireland*, pp. 416, 417.

In the following century this hypothesis received the abler sup-port of the celebrated Dr. Molyneux, the friend of Locke, whose opinions, delivered with the modesty of a sincere inquirer after truth, I shall present in his own words :

" It may not be improper to add to these remarks upon *Danish* mounts and forts, some observations on the slender high round towers here in *Ireland*, tho' they are less antient ; since they are so peculiar to the country, and seem remains of the same people the *Ostmen* or the *Danes*. These we find common likewise every where, spread over all the country, erected near the oldest churches founded before the conquest ; but I could never learn that any building of this sort is to be met with throughout all *England*, or in *Scotland*.

" That the native *Irish* had but little intercourse with their neighbours, and much less commerce with these at greater distance, before the *Danes* came hither and settled among them, is pretty certain : and that the *Danes* were the first introducers of coin, as well as trade, and founders of the chief towns and cities of this kingdom, inclosing them with walls for safer dwelling, is generally agreed on all hands; and it seems no way less probable, that the same nation too must have introduced at first from coun-tries where they traffick, the art of masonry, or building with lime and stone.

" For that there were lime and stone buildings here, before the conquest by the *English*, in *Henry II's* reign, is certain ; notwithstanding some, and those reputed knowing men in the affairs of *Ireland*, have hastily asserted the contrary. For it ap-pears, beyond all controversy, that those high round steeples we are speaking of, were erected long before *Henry II's* time, from a plain passage in *Giraldus Cambrensis*, that was in *Ireland* in that prince's reign, and came over with his son king *John*, whom he served as secretary in his expedition hither: he speaks of them in his ac-count of this island, as standing then, and I am apt to think, few of these kind of towers, have been built since that time.

" That author mentioning these steeples gives us this short description of them, *Turres ecclesiasticas, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ, nec non et rotundæ.* Church-towers built slender, high and round, and takes notice of their model, as being fashioned after a singular manner, and proper to the country.

" And since we find this kind of church-building, tho' frequent here, resembling nothing of this sort in *Great Britain ;* from whence the Christian faith, the fashion of

our churches, and all their rites and customs, 'tis plain, were first brought hither ; the model of these towers must have been taken up some other way: and it seems probable the *Danes*, the earliest artificers in masonry, upon their first conversion to christianity, might fancy and affect to raise these fashioned steeples in this peculiar form, standing at a distance from their churches, as bearing some resemblance to the round tapering figure of their old monumental stones and obelisks, their pyramids, their mounts and forts, of which they were so fond in time of paganism.

" And Sir *James Ware* cursorily speaking of one of these round steeples at *Cork*, in his antiquities of *Ireland*, chap. 29. pag. 328, says, there prevailed a tradition in that country, that ascribed the building of that tower he mentions, to the *Ostmen*, who were inhabitants of *Cork;* and we might well presume, that had the old native *Irish* been authors of this kind of architecture, they surely would have raised such towers as these in several parts of *Scotland* also, where they have been planted and settled many ages past; but there we hear of none of them."—*Natural Hist. of Ireland by Boate and Molyneux*, pp. 210, 211.

Dr. Molyneux next proceeds to describe the situation, form, and peculiarities of construction of the Towers (which description I shall notice in another place), and then returns to his theory of their Danish origin, which he endeavours to support by tracing the etymology of their name in Ireland to a Teutonic or German-Saxon origin :

" *Clogachd*, the name by which they still are called among the native *Irish*, gives us a further proof of their original, that they were founded first by *Ostmen :* for the *Irish* word *Clogachd* is taken from a foreign tongue, and being a term of art, imports the thing it signifies must likewise be derived from foreigners, as, were it necessary, might be made appear by many instances; now, the *Irish* word does plainly owe its etymology to *Clugga*, a *German Saxon* word, that signifies a bell, from whence we have also borrowed our modern word *a clock*."—*Ib*. p. 211.

After this he offers some arguments to show that the Towers were erected for belfries, which, as they agree with the hypothesis which I trust I shall prove, need not be inserted here.

The hypothesis of the Danish origin of the Round Towers, is one which has obtained so little attention latterly, that it may, perhaps, be thought wasting time to shew the weakness of the evidence adduced by Dr. Molyneux to support it. A few words, therefore, will suffice. It will have been seen that this hypothesis rests chiefly on the probability that the Danes might " fancy and affect" to raise such steeples, " as bearing *some* resemblance to the round tapering figures of their old monumental stones and obelisks, their pyramids, their mounts and forts, of which they were so fond in time of paganism !" But, it may be asked, where in Ireland are such Danish monumental stones,

obelisks, or pyramids to be found? and where are the Danish mounds and forts? It appears certain from our authentic historical records, that the obeliscal pillar-stones, sepulchral mounds, and earthen military works, so numerous in this country, are of Irish and not Danish origin; and for the fact, that no remains similar to these are found in Denmark, we are furnished with the testimony of a Danish antiquary, the grandson of Olaus Wormius, as communicated to Dr. Molyneux himself by his brother William, in a letter written to him from Holland, in 1684. In this letter William thus writes:

"I am intimately acquainted here with a young gentleman that comes from Denmark, though he is a Norwegian by birth; his name is John Scheldrop; he is very inquisitive after antiquities, especially of his own country and of Ireland. I have often discoursed with him concerning both, and especially of our great Danes' mounts; I have told him your thoughts of them, and the reasons you ground them on, taken out of Olaus Wormius, who was his grandfather, but he will by no means allow of them; assuring me that those mounts erected over soldiers killed in battle, of which he has seen several, are not (even the largest of them) above ten foot high. He says he never saw any such as ours in all Denmark; wherefore I question they be rightly called, or whether they be the works of the Danes."—*Molyneux's Correspondence, Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xviii. p. 483.

Thus it appears that Dr. Molyneux's reasoning, as to the Danish origin of the sepulchral mounds and forts, had failed to make an impression, not merely on the minds of the learned in Denmark, but even on that of his own most intelligent brother; and hence the whole superstructure as to the origin of the Towers, which is raised on this basis, must necessarily fall to the ground. Indeed, from the whole tenor of the Irish annals, it may be seen that the Danes, a rude and plundering people, were so far from being the builders of ecclesiastical edifices, except in a few of their own maritime towns in Ireland, that almost invariably, during their settlement in the country, they were the remorseless destroyers of them; and though it might be conceded, that on their conversion to Christianity, in the tenth century, they may have founded a round tower belfry in Cork, or in any other town which they inhabited, yet the probability is quite against such a supposition, as we are altogether without proof of their having done so. The Tower of Cork was connected with the ancient church of St. Finbar, founded in the sixth century, and perhaps coeval with it; and no Round Towers of this kind have been discovered in connexion with any of the edifices which the

Danes are said to have founded in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, or elsewhere. Had the Towers been of Danish origin, it is quite inconceivable but that some traces of such buildings would have been discovered in the north of Europe, or in England, Normandy, Sicily, or other countries in which the Northmen had settlements ; and that none such have ever been discovered seems certain, as even Dr. Ledwich, the ablest supporter of the theory under consideration, is obliged to allow. As to the Saxon etymology of the word *clog*, it is one that will not prove anything ; for, as Dr. Lanigan well observes, " the word *clog* was used by the Irish long before the Germans or Saxons had churches or bells. We find it Latinized into *clocca*, and it was used by Columbkille, and generally by the ancient Irish writers as signifying a bell ; so that instead of giving Saxon etymology to *clochachd*," a form of the word, by the way, never used in any Irish book or MS., " the Saxon *clugga* was most probably derived from the *cloc* or *clug* of the Irish teachers of the Saxons."—*Eccl. History*, vol. iv. p. 406.

In latter times this hypothesis was zealously advocated by Dr. Ledwich, a writer, who, although learned and ingenious, was less honest, or more prejudiced, than those who had previously given it their support. According to this writer, indeed, every thing indicating the least pretension to civilization in Ireland, previous to the arrival of the English, should be ascribed to the Danes,—the Irish being a race of uncivilized savages. But it will be seen, that to substantiate such opinions, Dr. Ledwich was necessitated to resort to an imposition on the credulity of his readers, quite unworthy of his learning and ability. Thus, after quoting those passages from Lynch, Walsh, and Molyneux, which are given in the preceding pages, he proceeds :

" Let it now be remarked, that the opinion of every author, who has spoken of our Round Towers for the space of 542 years, that is, from Cambrensis to Molyneux, is uniform in pronouncing them Ostman or Danish works. No silly conjectures or absurd refinements had as yet been introduced into the study of Antiquities ; writers only sought after and recorded matters of fact. All these authors, it will be said, follow Cambrensis, I grant they do ; but would any of them adopt his notions was it possible to substitute better or more authentic in their room ? The answer is positive and direct, that they would not, and here is the proof. In 1584, Stanihurst led the way in severely criticizing many of his positions. In 1662, John Lynch, in his Cambrensis Eversus, entered on a formal examination of his Topography ; not a page,

scarcely a paragraph escaping his morose and carping pen, and yet Lynch was a good scholar and antiquary. In his time Irish MSS. were more numerous and collected than since, consequently the means of information more ample, and yet he discovered nothing in his extensive reading to contradict what Cambrensis had delivered."— *Antiquities*, pp. 158-159. (*Second edition.*)

Nothing, but its artfulness, can exceed the audacious mendacity of the foregoing passage. "Let it now be remarked," he says, "that the opinion of every author, who has spoken of our Round Towers for the space of 542 years, that is, from Cambrensis to Molyneux, is uniform in pronouncing them Ostman or Danish works." Would not the reader imagine from this that there had been a long list of writers summed up in favour of the hypothesis, of which Cambrensis and Molyneux were but the first and last? Such, surely, would be his impression; but let us see whether the facts are of a nature to justify it. In the first place, Cambrensis himself has not written a syllable indicating his belief that the Round Towers were of Danish origin; on the contrary, he expresses his conviction that they were erected *more patriæ*, after the manner of the country; and, secondly, from that writer to John Lynch, who was endeavouring to controvert every position of Cambrensis (and thus probably originated the conjecture relative to the Danes), not a single writer has said one word upon the subject. To this he adds, with great apparent simplicity: "All these authors, it will be said, follow Cambrensis, I grant they do; (!) but would any of them adopt his notions was it possible to substitute better or more authentic in their room?" Most admirable candour! No one could have ever written this but a person desirous of supporting an erroneous hypothesis by false assertions. This attempted imposition of Ledwich has been so well exposed by the generally acute Dr. Lanigan, that I shall make no apology for presenting to the reader his remarks upon it in his own words:

"Ledwich has shamefully imposed on his readers by representing Giraldus Cambrensis as having asserted, that the Round towers were built by the Danes. Now Giraldus says no such thing, nor in the little that he has said relatively to their mode of construction, which is all comprised in the few words quoted above, does he make any mention of Danes or Ostmen. On the contrary he plainly hints, that the architecture of them was purely Irish, *more patriæ*. Besides, from his having looked upon at least some of them as very ancient, it is evident, that he could not have imagined, that they were erected by the Danes, whereas he supposed that they existed in Ireland before the arrival of that nation. Ledwich squeezed his misrepresentation of Giraldus out of another of Lynch's meaning in the above quoted words. Lynch says,

that the Round towers are reported to have been first erected by the Danes, whose first arrival in Ireland was, according to Giraldus, in the year 838. The sense of this plain passage is twisted by Ledwich, as if Lynch had stated that Giraldus said that the Danes not only first came to Ireland in 838, but that they were likewise the first builders of the Round towers. Lynch could not have even thought of attributing such an assertion to Giraldus, whereas his object was to refute the supposition of Giraldus, that there were such towers in Ireland at times much earlier than those of the Danes. Lynch was arguing against what Giraldus has about Round towers being seen in Lough Neagh, and strove to refute him by showing, that there were not any such towers in Ireland at the very ancient period alluded to by Giraldus, whereas, he says, they are reported to owe their origin to the Danes, who, according to Giraldus himself, did not come to Ireland until A. D. 838."

"The reader will now be able to form an opinion of Ledwich's logic and critical rules, and to judge of his fidelity in referring to authorities."—*Ecc. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 405, 406.

To these remarks it would be useless to add any thing further; and, taking it for granted that the reader is now satisfied that the hypothesis of the Danish origin of the Towers is one which has not been proved, or even made to appear probable, I will proceed without further delay to the next section.

SECTION II.

THEORY OF THE PHŒNICIAN, OR EASTERN ORIGIN, OF THE ROUND TOWERS.

THE romantic notion of ascribing the origin of the Round Towers of Ireland to the Phœnicians, Persians, or Indo-Scythians, originated in the fanciful brain of General Vallancey, an antiquary who, in his generous but mistaken zeal in support of the claims to ancient civilization of the Irish, has done much to involve our ancient history and antiquities in obscurity, and bring them into contempt with the learned. In support of this conjecture, however, General Vallancey has adduced scarcely a shadow of authority, but in place of it has amused his readers partly with descriptions of the fire-towers of the Persians—which only prove that these were *not* like the Round Towers of Ireland—and partly with a collection of etymological distortions of the most obvious meanings of Irish words, intended to prove that the Round Towers received their local names from being temples of the sacred fire !

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As these supposed proofs rest altogether on the uses to which it
has been assumed that the Towers were applied, it will be most ex-
pedient, and prevent repetition, to present them to the reader in the
following Section, in which I have to treat of that subject; and as the
more ingenious arguments of Doctors Lanigan and O'Conor, Miss
Beaufort, Mr. D'Alton, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Moore, and, recently, Mr.
Windele of Cork, in support of this hypothesis, are of nearly a similar
kind, they shall be considered in the same place.

SECTION III.

THEORIES OF THE PAGAN USES OF THE ROUND TOWERS.

1. That they were Fire-temples.—2. That they were used as places
from which to proclaim the Druidical festivals.—3. That they were
Gnomons, or astronomical observatories.—4. That they were Phallic
emblems, or Buddhist temples.

The theories of the Pagan uses of the Round Towers above enu-
merated, have been so blended together by their most distinguished
advocates, that I have found it impossible to treat any one of them
separately from the others, without involving myself in repetitions,
which would be tedious to the reader, and unessential to my purpose.
I shall, therefore, take the arguments adduced to sustain them, in the
order as to time in which they appeared, commencing with those of
General Vallancey, their great originator.

The earliest conjecture as to the Phœnician or Indo-Scythian
origin of the Round Towers, and their uses as fire-temples, appears in
Vallancey's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, first pub-
lished in 1772, and afterwards reprinted in the eighth number of the
Collectanea de Reb. Hib. in 1781, and is to the following effect:

" The Irish druids caused all fires to be extinguished throughout the kingdom on
the eve of May day, and every house was obliged to light his fire from the arch-druid's
holy fire, kindled on some elevated place, for which they paid a tribute to the druid.
This exactly corresponds with Dr. Hyde's description of the Parsi or Guebri, descen-
dants of the ancient Persians, who have, says he, an annual fire in the temple, from
whence they kindle all the fires in their houses, which are previously extinguished,
which makes a part of the revenues of their priests ; and this was undoubtedly the
use of the round towers, so frequently to be met with in Ireland, and which were cer-
tainly of Phœnician construction.

"I will here hazard a conjecture. I find גדול *gadul* to signify *magnus ;* I find also that the oriental nations at length so named the tower of Babylon, &c., מגדלות *magudaluth*, turres ab amplitudine dictæ. Bochart. p. 42. Geog. Sacr. *Gad* i. e. *gadul* turris ; may not our Irish name *cloghad* for the round towers built in Ireland, which apparently were of Phœnician workmanship, be derived from this word *gad*, and *clogh*, stone. It must be allowed that *clug* is a bell, and hence these towers have been thought to have been belfries ; but we have many places called *clogh*, i. e. saxum.

"Again, the druids called every place of worship *cloghad*, alluding to the circles of stones they usually set up in those places ; there is therefore no positive authority to say that these *cloghads* or towers were used as belfries only, or that they took their name from that use."—pp. 285, 286.

To reply to assertions resting on such puerile conjectures as the preceding, would be but a waste of time, and I shall only observe, that there is not a shadow of authority to be found in the Irish history for the statement, that the Druids called *every* place, or any place of worship, *cloghad*, or that the Round Towers of Ireland were ever so called, as I shall prove hereafter.

The theory thus dogmatically put forward by Vallancey having been combated by Dr. Ledwich in his Essay on the Round Towers, first published in the fifth number of the *Collectanea*, the former was followed by some remarks on the Round Towers of Ireland in the succeeding volume, number 10, for the purpose of supporting it. But, as this paper only shows that a tower somewhat similar in size and form to the Irish towers exists in Bulgaria, and asserts from a conjectural etymology of its name, Misgir or Midsgir, that it was a fire-temple, I do not feel it necessary to insert it here.

On this paper, Dr. Ledwich makes the following remarks :

"I had almost forgot our author's Bulgarian round tower, which was a Turkish minaret. He should have known that the Turks or Magiars colonized Bulgaria in 889.—Gibbon's Rom. Hist. v. 6. p. 34, note 2. that then they were tolerably civilized. Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 39, note. That Arabic inscriptions in Turkish mosques are common. Tollii Epist. Itiner. p. 150. And that those on the Bulgarian tower are not old.—Forster, supra. The Turks received the idea of belfries or their minarets from the Greeks A. D. 784.—Sabellic Ennead. 9. l. 1. Here are materials for a dissertation to convict our Author of the grossest ignorance, or unpardonable inattention."—*Antiquities*, p. 166, note. (*Second Edition.*)

But reasoning of this kind would make but little, if any, impression on the mind of an author like Vallancey ; he would acknowledge that the Bulgarian tower, or any other, was a minaret, but what of that ? " The minarets," he answers, " were originally fire towers !"—

See MS. comment on Ledwich's Dissertation on the Round Towers of Ireland in Vallancey's corrected copy of the *Collectanea de Reb. Hib.*, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

In the twelfth number of the *Collectanea*, General Vallancey returns to the Round Towers again, and finds them employed for various purposes not previously thought of. Thus, in the preface to this number, he tells us they were first erected in Ireland by the African sea-champions :

" Potter in his Grecian antiquities, says, the Pelasgi were Tyrhenians born, and (speaking of the building of Athens) taught the Greeks the art of building houses of lime and stone, and from them, walls and castles were called Τύρσεῖ. [Τύρσεῖς]. Is it possible that Potter could be ignorant that the Hebrew and Chaldee טור *Tur*, was a circular building, a tower, from the origin of languages? Observe the ancient history of the Irish in this particular, '*African sea-champions* landed in Ireland, conquered the country, introduced their language, and taught the inhabitants to build with lime and stone,' to build what?—*Round towers* undoubtedly, for no other buildings were erected in Ireland of lime and stone, for many centuries afterwards."—p. iv.

Again :

" The ancient Irish Seanchas say, that Gan, Geanan, Conuing and Faovar, were African generals who drove the Nemedians out of Ireland. That they first settled at Toirinis, which was called *Tor Conuing*, or tower of *Conuing*, from the tower he built there : this is the first round tower mentioned in Irish history."—p. xxxvi.

And again :

" With Nemed came many Tuatha Dadanan, and in his reign the Africans arrived : these Africans were the Phœni another tribe of the Pelasgi : it is not surprizing then, that our Irish historians observe, that these Africans spoke the same language as the Irish. They conquered the country and taught the inhabitants to build round towers, having first landed at the island of Tor or Tor-inis called also Tor-Conuing from the name of the Carthaginian general (Conuing) and here is the first account we have of our round towers."—pp. lxix. lxx.

On these passages it will be sufficient to remark, that if, as Vallancey asserts, the ancient Irish historians state, that the Irish were taught by the Fomorians, or African sea-champions—who came here a few centuries after the deluge—to build with lime and stone, it would only show that such authorities were of little value. But the fact is, that they make no such statement : and as to the story of Tor-Conuing, or Tory Island, it appears to be a legend originating in the natural formation of the island, which presents, at a distance, the appearance of a number of towers, and hence in the authentic

Irish annals, and the lives of Columbkille, the patron saint of the place, it is called *Torach*, or the towery island, and Latinized *Torachia*, and *Toracha insula*. It is true, indeed, that there is a Round Tower still remaining on Tory Island, but it would require a more than ordinary share of credulity to enable one to believe that this is the Tor-Conuing of the Africans; or that its age is anterior to that of St. Columb, to whom its erection is attributed by the common tradition of the islanders, and the inhabitants of the opposite coasts.

Farther on in the same Preface, the learned General informs us, that the Round Towers were sorcerers' towers. Thus:

" That the oriental *aub* were sorcerers, the learned Millius has very clearly demonstrated; that the Irish *abh* were sorcerers also, is evident from the common verb *abh-faidhim*, to prophecy, where *faidh* a prophet, is compounded with *abh*. These were at the head of the Irish sorcerers, and I shall hereafter shew that there was a presiding *aub* at each tower, and that the first name for Christian, a bishop in the Irish language, was *aobh-ill-toir*, or, an *aub* of many towers, or places of worship, for *tór* not only implies a tower but every thing belonging to a church.

" Hence *toir-dealbach*, a proper name, now written *turlogh*; it originally signified a tower-sorcerer; see *dealbha* or *tealbha*, sorcery."—p. cxxxiv.

Still farther on, he informs us that the Towers were made for celestial observations, a notion subsequently adopted even by Doctor O'Conor and other learned men. The passage is as follows:

" Thus Lucian tells us, that they had in the porch of the temple at Hierapolis which ' stood on the knob of a hill, Priapus's three hundred cubits high, into one of which a man gets up twice a year, and dwells seven days together in the top of the phallus, that he may converse with the gods above, and pray for the prosperity of Syria; which prayers, says he, are the better heard by the gods for being near at hand.'—This was the opinion of Lucian, but the fact is, these pillars, or round towers, were made for celestial observations, as those still standing in Ireland, were by our Druids."—p. clxv.

A few pages after this, General Vallancey presents us with what he calls " Further illustrations on the Round Towers," in which we find a new use to which they were applied: thus, in speaking of the dancing festivals of the Canaanites and other ancient nations in honour of the Heavens, he writes:

" In Syriac, *chugal*, a circuit, to turn round. One of the services paid to this attribute, by the heathens, was, to dance, or move in circles; and, in this manner, our Irish Druids observed the revolution of the year, festivals, &c., by dancing round our *round towers;* and from the Syriac *chugal*, the word *clog* was formed, implying, any orbicular form, as, the *skull*, a *round tower*," &c.—Vol. iii. p. 482.

General Vallancey, in a few pages after, furnishes us with a quo-

tation from an ancient Irish MS.—the Glossary of Cormac, Arch-
bishop of Cashel, in the tenth century—which would appear to set
the question of, at least, the Pagan antiquity of the towers at rest for
ever.   It is as follows :

" *Gull* or *gaill*, i. e. *carrtha cloche*, a stone column, or pillar, that is, one of the
ancient round towers, (Cormac's Gloss. Vet.) *is aire is bearor gall*, (says Cormac) *disuidiu
fo bith ceata ro suighidseat in Eire*, i. e. they were so called, *gall*, by the colonists who
settled first in Ireland."—*Ib.* p. 485.

He next adduces the authority of Dr. O'Brien, the learned author
of the Irish Dictionary :

" *Cuil-ceach*, or *Cúl-kak* corruptè *claiceach*, a round tower ; as *Cuilceac Cluana-
umha*, the tower or steeple of Cloyne. O'Brien. This word, adds he, seems to be
corrupted of *clog-theach*, that is, the bell-house. I have had occasion before, to shew,
that Dr. O'Brien, had very little knowledge of the roots of his mother tongue, for *clog*
is a contraction of *cugal*.

" *Cuill-kak*, is evidently the annunciator, instructor, or proclaimer of the festivals.
See *cúl*, *gúl*, and *kak*, in the preceding list of Oriental and Irish words. Hence, it is
rather more than conjecture, that our Irish round towers, which *Cormac* tells us, were
built by the first people who came to this island, were the buildings from which the
approaching festivals were announced."—*Ib.* pp. 486, 487.

General Vallancey next tells us :

" Another name for the round towers, is *sibheit*, *sithbheit*, and *sithbhein*. See O'Brien
and Shaw's Lexicons."—*Ib.* p. 488.

He then compares this word with what he considers cognate
words in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, and resumes :

" The Irish word, *Sith-bheit*, is literally, the *Beth*, or house of *Sith ;* which may imply,
the house of peace, of pointing out the seasons, or, the house of adoration. *Sith*, par-
ticularly, expresses every place established by the Druids in Ireland for devotion.
Sith-drum, was the ancient name of Cashel, or *Caisiol*, that is, the *Sith* upon a hill: the
tower of *Caisil* is thus situated; *Caisiol*, implies also, a house built of lime and stone.
Sith, is pronounced *See*, the *t* being aspirated: I think it bids fair to be the root of the
Latin, *sedes*, and the English, *see ;* i. e. the diocese of a bishop. Ainsworth, derives the
word from the Greek, ἱδ⊙, edes. *Sith-bhein*, in Irish, will imply the place of the bene-
diction, of pointing out, or proclamation, of the anniversary, or of the vigils, the even-
ing place of prayer, and, lastly, *binn*, is also a bell, used by the Romish church in
excommunication. Gur beanadh *binnéan* Chiarain, air. Chron. Scot. ad an. 1043.

" *Caiceach*, the last name I find for the round tower, is supposed by the Glossarists,
to be compounded of *cai*, a house, and *theac*, a house ; this is tautology with a witness!
The word may be compounded of *cai*, a house, and *ceac*, instruction, &c. but I rather
think it should be written, *caig-theac*, or *caig-each*, i. e. the house of solemnity, or of
the feasts or festivals. גח chag, in Hebrew, as we have already shewn, is a circle,
festival, anniversary. Exod. x. 9. we have a (*chag*) festival day, xxiii. 18. nor shall the

fat of my (*chag*) annual sacrifice, remain till morning. The Hebrew, *chag*, is the root of the Irish, *cagaus*, a name of lent. *Cargus*, i. e. *Cag-aos*, the season of *Chag*.—Vet. Glos."

" These towers were certainly belfries in after ages ; and, probably, were not only observatories, but belfries too, at the time of their construction. It is worthy of observation, that all festivals are proclaimed in the eastern countries from the top of the *misgir*, or *diz-ghalé*, or round towers of the *mosque:* Bells might also have been used by our Druids: the hand bell is of a very ancient construction; and the Latin name for a bell-ringer, viz. *tintina*culus, seems to be of Scythic origin; and also, *tintina*bulum, a bell. *Tein*, in Irish and Arabic, is noise, a ringing noise: *tein-tein*, is doubled in both languages, to express the greater noise: *bualim*, in Irish, is to strike, which was the ancient mode of sounding the bell. *Cul*, as we have shewn, is an anniversary, a round tower, a steeple; in Persic, *Kulè*: but *keol*, in Irish, is a musical note, music. I submit these observations to the notice of the Irish antiquary, and flatter myself, they merit his researches.

" Nor does it appear, that the modern name of these towers, viz. *cloghad*, or *cloig-theac*, supposed to signify a bell-house, are any inducement to think they are modern buildings. *Clog* is certainly a bell in Irish, so named, from *clog*, the *cranium* or skull; in which form, our first bells were made, and those to this day used in *clocks* are cast; but *clog*, the skull, owes its name to its orbicular form, as we have shown before.

" It is evident, that all our *cloghads* have not been belfreys: in many there are no marks of the wall having been broken within for hanging a bell ; nor are they always annexed to churches. There are many in the fields, where no traces of the foundations of any other buildings can be discovered round them. Had the primitive Christians of Ireland possessed the art of building these towers with lime and mortar, it is reasonable to think, they would have preferred building the churches of the same durable materials; but we are positively told, that *Duleek*, or *Dam-liag* church, was the first that was built with such materials ; and was so called, from *leac*, a stone. Near to the church, is a Druidical monument, or *leac* of enormous size, to which probably it owes its name."—*Ib.* pp. 490, 491, 492.

The last passage in this volume bearing on the subject of the Round Towers in any intelligible way, occurs two pages after, and is as follows :

" The name *cluan*, was, I believe, originally given to all these towers : it appears to be a contraction of *cúl-luan;* i. e. the return of the moon: *cluan*, certainly signifies a lawn; *cluan*, says O'Brien, is a name given to several of our bishops' sees, as *Cluan Umha*, now Cloyne; *Cluan Haidhneach*, Cluan Mac Nois, in Leinster, &c.—We meet with many places in this kingdom, named *Cluan*, that are situated on hills, consequently, they did not derive their names from a plain or level country.

" A plain, in Irish, is expressed by machaire, magh, leirg, cathan, achadh, faithche, faithemeid, maighneas, raodh, reidhlein; and, *clogad*, can no more be derived from *Tlachdga*, than *homo* from *Adam*. Le Brun describes a tower, in Turkey, which the Turks name *kiss-koloe*, i. e. the tower of the virgins:—in a few pages after, he says, they call it *kses-calisi*, i. e. the castle of the virgins. He saw, also, the tower of the *patriarch Jacob*, near Bethlehem, but it was so ruinous, he could form no idea of its

magnitude: he gives a plate of the ruin, by which we may see, it was then about 20 feet high, circular, and exactly resembling the state of many of our Irish towers. The *kiss-kolœ* or Virgin's tower, of the Turks, carries the air of Oriental romance in the name: *cais-caili*, in Irish, is, indeed, the virgin's tower, but I am inclined to think the name is a corruption of *cais-cuile*, or of *ceach-cuile*, i. e. the tower of proclamation of anniversaries, &c. See Le Brun's Voyage de Levant. *Kiss*, in Arabic and Persic, is holy, religious."—*Ib*. pp. 494, 495.

I have now done with this third volume of General Vallancey's Collectanea, having omitted nothing in my extracts from it which could be deemed of the slightest importance in this inquiry. I shall not, however, trespass on the reader's time or patience by any formal refutation of theories, supported by such evidences or arguments as have been now laid before him: to do so gravely would, I feel, equally involve me in ridicule with their author; and to treat them with levity would be foreign to my tastes and the spirit of this investigation. Besides, if there be any that could be convinced by such reasonings, they would not be likely to have their faith shaken by any commentary that I could make upon them. There is, however, one portion of his remarks, which it may not be improper to notice, namely, that in which he appeals to Irish authorities for facts in support of his hypothesis, but which I shall prove to be wholly fallacious. The first authority so adduced is that of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cullenan, who, according to General Vallancey, states, in his ancient Glossary, that the word *gul* or *gaill* was the name of the ancient Round Towers, and, that they were so called by the colonists who settled first in Ireland. I regret to be obliged to state that there is no passage in Cormac's Glossary to that effect, and that the passage from which he gives a garbled quotation, will not bear his interpretation. I here present it to the reader at full length, from my own copy of Cormac's Glossary, which has been collated with all the vellum MS. copies of the work, preserved in our public or private libraries:

Ᵹall .ı. coıṗée cloıée, uᴄ eᴚᴄ: nıᴚ cınᴄaıᵹ comaıóée comeᴄa ᴚelḃ ᴚuıóıu coıᴄeᴚıée co companoaıḃ ᵹall.

Ᵹall, ceᴄaᴘóa ᴘoᴚ oınᵹaıᴘ .ı. ᵹall cloıée céoamaᴘ, uᴄ ᴘᴘeoıxımuᴚ: ıᴚ aıᴘe ıᴚ beᴘaᴘ ᵹall oıᴚuıóıu, ᴘo ḃıé ıᴚ Ᵹall ceᴄa ᴘo ᴘuıóıᵹᴚeᴄ ı n-Єᴘe. Ᵹall .ı. Fᴘaınc : Ᵹaıll, oan. aınm oo ᴘaeᴘélanoaıḃ Fᴘanc .ı. ᴄᴘeᴚ ᵹallıa; acuᴚ ıᴚ a canoeᴘe coᴘ-poᴘıᴚ ᴘo h-aınınnıᵹeó ooıḃ; Ᵹall enım Ᵹᴘece lac Laᴄıne oıcıᴄuᴘ; ınoe Ᵹallıae maᴘᴄa. Sıc oın ᵹall ıᴚ aınm oo ela: ınoe Feᴘ Múᵐan oıxıᴄ: coéall coᴚ n-ᵹall, ᵹaıᵐ ın ḃᴘaın.

Ᵹall, oon, ainm oo caileé, oinoi iꞅ ᵹallup, acuꞅ iꞅ a ᵹali.i capieiꞅ ꞃo h-ainm-niᵹeó .i. a caébapp a émo.

Thus translated by Mr. O'Donovan:

" *Gall,* i. e. a *standing stone, ut est* 'Neighbours taking care of cattle are not in fault by marking a conterminous boundary with pillar stones.'

" *Gall* has four meanings, viz., in the first place a pillar-stone, *ut prædiximus:* the reason that such stones are called *galls,* is because it was the *Galli* that first fixed them in Ireland. *Gall,* i. e. Frank. *Gall* then is a name for the nobles of France, so called from *gallia,* i. e. a *candore corporis;* for *gall* [recté γάλα] in Greek is *lac* in Latin ; hence *Galliæ inasta.* Thus also *gall* is a name for a swan : *inde* Fer Mumhan *dixit:* Cochall cos n-gall, gaimh in bhrain, i. e. the swan's foot is webbed, the raven's fanged.

" *Gall* is also a name for a cock, from *gallus,* so called *a galeâ capitis,* i. e. from the crest of his head."

This word, *gall,* is explained *rock* in all the Irish dictionaries, and its diminutive *gallán* (corruptly *dallán*) is still used all over Munster to denote those pillar-stones, which are so numerous in that province. The word *coirthe,* by which it is explained in Cormac's Glossary, is still well understood, and always applied to a large standing stone, as to that on *Cnoc a choirthe,* or, the hill of the pillar-stone, near James-town, in the county of Roscommon. The reader will now be able to see the true value of the authority, which General Vallancey, by a garbled quotation, so confidently put forward as a conclusive evidence of the antiquity of the Round Towers, and I need make no further comment upon it.

General Vallancey next quotes the authority of Dr. O'Brien for the meaning of the word *Cuil-ceach,* or *Cul-kak,*—" Cuil-ceach, or *Cul-kak,* corruptè *clai-ceach,* a round tower; as *Cuilceac Cluana-Umha,* the tower or steeple of Cloyne. O'Brien. This word, adds he, seems to be corrupted of *Clog-theach,* that is the bell-house."

This is another characteristic example of Vallancey's mode of quoting authorities; he first makes O'Brien say, that *Cuilceach* be-comes corruptly *Claiceach,* and then that the word *seems* to be cor-rupted of *Clog-theach.* But O'Brien does not say that *Cuilceach* is corruptly *Claiceach,* nor has he the word *Culkak* or *Claiceach* in his book; neither does he say that *Cuilceach seems* to be a cor-ruption of *Clog-theach,* but states positively that it is so. The fol-lowing are the passages which Vallancey has so misquoted and garbled :

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" Cuilceach, a steeple ; cuilceach Clúana-umha, Cloyne steeple.—This word *is* a corruption of Clog-theach.

" Cloig-theach, a steeple, a belfry ; *corruptè*, Cuilgtheach."

Our author next tells us, that another name for the Round Towers is *Sibheit*, *Sithbheit*, and *Sithbhein*, and for this he refers us to O'Brien's and Shaw's Lexicons ; but this quotation is equally false with those I have already exposed, for the words *Sibheit* and *Sithbheit* are not to be found in either of the works referred to. The word *Sithbhe* is, indeed, given in both Lexicons, but explained a city, not a round tower. The word *Sithbhein* is also given in both, but explained a fort, a turret ; and the real meaning of the word, as still understood in many parts of Ireland, is, a fairy hill, or hill of the fairies, and is applied to a green round hill crowned by a small sepulchral mound.

He next tells us that *Caiceach*, the last name he finds for the Round Towers, is supposed by the Glossarists to be compounded of *cai*, a house, and *teach*, a house, an explanation, which, he playfully adds, is tautology with a witness. But where did he find authority for the word *Caiceach?* I answer nowhere ; and the tautology he speaks of was either a creation or a blunder of his own. It is evident to me that the Glossarist to whom he refers is no other than his favourite Cormac ; but the latter makes no such blunder, as will appear from the passage which our author obviously refers to :

Caı .ı. ceać: unoe oıcıcuɲ ceaɲo-ċa .ı. ceać ceaɲoa; cɲeaɲ-ċa .ı. ceać cuṁanɡ.

" Cai, i. e. a house : *unde dicitur ceard-cha*, i. e. the house of the artificer ; *creas-cha*, i. e. a narrow house."

Lastly, he tells us that the name *Cluan* was, he believes, originally given to all these towers, and that it appears to be a contraction of *Cul-luan*, i. e. the return of the Moon! For this new meaning of the word, it would, however, have puzzled him to find an authority, though he evidently wishes us to believe that he had such, by quoting O'Brien to shew that *cluan* is a name given to several of our bishops' sees. But O'Brien knew the meaning of the word too well to have had any such notion in his mind, and correctly explains it as follows :

" Clūain, a plain between two woods, also any fine level fit for pasture ; Lat. *planum*, Angl.-Saxon. *lawn*, visibly of the same root with *cluain.*—Vid. *Lhuyd's Compar. Etym.* pag. 10. col. 1., for an initial letter being expressed in one Celtic dialect, and omitted in another. Note that several towns and bishops' sees in Ireland derive their names from

this word *Cluain;* ex. Cluain ūmha, now the town of Cloyne, a bishop's see in the County of Cork ; Cluain-haidhneach and Cluain Mac Nois, in Leinster, &c."

That this is the true and only meaning of the word *cluain*, can be proved by reference to the localities bearing the name in every part of Ireland. In many places there are twenty-four *cluains* together, as in O'Conor Faly's Country in the King's County, and in O'Conor Roe's Country in the County of Roscommon; and the *cluain* is invariably found to be a fertile piece of land surrounded by a bog or moor, or on one side by a bog, and on the other by water. On this conjecture of Vallancey it may also be remarked, that, if every place in Ireland bearing the name *Cluain* had received that name from a round tower, there must have been several thousands of Round Towers in the country, and in many places they must have been so congregated together, as to have required the wand of a magician to call them into existence, since they would be too numerous for the population of Ireland, at any period, to erect them. But the assumption is so visionary, that it is puerile to treat it seriously.

In the succeeding volume of the Collectanea, containing a Vindication of the ancient history of Ireland, General Vallancey again returns to the subject of the Round Towers, and presents us with several names for them, and new evidences in support of their antiquity. In this volume, however, he abandons many of his former theories—theories which he had put forward as incontestible—both as to their origin and uses. They are now not African or Phœnician towers, but towers of the Persian or Chaldean Magi. They are no longer towers for celestial observations, or, for proclaiming the anniversaries, or, sorcerers' towers, or, towers for the Druids to dance round,—they are now only fire-towers of the restored religion of Zerdust or Zoroaster !

It is a difficult and rather unpleasant task to follow a writer so rambling in his reasonings and so obscure in his style, but, as his followers are still the most numerous class of my readers, I must get through the labour as well as I can, consoled by the conviction, that little more is necessary to prove the visionary nature of his hypotheses, than to present the arguments on which they rest, in consecutive order.

" In the *Sadder* of Zerdusht as given us by Dr. Hyde, we find the fire-temple or Tower, or House of Prayer, named *Aphrinaghan;* the sacred festivals had the same

name : The Persians in India had a stated festival once a month. Hoc convivium seu hæ Epulæ *plurali* habet nomen Afrinaghan, i. e. Benedictalia seu benedicendi Epulæ, in the singular number it is *Apherin;* or Affrin. In the Chaldee we find אפריון Aphriun, Templum. In Irish *Afrithgnam* is to bless (*gnam* or *gnim* is the verb) agere vel facere). The Chappel, Mass-house, or House of prayer, is known at this day in Ireland, by no other name than *Ti-Afrion,* i. e., the house of benediction.

" There can be no doubt of the round towers in Ireland, having been Fire-towers; the *Ti-aifrionn,* the house of benediction. The Arabs call them *Perkin,* i. e. a fire hearth, in Irish *Breocan.* The construction of them was well adapted to the purpose : the door being always from 12 to 15 feet from the base, the sacred fire at the bottom could not be molested by the wind : it was covered by a Cupola at top, and four small windows in the sides near the top, let out the smoke. The diameter of them is no more than sufficient for the *Cai-Culane,* or *Draoi* to perform his sacred office : his *Zend* or prayers were not to be heard by the congregation, as in the service, his mouth was covered lest he should breath on the holy fire, so that he mumbled or muttered his words. When he had done, he probably ascended to the door or to the top, and gave his *Aphrin.* The sacred fire was fed by the wood of a sacred tree; in Persia the name of that tree is *Haum al Magjus,* i. e. *Haum Magorum :* In Irish *Om* and *Omna* was *Crann-naomha* or sacred tree : we translate it an Oak.

" The Perso-Scythi of Ireland named these Towers, *Tuir Beil,* or the Towers of Baal or Belus, a name sacred to the Sun ; whence Bel-ain, a year, i. e. the Circle of Bel. In Pharh. Gj. a Persian author, we are told that *Ardeshir Babek,* a Persian King, constructed a certain lofty building which he named Terbali, to the East of the City of *Iharaghun* in Persia,—alia etiam veterum Templorum Persicorum nomina in sequentibus memorantur, et eorum omnium nomina hodiè recuperare et recensere, est plane impossibile,—Hyde, 108.

" The sacred fire was named Hyr, in Irish *Ur,* it was also named *Adur,* whence the *Adair* of Ireland, names of places where some sacred building is always to be found ; our modern churches are commonly annexed to these old fire-towers; a strong argument that they were originally sacred buildings. The Præfectus ignis was named Hyr-bad, in Irish *Ur-Baidh.* scil. *Ignis Sacerdos;* we now translate *baid,* a prophet. The *Urbad* continued night and day in the fire tower, and all other Priests were subject to him ; we have the same accounts in the Irish MSS. This order was also named *Mogh.* Primus ordo anteà vocabatur *Mogh* et postea *Hyrbad.* (Hyde). *Mogh* Mugh or *Magh* was the name in Ireland, hence *Ard-magh* the Metropolitan See of Ireland, and all those old family names beginning with the Epithet *Mág,* as *Mág* Mathghamna, Mág uidir, Mág Cana, Mág Giolla Riabha, Mág Raghnuil, Mógh Luigh, Mac Luchta, &c. &c. and this name was borrowed of the Chaldeans, another strong circumstance from whence *Zerdust* came, corresponding with our Irish traditions. Olim in Chaldæorum Curia horum Rector supremus (Jerem. 29. 3. 13) dicebatur רב־מג *Rab mag* i. e. Magorum Præfectus."—Vol. iv. pp. 202–3–4–5.

And again:

" It may be said that the few fire towers existing in Ireland, plainly evince that this fire-worship was not an established religion, and that they must have been applied to some other use : to this objection, I answer, that many have been pulled down, and

that these were only Cathedrals ; that other buildings of wattles and straw, (or Corri-
dores) to cover the congregation, may have been erected round them, and we shall find
most of the Irish Towers connected with our Cathedrals, as at *Cloyne, Cashell, Glan-
dalough,* &c.&c.   Notandum est, quod omne Pyreum fuit Ecclesia Cathedralis dotata
ad alendum Episcopum, et Sacerdotes necessarios (Hyde, 106), and like the *Ghebres* of
India, they often prayed to Culinary fires, where a tower was not conveniently at
hand."—*Ib.* pp. 206, 207.

I do not feel it necessary to make any comment on the preceding
passages, as Vallancey's new Irish names for the Round Towers, toge-
ther with the Irish authorities to which he refers, are, as all Irish
scholars must be aware, mere creations of his own fancy.   I proceed,
therefore, to his sixth volume, in which we are presented with a se-
cond Essay on the Irish Round Towers, and from this I shall extract
whatever passages I can find directly bearing on the question.   He
commences as follows:

" From my first knowledge of Irish history, and of the mythology of the pagan
Irish, I did conceive, that these towers were erected to contain the sacred fire, and I
have had no reason to alter my opinion.   From that history it appeared evident, that,
as in ancient Persia, so, in ancient Ireland, there were two sects of fire worshippers ;
one, that lighted the fires on the tops of mountains and hills, and others in towers ; an
innovation said to be brought about by *Mogh Nuadhat,* or the *Magus of the new law,*
otherwise called *Airgiod-lamh,* or golden hand, who was the Zerdost or gold hand of
the Persians, who is said to have lost his life by a Touranian Scythian, in a tumult
raised by this innovation ; so *Mogh Nuadhat* had his hand cut off in the struggle, but
one of the *Tuatha-dadan* colony, or Chaldæan magi, supplied the loss with a silver or
golden hand.

" These towers were evidently named by the Cháldeans אפריון *aphriun,* i. e. tem-
plum, a name that exists at this day in Irish for the house of prayer or benediction,
viz. *Ti aifrion,* a mass-house ; Ar. اَفْرِیـن *afrian,* P. *aferin,* praise, glory, benediction,
blessing.   In Cantico Canticorum, φορειον sibi fecit Salomon, i. e. אפריון *aphriun* sibi
fecit Salomon. (Aldrete Antig. de Espana, p. 203.)   By the ancient Hindoos they were
named Coill, whence the Cill and Ceall of the Irish, of which hereafter.

" The pagan Irish worshipped *Crom cruait,* the same God *Soraster* adored, in fire,
first on mountains, then in caves, and lastly in towers: this fire worship, says Irish
history, was introduced by a certain *draoi,* named *Midhghe,* a corruption of *Magiusch,*
which in Persian signifies, nailed by the ears, not cropt eared, as some have imagined,
but the Zoroastrians changed it to *Megiusch* or *Magiusch.*

" 'The Brahmins kept a portion of the sacred fire constantly and fervently glowing
in caves, continually ascending in pure bright *pyramidal* flame, fed with the richest
gums ; this was prior to the Pyræia, or fire temples, which were always round, and
owed their origin, according to the Magi, to the zeal of Zoroaster.' (Maurice. Ind. Ant.,
V. II. p. 279.)

" This pyramidal flame seems to have given the idea of the round towers, which

were conical, and ended in a point at top, both in Hindoostan and in Ireland, as we shall shew hereafter.

"The tower of Ireland, dedicated to *Brigit*, a saint, who took on her the heathen name, is one of the highest in the kingdom—*Brigit inghean Daghda, bandea, agus ro mor an afrihnam*, i. e. Brigit, daughter of Daghda or Apollo (the Daghda-rath of the Brahmins) a goddess, and very great was her *Aifrion* tower, or house of benediction. (Cormac.)

"Zerdhusht extruxit domicilia ignis, et fecit ea cum *cupola* excelsa, et ignem gladio non fodiendum. (Bundari, an Arabian.)"—Vol. vi. pp. 121—123.

"'The Persians, says Prideaux, first made the holy fires on the tops of hills, but Zoroastres, finding that these sacred fires in the open air, were often extinguished by rain, tempests and storms, directed that fire towers should be built, that the sacred fires might the better be preserved.'

"We find these towers still exist in Caucasus, the first settlement of our Ara-coti, particularly in the tribe of *Dalguis*, now called *Ingushi*. Those mountains were explored by Guldenstaedt by order of Catharine; in Vol. I. he says, 'They call themselves *Ingushi;* they are Christians. They believe in one God, whom they call *Dailè* (in Irish *Duile*). Many of their villages have a stone tower, which *now* serves them, in time of war, as a retreat to their women and children.'"—*Ib.* p. 124.

The preceding passages are followed by an extract from Dr. Baumgarten, concerning the religion of the Scythians, in which, however, *there is nothing about fire*, but that they worshipped an invisible deity, and admitted of no images, but, like the Magi, made use only of symbols. This again is followed by an extract from the Horæ Biblicæ of Mr. Butler, concerning the religion of the ancient Persians, and another from the same work concerning the *Edda:* after which he compares certain words in the Zend and Brahminical languages with the Irish, to shew their similarity, and for others refers to the Preface to the Prospectus of his Irish Dictionary, and then says:

"From all which I conclude, with certainty, that the Old Irish, or Aire-Coti, the primitive inhabitants of Britain and the western isles, were the *Ar-Coti* of Caucasus, and the *Ara-Cotii* of Dionysius, from the borders of the *Indus*, whence they were called *Indo-Scythæ;* that they were mixed with the Brahmins, who at that period built *round towers* for the preservation of the holy fire, in imitation of which those in Ireland and Scotland were built."—*Ib.* p. 133.

I have given the arguments and evidences of General Vallancey thus fully, lest it might be thought that I did him injustice by their abridgment: and I am satisfied, that with the learned and unprejudiced reader it will be deemed unnecessary to offer a word of comment on them—that it will be but a waste of time to reply to arguments resting on conjectural etymologies unsupported by authority

of any kind, and vague references to Irish history, without any inti-
mation in what author, manuscript, printed book, or library, they may
be found.   But as I shall have many readers to whom such evidences
have been " strong as proofs of holy writ," and who will not be thus
easily satisfied, it is imperative on me, however painful, to present
them with such demonstrative proofs of their insufficiency to sustain
the conclusions drawn, as even they must receive as incontrovertible.

    In the first paragraph above quoted, General Vallancey tells us,
that it appears evident from Irish history that, as in ancient Persia, so
in ancient Ireland, there were two sects of fire-worshippers, one that
lighted the fires on the tops of mountains and hills, and the other *in
towers*.   This last form of worship, he continues, was an innovation,
said to have been brought about by Mogh Nuadhat, or the *Magus
of the New Law*, otherwise called *Airgiod-lamh*, or Golden-hand,
who, as he states, was no less a personage than the Zerdost or Gold-
hand of the Persians, who is said to have lost his life by a Touranian
Scythian, in a tumult raised by this innovation.   On these assertions I
have first to remark, that Irish history furnishes us with no such facts
as are here stated.   It is true, that it states that fires were lighted by
the Druids on the tops of mountains and hills; but there is not one
word to be found in that history respecting fires having been lighted
in towers, nor about the innovation, said to have been brought about
by Mogh Nuadhat, nor about any innovation introduced by any Magus
whatsoever.   Secondly, it does not appear from Irish history that
there was any prince, or Magus, called Mogh Nuadhat, to whom the
cognomen of Airgiod-lamh was applied, nor would such a cognomen
mean Golden-hand, but Silver-hand.   We are told, indeed, in Irish
history, of a leader of the Tuatha De Danann colony, who was called
Nuada Airgiod-lamh, or Nuada of the Silver-hand, from a hand of
silver with which he supplied the place of a hand lost in the battle
of Magh Tuiredh, near Cong, in the present county of Mayo, fought
against the Fir-Bolgs, according to O'Flaherty's corrected Irish chro-
nology, in the year 2737; and we also find in that history mention
of a provincial king of the Milesian colony, named Eoghan, who bore
the cognomen of Mogh Nuadhat, and who was slain by the celebrated
monarch Conn of the Hundred Battles, in the battle of Magh Lena,
in the year of Christ 192.   Thus it will be seen, that General Val-
lancey makes the cognomen of one prince be the name of another,

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who lived many centuries before him, in order to give probability to a fanciful etymology of this cognomen necessary to his purpose, but which, after all, it will by no means bear; for we have the authority of Irish history itself, that the cognomen Mogh Nuadhat did not mean *Magus of the New Law*, but *strong labourer*. See an ancient Irish tract on the etymology of the names of celebrated Irish personages, preserved in the Book of Lecan, fol. 221, and Mac Curtin's Vindication of the History of Ireland, p. 102.

General Vallancey next tells us, that these Towers were evidently named by the Chaldeans *Aphriun*, i. e. templum, and that the Tower of St. Bridget, at Kildare,—one of the highest in the kingdom,—was called her Aifrion Tower, or house of benediction; and as authority for this name he quotes the Glossary of Cormac Mac Cullenan. But in this, as in an instance recently quoted, he has most shamelessly garbled and falsified the text of that writer, as will appear from the following accurate transcript of it from the oldest copies :

Ꝺꞃⁱᵹⁱꞇ ban-ꝼⁱle, ⁱnᵹen ⁱn Ꝺaᵹꝺae; ⁱꞃ ⁱ ⁱnꞃⁱn Ꝺꞃⁱᵹⁱꞇ be n-éⁱcꞃⁱ, .ⁱ. ban-ꝺea no aꝺꞃaꞇⁱꞃ ꝼⁱlⁱó, an ba ꞃo ṁóꞃ, ocuꞃ ba ꞃo án a ꝼꞃⁱꞇᵹnaṁ. Iꝺeo eam Ꝺeam uocanꞇ poeꞇaꞃum; cuⁱuꞃ ꞃoꞃoꞃeꞃ eꞃanꞇ Ꝺꞃⁱᵹⁱꞇ be leⁱᵹⁱꞃ, ocuꞃ Ꝺꞃⁱᵹⁱꞇ be ᵹoⁱbne, ⁱnᵹenu ⁱn Ꝺaᵹꝺae; ꝺe quaꞃum nomⁱnⁱbuꞃ peneꞃ homⁱneꞃ hⁱbeꞃnenꞃeꞃ ꝺea Ꝺꞃⁱᵹⁱꞇ uocabaꞇuꞃ. Ꝺꞃⁱᵹⁱꞇ, ꝺⁱn, .ⁱ. bꞃeo-ꞃaⁱᵹⁱꞇ.

"Brighit the poetess, the daughter of the Dagda; she was the goddess of poetry, i. e. the goddess whom the poets worshipped, for very great and very noble was her PRESIDING CARE. *Ideo eam Deam vocant poetarum; cujus sorores erant* Brighit, the goddess of physic, and Brighit, the goddess of smiths, the daughters of the Dagda ; *de quarum nominibus penes homines Hibernenses Dea* Brighit *vocabatur*. Brighit then means an arrow of fire."—H. 2. 16.

That the word ꝼꞃⁱꞇᵹnaṁ in the preceding passage,—which General Vallancey has manufactured into *Afrihnam* by joining the possessive pronoun a, *her*, to the noun, to make it resemble the Chaldee *Aphriun*,—can only be understood as implying the diligent care, or attention, with which the goddess was supposed to watch over the inspiration of the poets, can be proved by numerous examples from ancient Irish MSS., and among these from Cormac's own work, in which the word occurs twice under the word leꞇec, thus :

Ro buⁱ colleⁱcc ⁱn ꞇ-écceꞃ oc acallaṁ ⁱno écꞃⁱne, ocuꞃ oc cuꞃ ꞃulae ꞇaꞃ a ꝼꞃⁱꞇᵹnaṁ.

"The poet was at the time conversing with the tyro-poet, and keeping an eye over his ASSIDUITY."

Ro páċaıʒ ıaṗam ın ċ-éceṗ moṗ menmaın ın ecṗıne, ocuṗ laıʒeċ a ṗṗıéʒnaṁa.

" The poet afterwards observed the great mind of the tyro-poet, and the smallness of his ASSIDUITY."

And under the modern spelling, fṗıoċnaṁ, this word is explained *care*, *diligence*, in the Dictionaries of O'Brien, O'Reilly, and—in what is superior to either—the MS. Dictionary of Peter O'Connell, preserved in the British Museum. Under the modern spelling the word is also used in the sense of " caring, presiding over, or superintending," by the Four Masters, as in the following passage.

A. D. 1174. Flann .ı. Floṗenċ Ua Ʒoṗmáın, aıṗo-ḟeaṗ lecchınn Aṗoa Macha aʒuṗ Eṗenn uıle, ṗaoı eṗʒna, eolaċ, ıṗ ın eaccna oıaóa, aʒuṗ ooṁanoa, ıaṗ m·beıé blıaóaın aṗ ṗıċıċ ı b-Fṗancaıb aʒuṗ ı Saxaıb acc ṗoccláım, aʒuṗ ṗıche blıaóan ele aʒ fṗıochnaṁ aʒuṗ aʒ ṗollaṁnacchaó ṗcol Eṗenn, aċ baċ co ṗoınṁeaċ ıṗ ın Ceaċċaoın ṗıa ʒ-Cuıṗʒ ıaṗṗ an ṗeaċċmoʒao blıaóaın a aoıṗı.

Thus translated by Colgan:

" 1174. *B. Florentius Gormanus, Archimagister, seu supremus moderator scholæ Ardmachanæ, ac omnium totius Hiberniæ Doctor egregius, in diuinis & humanis scientijs peritissimus; postquam annis viginti uno in Franciâ et Angliâ operam studijs nauasset, & aliis posteà viginti annis scholas Hiberniæ tanquam Præfectus rexisset, ipsâ feriâ quartâ ante Dominicam Resurrectionis, piè in Domino obdormiuit."—Trias Thaum.* p 310.

The reader has now materials laid before him from which to judge, whether Vallancey was justified in stating that the above passage in Cormac's Glossary refers to the Round Tower of Kildare, or to the Christian St. Bridget, and that ba ṗo án a fṗıċʒnaṁ means " very great was her Afrion tower, or house of benediction."

General Vallancey next tells us that " the pagan Irish worshipped *Crom cruait*, the same god *Soraster* adored, in fire, first on moun-tains, then in caves, and lastly in towers : this fire-worship, says Irish history, was introduced by a certain *draoi*, named *Midhghe*, a corruption of *Magiusch*, which in Persian signifies, nailed by the ears," &c.

On this I have to remark, that, as I have already stated, Irish history says nothing about the worship of fire *in towers*, nor that Crom Cruait (*rectè* Crom Cruach) was worshipped in fire in any manner, but on the contrary, that he was worshipped under the form of a large idol ornamented with gold and silver, and surrounded by twelve lesser ones of brass, typical emblems, as it might be conjec-tured, of the sun and the twelve signs of the zodiac. See the legend given in full in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, as published by

Colgan in Trias Thaum. p. 133.   Neither does Irish history state
that fire-*worship* was introduced by a certain *draoi*, or Druid, named
Midhghe, though it must be confessed, that an inference to that effect
might be drawn from the romantic history of the first colonies of
Ireland, in which it is stated, that on the landing of the Nemedians,—
the second colony after the deluge,—who came hither from Greece, a
certain Druid, named *Midhe*, lighted the first fire for them in the terri-
tory of Meath, which is said to have thence received its name from
him; and that all this colony were obliged to pay him and his suc-
cessors a tribute for the liberty of lighting their fires annually from
this original fire.   This story is preserved in the Book of Leinster,
a vellum MS. of the twelfth century, in the Library of Trinity Col-
lege, Dublin, H. 2. 18, fol. 157, *a, b* ; and, whatever may have been the
origin of the custom, it appears, from a statement in another ancient
MS. in the same library, to have been perpetuated even long after
the introduction of Christianity into the country.   As the passage to
which I refer has not been hitherto noticed, and will throw a curious
light on the nature of this custom and the history of the times, I shall
present it to the reader in this place:

Clactga, ona, Muma vo nich h-1, ocur ir iac maccpaig Muman vo comevav
Clactga co n-a cenncaib, con nach vencaí ceine v'pavov a n-Epinv no co ceannaig-
cea uacha-rum h-1; ocur repepall oip gacha h-aen chuaiche a n-Epinn voib ap
in ceinio; miach cruichneachca ocur corc ap cach prim-ceallach a n-Epinn vo
comapba Mive ap in ceinaiv rin, .1. O'Cainvealbain.

" TLACHTGHA; Munster celebrated it (i. e. its fair) and it was the youths of Muns-
ter that kept Tlachtgha with its fires, so that no fire was lighted in Erin until it was
purchased from them; and a screpall of gold was paid them out of every territory in
Erin for the fire ; a sack of wheat and a hog from every chief hearth in Erin to the
Comharba of Midhe (Meath), i. e. O'Caindealbhain (O'Quinlan), for this fire."—Class
H. 3. 17, p. 732.

In addition to the passages which I have already quoted from
General Vallancey, there are many others connected with his hypo-
thesis on the Round Towers, interspersed through his works, which,
as being wholly of a visionary etymological character in reference to
the local names of Towers, I do not feel it necessary to notice in this
place, as I shall present them to the reader, in connexion with the
Towers to which they refer, in the third part of this work.   There
is still, however, one point which it is incumbent on me to notice,
namely, the supposed similarity which the Persian and Hindoo fire-

temples, bear to the Irish Round Towers; and, as this similarity has been much dwelt upon by subsequent writers, and appears to have had considerable weight with them, it will be well to put the reader more fully in possession of the facts on which it rests. They are thus stated by General Vallancey:

" Mr. Pennant, speaking of the Polygars of the Circars of India, says, ' All the people of this part of India are *Hindoos*, and retain the *old religion*, with all its superstition. This makes the pagodas here much more numerous than in any other part of the peninsula. *Their form too is different*, being chiefly buildings of a cylindrical, or *round tower shape*, with their tops either pointed, or truncated at the summit, and ornamented with something eccentrical, but frequently with a *round ball* stuck on a spike; this ball seems intended to represent the SUN, an emblem of the deity of the place.'—(View of Hindoostan, V. II. p. 123.)"—vol. vi. pp. 133, 134.

" Hanway, in his travels into Persia, says, there are yet four temples of the *Guebres*, or worshippers of fire, who formerly inhabited all this waste. It seemed inconsistent, that the Persians suffered these temples to remain unmolested, after the abolition of a religion, which they now esteem grossly idolatrous; but they are made of most durable materials. These edifices are round, and above thirty feet diameter, raised in height to a point near one hundred and twenty feet."—*Ib.* p. 137.

" In the *Histoire des descouvertes dans la Russe et la Perse*, there is an account of many round towers, said by the inhabitants to be the work of very remote times. At Bulgari, not nine wersts distant from the Wolga, where our Aire-Coti first settled under *Casair*, the most remarkable of the ancient buildings, says Pallas, is a round tower, called *Misger*, which appears to be a corruption of ﻣﺰﮔﻲ muzgi, signifying, to make the holy fire burn bright (Richardson).

" In the midst of the ruins of *Kasimof*, on the Oha which falls into the Wolga, is a round and elevated tower, a sort of temple of stone and bricks, called in their language *Misquir* (Guthrie).

" In the country of the Kisti and Ingushti, very ancient nations of Caucasus, most of the villages have a round tower."—*Ib.* p. 145.

" Lord Valentia, in his late Travels in the East Indies, met with two round towers near to each other, 1 mile N. W. of Bhaugulpour; he was much pleased with the sight of them, as they resembled those Towers in Ireland, which have puzzled the antiquaries of Ireland—' but they are a little more ornamented—the door about the same height from the ground. It is singular, says he, that there is no tradition concerning them. The Rajah of Jyenegar considers them as *holy*, and has erected a small building to shelter the great number of his subjects, who annually come to worship here. I have given an engraving of them, adds his lordship, as I think them curious.' "—*Account of the Stone Amphitheatre, &c.*, p. 41.

Of these extracts I may observe generally, that with the single exception of that from Hanway relative to the four towers of the Guebres, none of them prove that the towers noticed may not have been—what is far more probable—ancient Mahometan minarets, or,

belfries of the early Christians ; and, with regard to Hanway's in-
stance, on which so much stress has been laid, it may be remarked,
that even supposing these towers to have been erected for the purpose
stated—a thing after all very doubtful—yet no point of *exact* con-
formity between them and the Irish Towers has been established,
excepting that of rotundity; while, on the other hand, the Persian
towers are proved to differ essentially from the Irish, in being nearly
three times their average diameter.   This want of established agree-
ment was so strongly felt by Dr. Lanigan, that notwithstanding his
zeal in supporting Vallancey's hypothesis, he is obliged to confess a
wish that Hanway had been more particular in his description.   On
this subject Dr. Ledwich has made the following judicious remarks :

   " Our author begins his career by affirming our towers to be the same as the Per-
sian Pyratheïa, and that merely from Mr. Hanway's saying there were round towers
in the country of the Gaurs.   Now if the Gaurs came hither, their monuments would
have been similar to those described by Strabo, which 'were inclosures of great com-
pass [ἀξιόλογοι worthy of mention, egregious], in the middle were altars, and on them
the Magi preserved much ashes and a perpetual fire.'   The Greek words throw not the
smallest light on the figure of the Pyratheïa, much less can it be inferred they were of
lime and stone, or of the altitude of our towers.   Even Hyde, from whom he takes the
shape of the modern Parsee fire-temples, would have informed him, that the ancient
Persians had no temples, nor even a name for them in their language.   What the
Parsees now use were taken from Christian or Mahometan archetypes."

   " ' Nulla erant templa veterum Persarum, quippe qui omnia sua sacra sub dio
peragebant, ideoque in sua religione et lingua non habebant templi nomen.'   Hyde de
Relig. vet. Pers. p. 359."—*Antiquities*, p. 166.

   To these remarks I shall only add, that I am far from wishing to
deny that a remarkable conformity is to be found between many of
the Round Towers noticed by travellers, whether Christian or Ma-
hometan, and our Irish Towers; but on the contrary, hope to make
that conformity more evident, and to be able to show, in the con-
cluding section of this inquiry, that they are all equally derived from
the same source, namely, the early Christians.

   In connexion with this hypothesis of the Persian origin of the
Round Towers, and their use as fire-temples, I have next to notice the
opinions of Mr. Beauford, another English antiquary, who was cotem-
porary with Vallancey, and one of the learned Triumvirate of Irish
antiquaries, who were permitted to publish their works in the *Col-
lectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*.   This gentleman's opinions are given
under the word CLOGHADH, in an Essay on the ancient Topography

of Ireland, published in the eleventh number of that work, and are as follows :

" CLOGHADH, or *Clogha*, the Hiberno-celtic name of those slender round towers at this day found in several parts of Ireland. The word is derived from the old Irish *Tlachgo* from *Tlacht*, the earth or universe. The Druidic temples of Vesta in which were kept the sacred or eternal fire, were called *Tlachgo* or temples of Cybele, being of the same construction with the *Pyrathea* of the ancient Persians, and the *Chammia* of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, some of which are still remaining in Persia and Bulgaria. The Hibernian Druids erected these temples in their sanctuaries, as is evident from the ruins of several still remaining in different parts of the kingdom, particularly at Ballynasliebh in the County of Kilkenny, Navan near Armagh, &c. They were constructed of rock stone without cement, and were of the same diameter with those towers now remaining, but to what altitude they were carried is not certain; little more than the foundations being now visible. After the establishment of christianity in Ireland, among a number of Druic [Druidic] superstitions, the sacred or eternal fires were preserved for several centuries, and the *Tlachgo* by the christian clergy removed from the sanctuaries of paganism to those of the true faith, and became appurtenances to churches and monasteries, though still retaining their ancient denomination of *Tlachgo* or temples of Vesta. On the abolition of these fires, about the twelfth century, and the introduction of bells, the *Tlachgo* were in general converted into belfries, whence the modern name for a bell in Irish is *clogh*, from being placed in the *Tlachgo* or vestal temples. As these round towers are neither found in Britain or the European continent, they were most probably introduced into this island by the Persian Magi or Gaürs, who in the time of Constantine the Great ran over the world, carrying in their hands *censors* containing the holy fire; ascerting their God should destroy all other Gods, which in some measure they effected by lighting fires under them, thereby burning those of wood and melting those of metal. In this period the christian religion had made considerable progress in the southern and western parts of Europe, but in Ireland druidic superstition remaining in its original purity, whose tenets not being widely different from those of the Gaürs, these pagan philosophers found a ready assent to their doctrines; whence Pyratheias or vestal towers became universal throughout the island, in the place of the ancient *Tlachgo*, which we have shewn under that word were mounts of stone containing the remains of their ancient heroes, and on which fires were occasionally lighted from the sacred vaults at the times of sacrifice. The *Cloghadh* now remaining in Ireland were all erected by the christian clergy, and are none of them older probably than the beginning of the seventh century, nor none of a later date than the close of the eleventh, though evidently derived from structures of a similar nature used by the pagan priests; they were however continued as belfries to the close of the fourteenth century, for which reason a belfry in the Irish language is termed *Cloghadh*, from being originally temples of *Tlacht*. Ware Ant. Dufrene's Gloss. tom. 3. Jurieu's critical Hist. of the Church, vol. 2."—vol. iii. pp. 308—310.

On the preceding statement it will be sufficient to observe, that the story of the Gaurs, or Persian Magi, overrunning Europe in the

reign of Constantine, is altogether a fabrication of the author's own, and that the ecclesiastical historian, Jurieu, to whom he refers as his authority, states nothing from which such an inference could be drawn. The passages in Jurieu's Critical History of the Church, on which this mendacious statement was founded, are given by Vallancey in the fourth volume of his Collectanea [pp. 406, 407], who enjoyed a triumph in exposing the dishonesty of his former literary associate. Mr. Beauford's statements with respect to the derivation of the word Cloghad from Tlachgo, of the original Round Towers having been constructed of rock stone without cement, and of the ruins of several of those still remaining being of the same diameter with the Round Towers now remaining, are given without any authority, and are pure fallacies. And the statement as to the conversion of these Towers into belfries, on the introduction of bells about the twelfth century, is equally fallacious, as it is certain from the whole body of our ecclesiastical history, that bells were in use in Ireland from the period of the first introduction of Christianity into the country, as I shall show in its proper place.

I have next to notice the arguments in support of this hypothesis of the eastern origin of the Towers, of a writer who was greatly superior in solid learning, honesty, and general acuteness, to any of those, whose reasonings I have hitherto combated, namely Dr. Lanigan, the able author of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. That such a writer should have followed in a track so visionary as that of Vallancey, can only be accounted for by his slight acquaintance with the subject of architectural antiquities. His reasonings are as follows:

" The great similarity of these towers in the interior of Hindostan to our Irish Round towers has convinced me, that, as my worthy and learned friend General Vallancey had long endeavoured to establish in various tracts of his, that this mode of architecture was introduced into Ireland in the times of paganism by a people, who came to this country from some far distant part of the East. The patterns, from which the construction of our towers was imitated, were most probably the fire-temples of the Persians and others, who followed the Magian religion as reformed by Zerdusht, or, as he is usually called, Zoroastres. Those temples were usually round, and some of them were raised to a great height. That fire was in pagan times an object of worship, or, at least, great veneration in Ireland, and particularly the sun, which was considered the greatest of all fires, is an indubitable fact. Now the lower part of an Irish Round tower might have answered very well for a temple, that is, a place in which was an altar, on which the sacred fire was preserved, while the middle floors could have served as habitations for the persons employed in watching it. The highest part of the

Tower was an observatory intended for celestial observations, as, I think, evidently appears from the four windows being placed directly opposite to the four cardinal points. The veneration in which the pagan Irish held the heavenly bodies and, above all, the sun, must have led them to apply to astronomical pursuits, which were requisite also for determining the length of their years, the solstitial and equinoctial times, and the precise periods of their annual festivals. I find it stated, that the doors of most of these towers face the West. If this be correct, it will add an argument to show, that they contained fire-temples ; for the Magians always advanced from the West side to worship the fire. According to this hypothesis the Round towers existed in Ireland before churches were built. I see no reason to deny, that they did ; and the particular style of their construction shows, that they are very ancient. But then, it is said, how does it happen, that they are usually found near old churches ? In the first place this is not universally true. Secondly it is to be observed, that these towers used to be built in towns or villages of some note, such, in fact, as required churches in Christian times. Thus, wherever there was a Round tower, a church was afterwards erected ; but not *vice versa*, whereas there were thousands of churches in Ireland without any such towers in the vicinity of them. Thirdly, there was a prudential motive for the teachers of Christian faith to build churches near the sites of the Round towers, that they might thereby attract their new converts to worship the true God in the very places, where they had been in the practice of worshipping the sun and fire. It may be, that some of these towers were built after the establishment of christianity in Ireland for penitential purposes, as already alluded to, although I have some doubts about it ; but I think it can scarcely be doubted, that the original models, according to which they were constructed, belong to the times of paganism, and that the singular style of architecture, which we observe in them, was brought from the East, between which and this country it is certain that there was an intercourse at a very ancient period of time."—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 406—408.

In this laboured and ingenious effort to establish a theory on insufficient data, there appears a consciousness of the weakness of the proofs on which it rests. A very few words will, I think, shew that they amount to nothing.

In the first place, granting even that the Persians at a particular period may have worshipped fire in rotundos of above 30 feet diameter, which might have answered very well for the purpose, it does by no means necessarily follow that the ancient Irish must have done so likewise in towers of nine or ten feet in diameter, which would not be at all adapted to such a purpose. Besides, I must repeat, there is not even a shadow of proof that the Irish worshipped fire at all *in towers.* " The lower part," he gravely states, " *would* have answered very well for a fire-temple," and, as he adds in a note, " to guard against the objection that might be made of how those covered temples were kept free from smoke, that might easily be contrived by the help of the loop-holes which we find in them, or of *the door.*" Now as the

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fact is that no loop-holes, or other apertures, are ever found in the lower part of the Towers, except the doorways, the latter must have been the only expedient; and it is one, I confess, so truly Irish, that I am forced to acknowledge the strength of the argument which it furnishes, and am only surprised that the Doctor did not think of strengthening it by an allusion to the known perpetuation of the custom among the fire-worshippers still remaining in Ireland.

Secondly, as to its appearing evident, " that the highest part of the tower was an observatory intended for celestial observations, from the four windows being placed directly opposite to the four cardinal points," it is to be observed, that the four windows do not *always* face the cardinal points, nor do the windows always consist of the number four. In some instances, as shall be hereafter shewn, they are fewer than that in number, and in many instances more. Besides, to make celestial observations from windows a foot or two wide in a wall three or four feet thick, would be manifestly impossible.

Equally incorrect is the assertion, that the doorway in most of the Towers faces the west: on the contrary it most generally faces the east, but it is also sometimes found facing the north-east and south-east, its situation, in fact, depending altogether, as I shall hereafter shew, on the position of the Tower with reference to the church with which it was originally connected. The fact, therefore, that the Magians always advanced from the west side to worship the fire, does not furnish an argument to prove, that the Irish Towers were fire-temples.

Dr. Lanigan next says, that he sees no reason to deny that the Round Towers existed before Christianity, and that their style proves them very ancient. To this I reply, that I see every reason to deny that they did so, for not the slightest evidence has ever been adduced to prove, that the Irish were acquainted with the art of building with lime cement before they received the Christian faith; and the architecture or masonry of the towers and that of the ancient churches erected before the twelfth century, of which some hundreds still exist, is the same in every respect, as I shall hereafter shew.

After this, he says, it is not universally true that the Towers are found near old churches; but in this he also errs, as shall be shewn in the proper place : they are, without a single exception, found near old churches, or where churches are known to have existed.

Finally, he argues that it was the policy of the Christians to build their churches near the ancient fire-temples, and that the Round Towers, having been built in *towns*, or villages of some note, required churches in Christian times. Why, then, I may ask, are not churches found near the Pagan altars or cromleacs, which, Vallancey states, were also dedicated to the sun? But, in truth, if the Doctor, who was so well acquainted with the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, had reflected a little before he allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal in support of a favourite theory, he would have been ashamed to make this assertion; for he must have known, that so far from the churches adjacent to Round Towers having been built in places in which, previously to the introduction of Christianity, there had been " towns or villages of note," they were, in most instances, erected in the most desolate and unfrequented places that could be found; as the words " Cluain" and " Disert," prefixed so generally to their names, sufficiently indicate, and the lives of their founders incontestibly prove. It was, in fact, the monasteries that usually gave birth to the towns, not the towns to the monasteries; and the destruction which fell upon the primitive establishments has, in most instances, been followed by the decline of these, their constant appendages.

As to the argument that there were thousands of churches in Ireland, without Round Towers in their vicinity, it hardly deserves notice. It was not every religious establishment that could afford to erect a round tower belfry, or that might require one; and I will hereafter shew, from the annals and other authorities, that very many cloigteachs, or Round Towers, existed in Ireland, which are no longer to be found.

Let the reader now judge how far Dr. Lanigan had solid ground for his final conclusion, viz. " that it can scarcely be doubted that the original models, according to which they were constructed, belong to the times of Paganism, and that the singular style of architecture which we observe in them was brought from the East."

The arguments in support of this hypothesis adduced by Miss Beaufort, in her very elaborate and valuable " Essay upon the State of Architecture and Antiquities previous to the landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland," are much less tangible than those I have just examined, and rest almost entirely on the supposed Persian origin of

the Irish, and the consequent agreement in manners, customs, and religion between the ancient ' Iran and Erin.' "   This talented lady, indeed, following in the track of Vallancey, has been indefatigable in reading the travels of Eastern tourists, in search of evidence to support his views, but the new instances which she has gleaned from their works, of towers in the East, always excepting the minarets, have scarcely any agreement with those in the West, and, also excepting Hanway's eternally quoted instance of the " Rotundos of the Ghebers," all the supposed temples of the Fire-worshippers present forms which have not the slightest similitude to the Round Towers of Ireland.

Miss Beaufort's etymological evidences shall be examined in their proper places, in the course of this investigation, but a few general assertions, which she has hazarded, seem to require particular examination here—an examination which, however, I must say, from feelings of respect for the talents and acquirements of that estimable lady, I should gladly have avoided entering on, if the course of this investigation did not demand it, and if silence on the arguments and authorities which she has adduced might not, perhaps, be taken as evidence of inability to refute them, or, what I should still more regret, of a want of proper respect for the value of her labours.

The assertions to which I have alluded are as follows :

1. " The object for which the towers were built is distinctly mentioned in the ancient history called the Psalter of Cashel, and that of Tara to be for the preservation of the sacred fires of Baal, ' the Baal-Theine.'

2. " It is stated in the Psalter of Tara, that in the year A. D. 79, there was a solemn convocation at Tara, where it was ordained that the sacred fire should be exhibited from the tower of Thlachtga in Munster, and from all other fire repositories, on the thirty-first of October; and that if by any accident the holy flame had been extinguished, it should be relighted from thence.   It was also enacted that a tower for fire should be built in each of the other provinces of Connaught, Leinster, Meath, and Ulster; and a tax called Scraball equal to about three-pence per head, was laid upon all adults to provide a fund for that purpose. (Psalter of Tara, by Comerford, p. 41.— Cited Parochial Surveys, III. p. 319.—A genuine copy of this Psalter is said to be now in the British Museum.—Trans. Iberno Celtic Society, p. xxii.)

3. " Fire worship having been persevered in by the King Lugaid, the son of Laogaire, his death by lightning was considered as a direct punishment from heaven for having preserved the Baal-Thiene in opposition to the preaching of St. Patrick. (Psalter of Cashel, p. 68. Cited Parochial Surveys, III. p. 320. The original Psalter of Cashel is now in the British Museum. Ibid. p. LX.)

4. " It is recorded in Irish history that Rosa Failgee, the son of Cathair More,

who was made monarch of all Ireland, A. D. 175, was a prince deeply learned in all the knowledge of his times, and that he built the tower of Rosenallis, which derives its name from him, a proof of the antiquity of this tower at least. (Parochial Surveys, III. p. 328.)"—*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xv. pp. 206, 207.

These bold assertions would seem sufficient to set the question for ever at rest, and with uninquiring readers, must doubtless have had great weight; but, I beg leave to ask, where are either the Psalters of Cashel or Tara now to be found? Miss Beaufort answers, " in the British Museum," and gives as her authority for the fact, the Transactions of the Iberno-Celtic Society. But that work, which was compiled by my friend, the late Mr. O'Reilly, merely states, that they are *said* to be in that national depository; and, speaking of the Psalter of Tara, he adds, "*perhaps not truly*." Well, indeed, might he make that admission, for there is not the least evidence to support such a hearsay, as he was himself obliged in conversation to confess to me.

It may, however, be very properly said that, though no entire copies of those celebrated works can now be found, authenticated extracts may exist, which should be taken as evidence; and that Miss Beaufort's authorities may be of this description. Let us inquire, then, how far they are worthy of attention.

1. For the first assertion, that the object for which the Towers were built,—namely, the preservation of the sacred fire—is distinctly mentioned in the Psalters of Cashel and Tara, Miss Beaufort gives no authority, and I might, therefore, let it pass without observation. But it is worthy of remark, that in the curious and valuable ancient Irish Glossary of Cormac Mac Cullenan, the supposed compiler of the Psalter of Cashel, the word *Bell-tinne* is explained in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of supposing that writer could connect the May-fires of the Druids with towers of any kind.

ბellᴄaɩne .ɩ. bɩl-ᴄene .ɩ. ᴄene bɩl .ɩ. ᴄene ɼoɩɱɱeᴄ .ɩ. ᴅa ᴄene ɼoɩɱɱeᴄ ᴅo ʒnɩᴄɩɼ na ᴅɼaɩᴄe co ᴄɩnᴄeᴄlaɩb moɼaɩb ɼoɼaɩb, ocuɼ ᴅo beɼoɩɼ na ceᴄɼa eᴄuɼa aɼ ᴄeᴅ-manouɩb cecha blɩaᴏna.

" *Belltaine*, i. e. *bil-tene*, i. e. *tene bil*, i. e. the goodly fire, i. e. two goodly fires, which the Druids were used to make, with great incantations on them, and they used to bring the cattle between them, against the diseases of each year."

A somewhat different explanation of the Baal-tinne is given in another MS. in Trinity College (H. 3. 18, p. 596), but, as will be seen, it makes no more allusion to Towers than that already quoted:

Ƀelꞇaɩne, .ı. Ƀel-ʋíne : bel, ʋaꞃ, aɩnm ʋo ɩʋal: ɩꞃ ann ʋo ꞓaɩꞃꞃealbꞓa ʋíne cacha ceꞓꞃa ꞃoꞃ ꞃeɩlɃ Ƀhéɩl; *unde* Ƀelꞇɩne. Ho, Ƀelꞇɩne .ı. Ƀɩl-ꞇɩne .ı. ꞇene ꞇ-ꞃoɩnmeaꞓ .ı. ʋa ꞓenɩʋ ʋo ᵹníʋíꞃ Ʋꞃuɩʋ co ꞇɩnceꞇlaɩɃ moꞃa, ocuꞃ ʋe léᵹʋíꞃ na ceꞓꞃa eꞇaꞃꞃu aꞃ ꞇeʋmanʋaɩɃ cacha blɩaʋna.

"*Beltaine*, i. e. *Bel-dine: Bel* was the name of an idol: it was on it [i. e. the festival] that a couple of the young of every cattle were exhibited as in the possession of *Bèl; unde Beltine.* Or, *Beltine*, i. e. *Bil-tine*, i. e. the goodly fire, i. e. two goodly fires, which the Druids were used to make with great incantations, and they were used to drive the cattle between them against the diseases of each year."

It may be remarked, that remnants of this ancient custom, in perhaps a modified form, still exist in the May-fires lighted in the streets and suburbs of Dublin, and also in the fires lighted on St. John's Eve in all other parts of Ireland. The *Tinne Eigen* of the Highlands, of which Dr. Martin gives the following account, is probably a remnant of it also, but there is no instance of such fires being lighted in towers or houses of any description :

"The Inhabitants here [Isle of Skye] did also make use of a Fire call'd *Tin-Egin*, (i. e.) a forced Fire, or Fire of necessity, which they used as an Antidote against the *Plague* or *Murrain* in Cattle; and it was performed thus : All the Fires in the Parish were extinguish'd, and eighty one marry'd Men, being thought the necessary number for effecting this Design, took two great Planks of Wood, and nine of 'em were employ'd by turns, who by their repeated Efforts rubb'd one of the Planks against the other untill the Heat thereof produced Fire; and from this forc'd Fire each Family is supplied with new Fire, which is no sooner kindled, than a Pot full of water is quickly set on it, and afterwards sprinkled upon the People infected with the Plague, or upon cattle that have the Murrain. And this they all say they find successful by Experience."—*Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*—(second edition), p. 113.

2. As authority for Miss Beaufort's second assertion, relative to the Tower of Thlachtga, &c., we are referred to the "Psalter of Tara, by Comerford, p. 41, cited in the Parochial Survey, Vol. III. p. 320."; and certainly in the latter work we do find a passage in nearly the same words which Miss Beaufort uses. But if the lady had herself referred to Comerford's little work, she would have discovered, that the author of the article in the Parochial Survey had in reality no authority for his assertions, and had attempted a gross imposition on the credulity of his readers. The passage in Comerford is as follows :

"A. D. 79. This prince [Tuathal Teachtmar], as soon as he was in quiet possession of the throne, convened the general assembly of Tarah, where several wise regulations were made for the better governing the state. It was by the authority of this assembly, that Tuathal separated a tract of land from each province, and made the

country of Meath, as it appears at this day; he also erected *a stately palace* in each
of these proportions, viz. in that of Munster, *the palace of Tlachtga*, where the fire of
Tlachtga was ordained to be kindled, on the 31 of October, to summon the priests
and augurs to consume the sacrifices offered to their gods; and it was also ordained,
that no other fire should be kindled in the kingdom that night [*P. of Tara*, in margin],
so that the fire to be used in the country, was to derive from this fire, for which privi-
lege the people were to pay a scraball, which amounts to three-pence, every year, as an
acknowledgment to the king of munster. *The second palace* was in that of Connaught,
where the inhabitants were assembled once a year upon the first of May, to offer
sacrifices to the principal deity of the island, under the name of Beul, which was called
the Convocation of Visneach; and on account of this meeting, the King of Connaught
had, from every lord of a mannor or chieftain of lands, a horse and arms. The third was
at Tailtean, in the portion of Ulster, where the inhabitants of the kingdom brought
their children, when of age, and treated with one another about their marriage. From
this custom the king of Ulster demanded an ounce of silver from every couple married
here. The fourth was the *palace* of Teamhair or Tarah, which originally belong'd to
the province of Leinster, and where the states of the kingdom met in a parliamentary
way."—*History of Ireland*, pp. 49, 50.—Second edit. pp. 41, 42.

Where, in the above extract, do we find even the slightest men-
tion of fire-towers, or a word from which an inference could possibly
be drawn that they ever had an existence in Ireland? Palaces are
spoken of, not towers; and there is not even a vestige of a tower, or
ancient stone building of any kind, now to be found at any of the four
places mentioned; and it will further appear, by a reference to my
essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara, that no tower of this
kind was known to the most ancient authorities to have ever existed
there. Even as to the marginal reference to the Psalter of Tara, it
is of no account whatever, for the writer, Comerford, was quite igno-
rant of Irish authorities, his whole work being nothing more than
an abridgment of the English translation of Keating's Ireland, in
which, however, no such marginal reference occurs. An allusion,
indeed, is made in the latter work to this Psalter, but it is only to
state, in describing the Palace of Tara, that the pedigrees, &c., were
there transcribed into the royal records. See this question examined
at length in my essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara.

But it should also be observed, that Keating, in this very account
of the four palaces of Tuathal, which Comerford has abridged, clearly
shows that the fires lighted at the convocation of Uisneach, on the
first of May, could not have been in *towers*, for he states that " upon
this occasion they were used to kindle two fires in every territory of
the kingdom in honour of the Pagan God" (Baal), and that " it was a

solemn ceremony, at this time, to drive a number of cattle between these fires ; this was conceived to be an antidote and a preservation against the Murrain, or any other pestilential distemper among cattle, for the year following."—*Keating's General History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 326, Dublin edition, 1813.

3. For Miss Beaufort's third assertion, that " the death of King Lugaid was considered as a direct punishment from heaven for having preserved the Baal-Theine in opposition to the preaching of St. Patrick," we are referred to the " Psalter of Cashel, p. 68.—Cited Parochial Surveys, III. p. 320." The Parochial Survey does, it is true, refer for its authority for this assertion to the Psalter of Cashel, but it is only as quoted by Comerford, in page 68 of his history ; and, on referring to that page in the latter, we find no mention whatever either of the Psalter or of the *Baal-theine*. The passage referred to is as follows:

" This prince (Lughaidh) was killed by a thunderbolt, as a punishment from heaven, for opposing the preaching of St. Patrick."—*Comerford*, second edition, p. 68.

4. Lastly, Miss Beaufort asserts, that " it is recorded in Irish history that Rosa Failgee, the son of Cathair More, who was made monarch of all Ireland, A. D. 175....., built the tower of Rosenallis, which derives its name from him, a proof of the antiquity of this tower at least:" and, as authority for this statement, she refers us to the Parochial Surveys, vol. iii. p. 328. It will be seen, however, on reference to the authority quoted, not only that it states nothing of the kind, but also that, even if it had, the authority of a writer so utterly unacquainted with Irish history and chronology should be held as of no value whatsoever. The passage is as follows :

" The village of Rosenallis, is said to derive its name from Rossa Failgea, eldest son of Cathaoir More—Charles the Great. The father being in his own hereditary right King of Leinster, was elected supreme monarch on the decease of Fedlimus Legifer, anno Christi 175. He attained to this high dignity by his many and great virtues, but chiefly by his bold and successful opposition to the Danes [!], who piratically infested the coasts, though they had not yet attempted an invasion: he was distinguished by his impartial justice and heroic valour, till he fell in the memorable battle of Tailten. This monarch had many sons, polygamy being then tolerated, and Rossa his eldest and favourite, was deeply skilled in the learning of these days. He is *said to have built* the round tower mentioned in sec. IV."

Let us now turn to the section referred to, and we shall find the following passage:

" Rosenallis has the ruins of an old church that was dedicated to the Virgin Mary : the inhabitants still observe the 1st of February, in commemoration of their patroness. A round tower, connected with the ruins of Rosenallis, still remains."—pp. 319, 320.

It will be seen that all this is given on the writer's own authority, without any reference to Irish records whatsoever; nor is there a word in Irish history that would warrant assertions so absurdly fallacious. What, for instance, would be thought of that Irish history, if it stated, that the coasts of Ireland were infested by the Danes in 175, when the name of Dane is unknown to all authentic historians for several centuries later. This writer tells us, that Rossa Failgea *is said* to have built the Tower of Rosenallis, but he has not shown that Irish history says so, or given us any authority for such an assertion but his own. Neither has he given us any authority for the equally absurd statement, that Rosenallis derives its name from Rossa Failgea; nor is there any reason whatever to suppose that the name was so derived. He is not even correct in his statement as to the patroness of the old church with which the Tower was connected, and which he tells us was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the inhabitants still observing the first of February in commemoration of their patroness. The writer should have known that none of the festival days of the Virgin Mary falls on that day, which is so well known to the Roman Catholics in Ireland as the festival day of St. Bridget, that they have no other name to express this day than Lá ꝼéile bpíʒoe, i. e. the day of the festival of Bridget: and that it was to this great patroness of Ireland the church of Rosenallis was dedicated, and probably owed its origin, and not to the Virgin Mary, we have sufficient evidence from the work of Colgan, the learned editor of her published lives, who, in his 16th chapter—"De Ecclesiis & locis S. Brigidæ in Hibernia dicatis,"—inserts this very church in the following words : "*Templum S. Brigidæ* in vico de Rosfinnglas in Hyriegain." And this leads us to the true etymology of the name of which Rosenallis is a corruption, and not of Rossa Failgea, as this writer absurdly states. Rop ꝼinnʒlap signifies the wood or shrubbery of the bright stream. It is true that Colgan also gives it, in the same list, under its Anglicized name as if it were a different one, thus : " Ros-annlluis Eccl: par: Diec. Killdarien. in Decanatu de Kill-eich, vel rectius Kill-achuidh." But this error, if it be one, of supposing that the places were not the same, can easily be accounted for in a writer living out of the coun-

try, and depending for his information on the lists of the churches and parishes dedicated to St. Bridget sent him by the Roman Catholic prelates of the several dioceses.   There can be no doubt, however, that Ros Finnglas and Rosenallis are the same name, from the intimation given of *Templum Brigidæ* being in the village of Ros Finnglas in Hyriegain, as there was at the time no other village in that ancient territory.

I have dwelt at greater length on these erroneous statements in Miss Beaufort's valuable Essay than I, and perhaps the reader, could have wished; it will, however, render unnecessary any lengthened examination of the proofs, advanced in support of this hypothesis in the more recent essay by Mr. D'Alton—the evidences relied on being often the same in both.   Besides, Miss Beaufort's authority has added weight to those evidences, and even increased the difficulty of sifting them.   Thus, when Mr. D'Alton states that " the Psalter of Cashel *expressly declares* that they (the Towers) were used for the preservation of the sacred fire" (p. 139), he judiciously refers us to Miss Beaufort's Essay; and that lady refers us to the inferior authority of a Parochial Survey; and that again, in regular progression downwards, cites an abridged history of no character, in which, after all, no such statement is to be found!   And thus, if any reader should, in the face of such bold assertion, still feel disposed to be sceptical, he would—if unaccustomed to the mode in which, unfortunately, antiquarian questions are so often investigated—find himself entangled in a net, out of which he might have neither opportunity nor inclination to extricate himself.

One or two assertions of Mr. D'Alton's own, relative to the supposed antiquity of the Towers, must not, however, be allowed to pass without observation.   These assertions are :

1. That " the Irish Annals can alone support the investigation, and in the most ancient of these *the Round Towers* are recorded."— *Essay*, p. 136.

For this statement Mr. D'Alton refers to Dr. O'Conor's Rer. Hib. Script. vol. i. Proleg. p. 2. p. ccvii., but the passage referred to does not bear out Mr. D'Alton in his assertion.   It only shows, from Irish authorities, and those *not* the ancient *Annals*, that Towers existed in Ireland at a very remote time, but offers no evidence as to their shape, or that they were of the description of those now the subject

of investigation. On the contrary, the instances quoted—the *Tor-Conaing*, *Tor-Breogan*, and the Towers of *Maghtuirreadh*, or *Campus Turrium*, in Mayo and Sligo, must, as our whole history shows, and as even Mr. D'Alton himself would be necessitated to allow, have evidently been of a totally different description. These Towers have been sufficiently preserved to our own times to enable us to ascertain their exact character, and that they were of the class of Cyclopean forts so common in this country, as I have shown in my essay on Military Architecture in Ireland.

2. After the unqualified assertion, on the authority of Miss Beaufort, that the Psalter of Cashel expressly declares that they (the Towers) were used for the preservation of the sacred fire, Mr. D'Alton adds :

" And the brief but emphatic mention of them by Giraldus Cambrensis, which Dr. Ledwich has so misquoted, does fully confirm this opinion. It occurs where he speaks of the consequences of the alleged inundation of Lough Neagh. ' It is no improbable evidence of this event, that the fishermen of that sheet of water at times *plainly behold the religious towers*, which, according to the custom of the country, are narrow, lofty, and round, immersed under the waters; and they *frequently shew* them to strangers passing over them, and wondering at the causes of the phenomenon. It is quite immaterial to the present purpose, whether or not such an inundation did actually happen. It was the opinion in Ireland at that time that it did; it was matter of history in the country, for the annals of Tigernach, which relate it, were then extant upwards of a century; and these annals, with which Giraldus must have been well acquainted, fix its date to A. D. 62, a time when he knew Christianity had not dawned in Ireland; yet he, believing the report, expressly says that these towers, denominating them " religious," were of such antiquity, that some of them might have been overwhelmed in that visitation; that the fishermen of that lake actually distinguish them under the water, (" sub undis conspiciunt,") and repeatedly shew them to strangers, (" extraneis frequenter ostendunt,") that they were towers for ecclesiastical uses, necessarily meaning for the uses of a religion general at that retrospective date, as sun-worship was, though he uses a term which in its more ordinary application is confined to Christianity, (" ecclesiasticas turres,") while he adds that they were built agreeably with the custom of Ireland, " more patriæ." Were they belfries he would naturally have termed them " campanilia," were they for any other then known Christian purpose, he would have been sure to name it; but he saw, as every one must see, that these " ecclesiasticæ turres," were for the uses of a religion peculiar to Ireland, and that part of Scotland colonized from Ireland.' "—*Essay on the Ancient History, &c. of Ireland* : Transact. R. I. A. vol. xvi. pp. 139—141.

Now, whatever may be the value of this allusion of Giraldus to the Towers, it will be obvious to every dispassionate inquirer that Mr. D'Alton has assigned to it a degree of importance, to which it is by

no means legitimately entitled.   The remark of Cambrensis was ob-
viously a mere incidental one, made without any view to the question
of the age or uses of the Towers ; and the only safe conclusion that
could be drawn from it would be, that the Towers were considered
as ancient in his time.   And, what places this beyond controversy is,
that the same writer makes a similar incidental allusion—from what-
ever cause it may be, not hitherto noticed—to the Tower of Kildare,
which still exists, and which is characterized by features of Christian
architecture that will leave no doubt of its real era : but, while he
applies to this Tower the very identical epithet,—*turris ecclesias-
tica,*—given by him to the imaginary towers of Lough Neagh, he says
not one word that would imply his supposing it of pagan times ;
whereas, his words, on the contrary, clearly show that it was then
one of a group of Christian edifices.   Mr. D'Alton, therefore, had no
ground for translating the word " *ecclesiasticas*" by " religious," or
for supposing that so skilful a Latinist as Giraldus could have used
the word in a sense alike unwarranted by its etymology, its pagan
acceptation, and its universally received meaning in his time.   The
words must be understood in their established meaning as *eccle-
siastical Towers*, that is, Towers connected with, or belonging to,
Christian churches, and in no other, because the word *ecclesia*, from
which *ecclesiasticus* is formed, was never applied by any Christian
writer but to a Christian congregation, or the building in which such
a congregation assembled.   Neither is there greater weight in Mr.
D'Alton's remarks, that were they belfries, he (Cambrensis) would
naturally have termed them " campanilia," and that were they for any
other *then* known Christian purpose, he would have been sure to
name it.   As already stated, it will be shown that these ecclesiastical
Towers were intended to serve for more than one purpose ; and
under such circumstances it would have been impossible for Cam-
brensis to have characterized them more properly than by the general
phrase which he has in both instances employed.   And, as to Mr.
D'Alton's bold assertion,—that if they were for any other *then* known
Christian purpose, he would have been sure to name it,—the reply is
obvious, that if Cambrensis had been writing a distinct treatise on
the subject he would indeed have been sure to name the purpose, or
purposes, for which the Towers had been built, whatever they might
have been, but that it would have been altogether unreasonable to

expect a detailed explanation of those purposes in an allusion merely incidental to the subject he had in hand. That Lough Neagh was indeed formed by an inundation, though not, in the way stated by Cambrensis, on the authority of a legend still applied to almost every lake in Ireland, and that this inundation actually took place in the first century, there is no reason to doubt, because it is recorded by the most ancient and trustworthy of our annalists, and the names of the very tribes, who occupied the plain so covered, are also given in very ancient documents. But it by no means follows, and indeed it is not at all probable, that Cambrensis, when he made his statement, was acquainted with such authorities, for, if he had been aware of the true circumstances and period of that inundation, he would surely have adduced them in support of the truth of his statements, rather than rest their credibility on a popular supposition, which could not be true ; and, if Mr. D'Alton will have it that he was acquainted with such authorities, he should also allow that the disgusting cause assigned by Cambrensis for this inundation was equally derived from that source, though the whole existing body of Irish literature might be searched in vain for a single evidence to show that the Irish were acquainted with the existence of, much less addicted to, such crimes as those ascribed to them by that political traducer.

That the legend of the Towers seen in Lough Neagh, was current among the Irish in the time of Cambrensis, as this writer states, I do not by any means wish to deny : they preserve it to this very day ; but with this important difference, that the architectural objects they now imagine to be visible are chimneys of houses, tops of castles, and spires of churches,—the lofty objects that are now most familiar to them—as the round belfries of earlier date were in the time of Cambrensis ; and we would have just as much reason to attach importance to the delusive imaginings of the peasantry at the present time as to those of their predecessors in ages so remote.

3. That " the Ulster Annals even mention the fall of no less than fifty-seven of these Towers in consequence of a dreadful earthquake, in A.D. 448." (O'Conor, ibid. vol. 4. p. 2). The passage referred to is as follows :

" **An. cccc xl biii.** Ingenti terremotu per loca varia imminente, plurime urbes auguste, muri, recenti adhuc re-edificatione constructi, cum lvii turribus corruerunt."

On this passage, however, which Mr. D'Alton so boldly pronounces

to relate to the Round Towers of Ireland, Dr. O'Conor, with all his zeal to support the same hypothesis of their pagan origin, only ventures in a note to propound the following conjecture:

> " Quære utrum hæc referenda sint ad turres Hiberniæ, de quibus Giraldus inquit ' arctæ sunt, et altæ, necnon et rotundæ, more patrio.' "

But, I may ask, do not the Annals of Ulster often record foreign events, and quote as their authorities the chronicles of Marcellinus, Isidorus, and Beda? and with this example of Dr. O'Conor's cautiousness before him, should it not have occurred to Mr. D'Alton, before he hazarded so confident a conclusion, that these Towers might not have been Irish, and particularly as a reference to the commonest popular works on general chronology, or universal history, would have been sufficient to enlighten him? For example, in the Chronological Tables of the Abbé Lenglet Dufresnoy at the year 446, as well as in the Universal History (vol. xvi.) at the year 447, he would have found the very same statement as that given in the Annals of Ulster, with this difference only, that these authorities designate the locality of the event as Constantinople, while the Irish annalist uses the phrase *urbs augusta*, being the title always applied by the ancient continental chroniclers to that capital of the eastern empire, and the appellation by which Constantinople is always designated in the Chronicle of Marcellinus. And what will be thought of the value of Mr. D'Alton's assertion, when it shall be shown, that if he had referred to that ancient authority he would have found, that the passage in the Ulster Annals was but a transcript, to the very letter, of the original words in Marcellinus? That the reader may see the truth of this at a glance, I here present him with the passage, first, as it appears in the edition of Marcellinus, published in the *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Parisiis, 1654 (tom. xv. p. 716, col. i. line 53), and again in the more correct edition edited by the celebrated Joseph Scaliger, and published in the *Thesaurus Temporum*, Amstelodæmi, 1658 (p. 41, col. i. line 45):

> " Ingenti terræ motu per Locaria imminente, plurimæ vrbes, Augustæ muri recenti adhuc ædificatione constructi, cum lvij. turribus corruerunt."—*Marcel. Chron. in Mag. Bibliotheca Vet. Pat.*

> " Ingenti terræ motu per loca varia imminente plurimi urbis Augustæ muri recenti adhuc reædificatione constructi, cum LVII. turribus corruerunt."—*Marcel. Chron. in Thesaur. Temp.*

It may be observed (although scarcely necessary), that the text, as given by Scaliger, is by far the more correct one; and it may be added, that the true reading of this passage is also quoted, as referring to Constantinople, in Reading's edition of Evagrius's Church History, lib. i. c. 17, note i. p. 272.

It is true indeed that the text of this passage, as published by Dr. O'Conor from the MS. in the Bodleian Library, more nearly agrees with that published in the *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Pat.*, 1654; but it is a curious fact, that the text of the College MS. copy of the Annals of Ulster, though originally the same as that in the *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Pat.*, has been corrected in a more modern hand, by interlineation, to the very reading published by Joseph Scaliger in 1658, and this apparently before either edition was published: It runs thus :

" Ano. Dni. cccc°. xl°. uiii°.

" Ingenti terræ motu per locaria [corrected by interlineation to *loca uaria*] imminente plurime [*plurimi*] urbis auguste muri recenti adhuc reædificatione constructi cum .l.uii. turribus corruerunt."

Will it be again asserted that this passage refers to the Round Towers of Ireland ?

So much, then, for the confident assertions of Mr. D'Alton. I have now to present the reader with the observations in support of this theory of the pagan origin of the Towers, adduced by a writer whose opinions on every matter connected with the ancient history and literary antiquities of Ireland are justly considered of great weight, and certainly deserve the most respectful attention; I need scarcely add, that I speak of the late Rev. Dr. Charles O'Conor. He is indeed, in my opinion, from his literary character, and the respect paid to his authority by subsequent writers even of the highest class, the only formidable supporter of this hypothesis that has hitherto appeared; and, as his works are in but few hands, and lest it might be thought that I gave his arguments but a partial examination, I shall give the whole of what he has written on this subject in his own words :

" Quod si conjecturis indulgere liceret, antiquas Turres Hibernicas, quas nonnulli, aniles fabulas sectantes, Anachoreticas appellarunt, ad umbram ita capiendam, et 4 Anni Hibernici *Rathas* sic definiendas, et præterea ad Ignem Sacram servandum, ædificatas fuisse existimarem. Earum antiquitatem Ethnicam indicat Giraldus Sæculo xii, ubi inquit extitisse eas antequam Lacus *Neach* erumperet in Ultonia. ' Piscatores Turres istas, quæ more Patriæ, *arctæ sunt*, et *altæ*, *nec non et rotundæ*, *sub undis manifeste*, *sereno tempore, conspiciunt*.' (Giraldi Topogr. Dist. 2, c. 9, p. 720.) Poterant certe

Turres istæ posterioribus Sæculis, ad Anachoreticum usum accomodari, ut in nota ad Annales IV Mag. ann. 898, et in Annalibus Inisfal. p. 148, itemque in Ultoniensibus ad Annum 996.—At in istis Annalibus appellantur *Fiadh-Nemeadh*, i. e. Indicia *Cœlestia*. Sic in Annalibus Ultoniensibus ad ann. 995—' *Tene diait do gabail Airdmacha cona-farcaibh Dertach, na Damliacc, na h Erdam, na Fidhnemead, ann cen loscadh.*'—i. e. .Fulgur corripuit Ardmacham, ita ut non relinqueret Nosocomium, nec Ecclesiam Ca-thedralem. (sive Basilicam) nec Domum Nobilem, nec Indicem Cœlestem, quod non combureret.—Eadem habet Tigernachus ad eundem annum, itemque Quatuor Magistri; excepto quod pro *Erdam*, non autem pro *Fiadh-neamead*, habent *Cloicteacha*, Campa-nilia, his verbis—' Ann. 995. *Ardmacha do loscc do tene saighnein, ettir tighib,* ꝋ *Domhu-liacc,* ꝋ *Cloicteacha,* ꝋ *a Fiadhneimhedh.*'

   " Ad hæc IV Magistrorum verba respexit Colganus in Actis, p. 297, his verbis— ' Anno 995 Ardmacha cum *Basilicis, Turribus*, aliisque omnibus ædificiis, incendio ex fulmine generato, tota vastatur.' Hæc autem versio non literalis est, neque voces explicat, neque conveniunt quæ in Annalibus nostris alibi de Campanilibus dicuntur, cum forma aut constructione Turrium antiquarum Hiberniæ. Sic, exempli causa, in Annalibus Ultoniensibus ad ann. 949, hæc leguntur—' *Cloicteach Slane do loscadh do Gall Athacliath. Bacall ind Erlamha,* ꝋ *cloc badec do cloccaibh, Caenechair Ferleghinn,* ꝋ *sochaidhe mor inbi do loscadh.*' i. e. Campanile Slanense combustum ab Alienigenis Dublinii, (a Danis) Lituus Pastoralis (sive Baculum Patroni) petris pretiosis ornatus, et Campana præcipua, et *Canecar* Prælector Scholæ, et *multi ibi* cum eo combusti.

   " Eadem referentes ad eundem annum IV Magistri aiunt—*Cloicteach Slaine do los-cadh can a lan do mhionnaibh* ꝋ *deghdhaoinibh, im Choinechair Fearleighinn Slaine, Bachall an Erlamha* ꝋ *clocc ba deach do chloccaibh.*' i. e. Campanile Slanense combustum, simul cum *pluribus rebus pretiosis, et Religiosis viris*, qui ibi erant, cum *Chonecharo* Prælectore Slanense, Baculo Patroni, (i. e. S. Erci,) et Campana omnium quæ ibi erant optima.

   " Jam vero hæc quæ de *Campanilibus* in Annalibus referuntur, minime conveniunt vel cum forma vel cum materia Turrium Hibernensium de quibus agitur. Itaque non pro Campanilibus ædificatas fuisse, sed eorum originem aliunde petendam esse mani-festum est...Non conveniunt cum forma, tam arctæ enim sunt, ut tot res pretiosas, et tot homines capere non possent, et quoad materiam, e Saxis ingentibus ædificatæ, nullibi e ligno, fulgure quidem *dejici*, sed non comburi potuerunt."—*Rer. Hib. Scriptores*, vol. i. Proleg. part i. p. xxxii.

   " *Turres* veteres Hibernicas, conditas fuisse ad 4 anni *Rathas* Gnomonice indican-das, conjiciens scripsi. i. 32.—Fateor quidem Apicem umbræ, profectæ a Styli alicujus vertice acuto, deprehendi non posse accurate in linea Meridiana, cum propter Penum-bram, tum quia, Sole ad certam altitudinem evecto, acuti verticis umbra cum umbra trunci confunditur, neque respondet cum Solis centro, sed, in latitudine septentrionali, cum Solis Margine Septentrionale. Attamen cum Ludi Taltinenses et Temorenses spatio *dierum* 15, ante et post æquinoctia et solstitia Æstiva celebrarentur, fieri vix poterat quin, eo intervallo, Druidæ, Solis et Stellarum cultores, Gnomonis ope Æqui-noctia, et Solstitia definirent, ac vertentis anni Cardines quatuor, intercalatione quadam juxta Solis altitudinem facta, Populari Decreto proclamarent. Procul dubio *Turres* in antiquissimis Hibernorum Carminibus memorantur, ut in Carmine *Martha Magh Tur-readh*, et in *Prælii Lenensis* Historia Metrica scripta a *Senchano Eigceas* Sæculo vii.

Inclusoria Anachoretica quod attinet, longe diversa erant a turribus istis. Inclusorium in quo Marianus Scotus Fuldæ inclusus est, Cella erat, muro externo circumvallata, neque ullibi terrarum extitere unquam Inclusoria Anachoretica Turribus Hibernicis similia. Quatuor aperturæ prope Apicem, quatuor orbis Cardines respiciunt, neque ullatenus credibile est, hominem potuisse, non dico 20 annis, sed vel *una hyeme* in ulla ex istis turribus inclusum supervexisse. Vide Carmina Vetera Hibernica supra '*Marta Magh tuirreadh*,'—'*Torinis Inis an Tuir*,' et *Cath Moighe-Tura*, supra in Indice, item *Temoriam Turrium* in Coemano, supra voce *Temoria*, et alia plura, quæ plane indicant, Turres in antiquissimis Hibernorum Scriptis Traditionibus, tamquam ab immemorabili conditas, memorari."—*Index*, vol. i. p. ccvii.

The preceding extracts are in one respect at least of much importance in this inquiry,—they are the observations of a man who, in comparison with the others, was preeminently skilled in the ancient literature of Ireland, and whose whole life, it may be said, was devoted to its study; and they may therefore be considered as furnishing the entire of whatever evidences he could discover, in support of this hypothesis, in the whole body of our Irish historical documents. Let us now see to what regard these evidences are entitled.

Dr. O'Conor's conjectures relative to the astronomical uses of the Towers might perhaps be sufficiently met by the fact already stated, and of which repeated proofs shall be afforded in the third part of this inquiry, namely, that the apertures at top do not invariably face the cardinal points, and by the consideration that they are not always four in number, as he supposed, but sometimes more, and sometimes even less. However, for the sake of argument, I shall waive this fact for the present, and proceed to examine separately the several passages in our Annals to which he has referred. The first is found in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 898; and here it will be observed, that if we allow Dr. O'Conor's translation of this passage to be correct, it will furnish a contradiction to his own statement, that the Towers are called, in all the passages referred to in the Irish Annals, "*Fiadh-Nemeadh*," or "Indicia Cœlestia." Thus:

" A. D. 898. *Cosccrach fris araite Turaghan Angcoire Insi Cealtra....decc.*"

Which Dr. O'Conor translates :

" A. D. 898. Coscrachus a quo dicitur Turris anachoretica Insulæ Celtræ—obiit."

To this passage Dr. O'Conor appends the following note :

" *Turaghan*, a *Tur* turris, et *aghan* vel *adhan* accensio ignis, ut in Vocabulariis Hibernicis, forsan a more Druidico ignes sacros in his turribus accendendi, et quibus alios ignes solemnes accendebant in quatuor anni temporibus, ut in veteri Glossario

H

apud Llhuydum in Archæologia, voce *Baal-tinne.* Hæ turres, postea a Giraldo *Eccle-siasticæ* appellatæ, a Christianis ad usum Anachoretarum accommodatæ fuisse videntur, ut in textu apparet. Vide Annal. Inisfal. p. 148."

Thus we are to infer from the passage in the text, that the Towers were used for anchorites in Christian times, and from the etymology of the word *Turaghan,* as given in the note, that they were originally designed to contain the Druidical sacred fire. I might acknowledge the accuracy of this translation of the text, and the probability of the etymology, and yet deny the justness of the inferences, drawn from them, for the anchorite Tower of Iniscealtra may not have been a Round Tower; and, notwithstanding Dr. O'Conor's reference in proof of the contrary, there is no other passage in the Irish Annals in which anchorite Towers are mentioned, or in which the word *Tura-ghan* occurs. But I have a far weightier objection to urge. From the first moment that I read the passage, I doubted the accuracy either of the text, or of the translation, and, being anxious to have these doubts resolved, I addressed a note to the late Mr. O'Reilly, the distinguished Irish lexicographer, requesting his examination of the text in his MS. copy of the Annals of the Four Masters, and his opinion of the translation given by Dr. O'Conor. From the reply with which he favoured me I extract the following observations:

"I have, as you requested, examined my manuscript copy of the Annals of the Four Masters, and I find that you had, as I have myself, good reason to doubt the correctness of Doctor O'Conor in his publication of the Irish Annals. The words of the text in the MS. agree with the printed text in every thing but one; but that one makes a material difference in the affair. The words of the MS. are these: 'Corccrac frir apáite Cruagan anzcoipe Inri Cealcra....vecc.' The word *Truaghan* the Doctor has, upon what authority I know not, but I believe without any, converted into *Turaghan,* as you have it, and as it is in print, and this he has made an *Anchorite Tower* in his translation, and a *Fire Tower* in his note.

"I do not know what design the learned Doctor may have had in falsifying the Annals; but that he has done so, in this instance, is incontrovertible, and that he may have done so in others there is strong reason to suspect. The translation of the text of the MS. is literally thus:

"Cosgrach of whom is said (called) the *Miserable,* Recluse (or Anchorite) of Inis Cealtra, died."

"That this is the true translation of the MS. will hardly be disputed, and that my MS. agrees with the College copy I am positive, and that it is agreeable to the original I am convinced. There would be no sense in calling a man an *Anchorite Tower,* but a man totally given up to fasting, mortification, and retirement from the company of man, as Cosgrach was, might very fairly be called a *Truaghan,* or a *miserable creature.*"

From another accomplished Irish scholar, my friend Mr. O'Donovan, I subsequently obtained the following remarks on the above passage, from which it will appear that, even granting the text in Dr. O'Conor's work to be untouched and accurate, still the translation could not be so:

" Dr. O'Conor's translation of this passage in the Annals is very incorrect, viz.

" A. D. 898. *Coscerach fris a raite Turaghan Angcoire Insi Cealtra, d'écc.*"

" A. D. 898. Coscrachus *a quo* dicitur Turris anachoretica Insulæ Celtræ obiit."

" The original Irish cannot at all bear this translation. Fị ịṛ a paịce cupaȝan cannot express *a quo dicitur turris*, because the preposition fṗịṛ being the ancient form of the modern Leịṛ or ṗịṛ does not signify *from* but *with* or *to*. If the Four Masters had intended to convey the idea expressed in Dr. O'Conor's translation, they would have writen ó a paịceaṗ, &c., not Fṗịṛ a paịce, &c.

" This shows that Doctor O'Conor is wrong in making Ἀηȝcoịṗe an adjective, qualifying *Turaghan*, instead of making it a noun placed in grammatical apposition to *Coscrach*. The following is the literal and indisputable translation of the passage as printed by Dr. O'Conor :

" Coscrachus, *cui dicebatur Turaghan*, Anachoreta Insulæ Celtræ, obiit.

" Coscrach, who was called TURAGHAN, Anchorite of Iniskeltra, died.

" But why he was so called cannot be traced from the text as thus printed, without reference to the original MS. Dr. O'Conor translates the passage as if the original Irish stood thus :

" Coṛccṗaċ ó a paịceaṗ Cuṛ-Ἀηȝcoịṗe Iηṛị Cealcṛa, ṿ'écc."

In fairness, however, to Dr. O'Conor, whom I am extremely unwilling even to suspect of a wilful falsification of the text of the Annals, I am happy to add that, on referring to the copy of the Annals of the Four Masters, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, I find the disputed passage so contracted that he may have possibly made an unintentional mistake in deciphering the word : and, as the volume in which it occurs was transcribed from the original work now at Stowe, I have little doubt that the contraction is the same in both, the Doctor having, in the printed work, changed the text from its abbreviated form, as was frequently his custom. It runs thus :

"A.D. 898. Coṛ^{n}ch ḟṛ a paịce Ćaȝan Ἀηȝcoịṗe ịηṛị Ceal^n, ṿ'eȝ."

Here it may be observed that the word Ćaȝan appears at first sight doubtful; for, according to the rule for deciphering Irish contractions, when a vowel is placed over a consonant the letter ṗ (*r*) is understood to come *before* or after it, so that Ć may be read either cṗu or cuṗ, though it is almost invariably the former, and it might therefore

be denied that ᴄᴀᵹán is to be read ᴄpuaᵹán.   But it is very easy to prove from the context that ᴄᴀᵹán cannot be read ᴄupaᵹan; for any one at all acquainted with the idiomatic application of Irish prepositions will see that ꝼpıp ᴀ means *cui* to whom, not *a quo*, from whom, as Dr. O'Conor renders it; and when this is established it will be seen that ᴄᴀᵹán was a cognomen of Cosgrach, and not the name of a Tower or any other building. This is a fact so obvious to an Irish scholar that it may appear puerile to dwell upon it; and I shall only add, that in a copy of these Annals in Trinity College, made by Maurice Gorman, and also in that made for Dr. Fergus, by the celebrated Hugh Mac Curtin, this word is correctly lengthened into ᴄpuaᵹán. The adjective ᴄpuaᵹ signifies pitiful, and also lean, meagre; and from it, by adding the termination án, is formed the noun ᴄpuaᵹán, signifying a *meagre, lean, emaciated, macerated ascetic*, who by mortification had reduced himself to a living skeleton.

But, though I have acknowledged my unwillingness to believe Dr. O'Conor capable of falsifying the text of our Annals, to support any favourite hypothesis, yet I must confess that he has laid himself quite open to the suspicion of having done so, not only in the instance already noticed, but still more in the references which follow. Thus, in support of his theory of the Anchorite use of the Towers in Christian times, he refers to the authority of the Annals of Innisfallen, p. 146, and to the Annals of Ulster at the year 996 ; yet in neither place is there a word to support that hypothesis. We have indeed in the page referred to a dissertation of the Doctor's own, in which the sacred fire of the Druids, but *not* the Round Towers, is mentioned ; and, in his second reference,—the Annals of Ulster, at the year 995 [996],—there is no allusion to Anchorite Towers, or to Towers of any description, unless we adopt Dr. O'Conor's *dictum* on the fanciful etymology of a word.   The passage is as follows :

" **An. ᴅᴄᴄᴄ xc b.** *Tenediait do gabail Airdmacha con a farcaibh dertach, na damliacc, na h Erdam, na fidhnemead ann cen loscadh.*"

Thus translated :

" Fulgur corripit Ardmacham, et non relinquit Nosocomium, nec Ecclesiam Cathedralem, nec domum altam, nec turrim, in civitate, quod non incendio deleret."

And to this he appends the following note :

" Eadem habet *Tighernach* ad ann. 995—IV *Magistri*, pro *Erdam*, habent *cloic teacha* (campanilia.)—Ergo diversa erant Campanilia a turribus rotundis, de quibus,

vide not. ann. 949. *Fiadhnemeadh* Turris ; a *Fiadh* testimonium, vel Index, et *nemeadh* cœlorum."

As the correctness of the etymology of the words given in the above note constitutes the stronghold in which, in support of his hypothesis, the Doctor has entrenched himself, it will be necessary to trespass on the reader's time, at more than my usual length, in examining his proofs and arguments. I shall first give the original passages from the Annals to which he refers :

I. " A. D. 996. Mc Caıpıll co ꝼepaıb Ꝼepnmuıꝫı 7 con Aıpꝫıallaıb ꝺo apꝫaın Apꝺmaca co pucꝛuc xı. c. b " Apꝺmaca ꝺo lopcao ec. cıꝫıb aꝛuꝛ Ꝺamlıaꝫ aꝛuꝛ cloıcceach, aꝛuꝛ ꝼıoneꝺ (*recte* ꝼıonemeꝺ) uılı ꝺılꝫen, na canıc pıamh a n Ꝅp. 7 na cupꝫa co la mbpaca ꝺıꝫaıl amlaıo."

" A. D. 996. Filius Carilli, cum Fernmagiensibus et Argialliis, vastat Ardmacham, et auferunt bis mille boves. Ardmacha combusta penitus, domus, et Ecclesiæ lapideæ et Campanilia, et Indicia Cœlestia omnia eversa. Non evenit unquam in Hibernia, neque eveniet usque ad diem Judicii, vindicta similis."—*Annal. Tighernachi.*

II. " A. D. 995. *Ardmacha do loscc do tene Saighnen ettir tighib, agus Domhuliacc, agus Cloicteacha, agus a fidhneimhedh do huile dilgend.*"

" A. D. 995. Ardmacha combusta a fulmine, domus et Ecclesiæ lapideæ, et campanilia, et ejus turres cœlestes omnes destructæ."—*Annal. Quat. Mag.*

Now on the slightest examination of the above passages it must appear evident that Dr. O'Conor's assertion, that the word *cloicteacha* (belfries) has been substituted by the Four Masters for the word *erdam* of the Annals of Ulster, but not for *fiadhnemeadh*, has not the slightest probability for its support ; and if Dr. O'Conor had any knowledge of the true meaning of the word *erdam*, which he guessingly translates *domum altam*, he would not have hazarded such a strange assertion. That the word *erdam* signifies a building attached laterally to another building, as a sacristy, and not a belfry, as Dr. O'Conor supposes, I shall incontrovertibly prove when I treat, in the second part of this Inquiry, of the various ecclesiastical edifices anciently in use in Ireland, and therefore I shall only observe here, that Dr. O'Conor should have remembered that he was constrained himself to translate this very word by *sacra domo*, in the following passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, which sufficiently proves that the *erdam*, or *erdomh*, was not a belfry.

" A. D. 1006. *Soisccel mor Cholaimchille do dubhgoid is in oidhche as in erdomh iatharach* [recte *iartharach*] *an Doimhliacc moir Cenannsa, &c.*

" A. D. 1006. Evangelium Magnum Columbæ-Cille a fure ablatum nocte ex sacra domo inferiori Ecclesiæ lapideæ magna Cellensis, &c."

The truth unquestionably is, that there was no substitution by the annalists, as Dr. O'Conor supposes, of one synonymous word for another, and that the difference of language used by them was only such as might be expected among writers living in different ages and different localities. But in none of them is there any evidence to be found that the word ꝓıoneımeꝋ was applied to a tower; nor had any Irish writer, before Dr. O'Conor, ever understood the term in that sense. In proof of this I shall first adduce the translation of the passage, relative to this event, in the Annals of Ulster, from the copy of those annals made in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and now preserved in the British Museum. Ayscough's Catalogue, No. 4795, Clarendon MSS. No. 49, fol. 2, *b*.

" 995. *Y*^e *fyre diat taking Ardmach, and left neither sanctuary howses or places, or churches vnburnt.*"

It will be seen, then, that, whatever may be the word understood by the translator in the sense of sanctuary, he did not at least understand any word of the original as signifying a celestial index or a tower of any kind.

In the next authority which I have to adduce, namely the Chronicon Scotorum, which was compiled from the old Annals of Clonmacnoise, it will be seen, that, while the Annals of Ulster omit noticing the burning of the belfry or belfries, this older authority, on the other hand, omits the ꝓıoneımeꝋ and eꝓoam. The passage is as follows :

" A. D. 996. Aınᵹıalla ꝋ' onᵹaın Anomacha ᵹo ꝓucꝓac ꝓıċe ceꝋ bo eınce. Anomacha ꝋo loꝓcaꝋ caıᵹıb, cemplaıb, ocuꝓ a ċloıᵹceach."

And this passage is not inaccurately rendered by Connell Mageoghegan, who understood the Irish language perfectly, in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, made in 1627, thus :

" A. D. 989, [*recte* 996.] They of Uriel preyed Armach, and took from thence 2,000 cows. Armach was also burnt, both church, houses and steeple, that there was not never such a poor spectacle seen in Ireland before."

Thus Colgan, also, translates the passage of the Annals of the Four Masters, which were compiled chiefly for his use, and which it would be folly to suppose he did not thoroughly understand :

" A. D. 995. *Ardmacha cum Basilicis, turribus, aliisque omnibus ædificiis incendio ex flumine* [fulmine] *generato, tota vastatur, &c.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 297.

Dr. O'Conor, however, who defends his hypothesis with all sorts of

weapons, objects to Colgan's version of this passage, as being neither literal, nor explanatory of the words, nor reconcileable with what is written in the Annals about other belfries, as regards either the form or construction of the ancient Round Towers (Proleg. *ubi supra*, p. 49); but these assertions are not borne out. Colgan, who had no fine-spun theory to uphold, gave what he knew to be the general meaning of the passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, as far as he considered it necessary to his purpose, which was to record the destruction of the sacred edifices of Armagh; and he leaves the word Fiᵭneimeᵭ untranslated, because, as I shall presently prove, it was not a building of any kind. If then, bearing this in mind, we analyze his translation, it will be as follows. For the words Aᵭmacha ᴅo loꞃccaᵭ ᴅo ꞇeɴe ꞃaiᵹnen, he gives us very correctly, leaving the verb to close the sense at the end, *Ardmacha incendio ex fulmine generato;* he then inverts the order of the words of the annalists, to bring the buildings into their proper place, according to their relative importance, and translates eꞇꞇⁱꞃ Oomuliacc, by *cum Basilicis;* next cloicꞇeacha, or belfries, by *turribus;* and lastly ꞇiᵹib, or houses, which he thought of the least importance, by *aliis omnibus ædificiis;* then, passing over the word Fiᵭneimeᵭ, as unnecessary to his purpose, he translates ᴅo h-uile ᴅilᵹenᴅ, by *tota vastatur.*

That the preceding analysis is the true one will appear incontrovertible, when I have shown hereafter the true meaning of the word Fiᵭneimeᵭ, and that Dr. O'Conor himself knew he was attempting an imposition on his readers by giving a different meaning to Colgan's words, would almost appear certain, from our finding him elsewhere actually falsifying the text of this very passage in Colgan, to support his hypothesis. Thus, in a note on the original passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, he writes:

" Notanda est distinctio inter *Cloicteacha* (campanilia) et *Fidneimhedh* (turres,) vox derivata a *fiad* (index seu testimonium,) et *neimhedh* (cœlorum.)—Colganus, ad hunc textum referens, destructionem enarrat *Ecclesiæ, Campanilium,* et *Turrium* Ardmachæ, anno hoc, unde sequitur turres non campanilia fuisse, sed potius *indicia cœlestia* ad Solstitia, Æquinoctia, et Cœlorum motus indicandos!"

Most strange! And Lanigan (vol. iv. p. 412), D'Alton (*Essay on Ancient Hist. of Ireland, &c.,* p. 138), and Moore (*Hist. of Ireland,* vol. i. p. 34, note), repeat the same passage, and draw the same inference, evidently without referring to the passage in Colgan, for if they

had done so, they would have instantly seen that, though Colgan no-
tices the destruction of the *basilicæ, turres,* and other *ædificia* of Ar-
magh in the year 995, he has not the word *campanilia,* and therefore
makes no distinction between it and *turres!* And it is scarcely pos-
sible to imagine that Dr. O'Conor could have been ignorant that
Colgan constantly translates the word *cloictheach* of the Irish Annals
by the word *turris,* for it is so rendered by him within three pages
of the passage, which Dr. O'Conor thus so shamefully corrupted,
viz. :

"A. D. 1121. *Athach gaoithe moire do tichtain in Decemb. na bliadhna so, co ro la a
bhendcobhar do cloictheach Ardamacha.*"

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1121.   Tempestas venti ingens evenit in mense Decembri anni hujus, quæ
destruxit tectum Campanilis Ardmachani."

Thus by Colgan :

" A. D. 1121.   *Ingens venti tempestas hoc anno in mense Decembri supremum tectum*
TURRIS *Ardmachanæ deiecit.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 300.

But more than this—the word *turris* is also used by him as a
translation of *cloictheach,* in his version of the passage in the Annals
of the Four Masters relative to the burning of the belfry of Slane ;
and this Dr. O'Conor must have known, as he has adduced it (*ut
supra,* p. 49) as a proof that the *cloictheacha,* or belfries, of the Irish
Annals could not be the Round Towers. Thus :

" A. D. 948.   Cloicchech Slaine do loṟccaḋ do Ṡhallaiḃ co n-a lán do ṁíon-
naiḃ, aṟuṟ deṟḋaoiniḃ, ím Chaoinechaiṟ, ṟeaṟ-leiṟinn Elaine, aṟuṟ bachall an
Eṟlaṁa, aṟuṟ clocc ba deach do cloccaiḃ."

" A. D. 948.   *Coeneachair,* id est Probus, *Prælector seu Præfectus Scholæ Slanensis,
in ipsa* TURRI *Slanensi fluminis [flammis] per Danos enecatus interijt, cum multis alijs
pijs socijs Sanctorum Reliquijs, & baculo ipsius Sancti Antistitis, nempe Sancti Erci pa-
troni loci.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 219.

Having now, I trust, fully examined Dr. O'Conor's authorities,
and proved their insufficiency, I proceed to an investigation of his
etymological evidences, which, I have no doubt, I shall show to be
equally visionary ; and in this investigation I gladly avail myself of
the assistance and authority of one, infinitely more deeply versed in
the ancient language and literature of Ireland than I can pretend
to be—I allude to my friend, Mr. O'Donovan. From the first mo-
ment that I read Dr. O'Conor's explanation of the word *Fidhnei-
mhedh,* I felt assured that he had given it a meaning utterly erro-

neous, and that the true explanation would be *sacred trees*, or *trees of the sanctuary;* and, having expressed this opinion to Mr. O'Donovan, he was induced to collect, from the most ancient MS. authorities in the libraries of Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy, such a number of examples of its application as must leave no doubt of its true meaning. I have now to lay these examples before the reader, and I trust they will prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, not only that my original impression was a correct one, but that Dr. O'Conor exhibited, in this instance, a carelessness of investigation, which would never have been expected in one who had such ample access to the sources from which the truth could be elicited, and possessed the critical skill that should have enabled him to make use of them.

In the passage, as given in the different Irish Annals, in which the compound term *Fidhneimhedh* occurs, Dr. O'Conor explains it, sometimes by the words *index cœlorum*, and sometimes by *indicia cœlestia*, because, as he says, *fiad* signifies an index, or witness, and *neimhedh*, of the heavens; and at other times he explains it by *turres cœlestes*, and again, simply, by *turris*. Thus it will be seen, that by a singular process of induction, out of two words which, as he says, literally mean *witness* and *of the heavens*, he makes a Round Tower after the following formula:

1. *Fidh*, a witness.
2. ———, an index.
3. *Fidh Neimhedh*, an index of the heavens.
4. ————————, a celestial index.
5. ————————, an astronomical gnomon.
6. ————————, a celestial tower.
7. ————————, a Round Tower!

It is to be observed, however, that in this process there is only one part of the compound that can be substantiated by authority, namely, the word *neimhedh*, which was, indeed, sometimes understood as signifying *of the heavens*, as if formed from *neamh*, heaven (the *nimbus* of the Latins), with the termination of the genitive plural; and, it was also used as an adjective signifying celestial, heavenly, or holy, and is understood in this sense by Colgan, who, in translating the name of a place in Ulster, called *Slighe Neimheadh*,

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renders it by *via cœlestis sive sancta.*—*Trias Thaum.* p. 165. But
the word *neimheadh* is also used in ancient Irish MSS. in the sense of
sanctuary, and also of glebe lands, because, as it would appear, the
glebe lands had often, anciently, the privilege of sanctuary ; and hence
Colgan always translates the word, when used substantively, by the
Latin *sanctuarium,* as in the following examples :

First, in translating a passage in the Annals of the Four Masters,
relating to the church of Knocknasengan at Louth, under the year
1148 :

"A. D. 1148. Ꞇeampall Cnuic na Senᵹán ꝺo ꝼoꞃbaꝺ laꞃ an Eꝑꞃcop O'Caol-
laiꝺe aᵹuꞃ la Ꝺonnchaꝺ ua ᵹ-Ceꞃbaill, aᵹuꞃ a coiꞃꞃeccaꝺ la h-ua ꞆꞢoꞃᵹaiꞃ,
Comaꞃba Paꞇꞃaicc, aᵹuꞃ ꞂEꞘꞢhEꝹh, .i. ꞇaluꞢ Eccluꞃꝺa, ꝺo oꞃoucchaꝺ ꝺo i
LuᵹꞢaꝺ."

" A. D. 1148. Ecclesia Lugmagensis constructa per Episcopum Hua Coellaidhe et
Donchadum Hua Keruaill (*Orgielliæ Principem*) & consecrata per (*Malachiam*) Hua
Morgair, Comorbanum (*id est successorem*) S. Patricij ; qui & SANCTUARIUM Lugmagiæ
constituit."—*Acta SS.* p. 737, col. i.—See also *Trias Thaum.* p. 305, col. ii.

Again, in translating a passage in the same Annals, under the year
1196, he renders "Ꞇuꞃᵹbálaiꝺe ceall aᵹuꞃ ꞂEꞘꞢhEꝹh," by
"Basilicarum et SANCTUARIORUM fundator."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 405
[*recte* 505], col. 2.

That Colgan is correct in this translation can be proved by the
highest authorities extant. The word is thus explained in Cormac's
Glossary :

" ꞂeꞢeꞇ .i. neꞢ-iaꞇ .i. anuꞃ ꝺíꞃ ꝺo eclaiꞃ."

" *Nemheth*, i. e. *Nemh-iath*, [heavenly or sacred ground] i. e. which belongs to the
Church."

Thus also in an ancient Glossary in a MS. in the Library of Trinity
College, Dublin, H. 2. 16, Col. 120:

" Ꞃemiꝺ, in ꞇan iꞃ ꝼꞃi h-eclaiꞃ, .i. neꞢ-iaꞇ .i. iaꞇ neme."

" *Nemid*, when belonging to the Church, i. e. heaven-land, i. e. land of heaven."

And thus again more distinctly in O'Clery's Vocabulary of ancient
Irish words :

" ꞂeiꞢeaꝺ .i. neaꞢ-iaꞇ .i. ꝼeaꞃann eaᵹlaiꞃe, no ꞇalaꞢ iꞃ ꝺliᵹꞇeaꞇ ꝺo'n eaᵹ-
laiꞃ."

" *Neimheadh*, i. e. *neamh-iath* [heaven-land] i. e. church-land, or ground which is
lawful [due] to the church."

It will also be seen, from the preceding authorities, that in this sense

the word was supposed to have been differently formed from the word *neimheadh*, used adjectively—the latter part of the word being understood to be a corruption of ᴉɑċ, *land;* and it is a singular fact in this inquiry that Dr. O'Conor was himself obliged to understand and translate it in this sense, as Colgan had done before him. Thus, in translating the passage above given under the year 1148, he has rendered the word *nemhedh* by **terra sancta.**

" Ecclesia Collis Sengan tecto cooperta ab Episcopo O'Caolladhio et a Donnchado O'Carroll, et consecrata ab O'Morgaro Vicario Patricii, et ᴛᴇʀʀᴀ Sᴀɴᴄᴛᴀ, i. e. ᴛᴇʀʀᴀ Eᴄᴄʟᴇsɪᴀsᴛɪᴄᴀ assignata ei in Lugmadia."—*Rerum Hib. Script.* vol. iii. p. 761.

Thus it may be considered as proved beyond question, that the word *neimhedh* was not restricted to the sense of holy, or celestial, in which Dr. O'Conor translated it in the compound term *Fidh-neimhedh;* and that the true interpretation must depend on the correct understanding of the word *fidh,* and its fitness to be joined to it. If, for instance, the word *fidh* could bear the translation of *witness,* or *index,* which Dr. O'Conor has attached to it, the compound term might, indeed, mean, as he has it, *celestial witness,* or *index,* though even this would not necessarily imply either a Gnomon, or a Round Tower, for such phrase might with far greater propriety be used to designate the crosses which, in obedience to an ancient canon of the Church, were always erected to mark the limits of the *neimhedh,* or sanctuary. But if it can be shown that the word *fidh* will not bear the translation given of it by Dr. O'Conor, while it can be explained with certainty in a sense consistent with the application of the word *neimhedh,* either substantively, in the sense of sanctuary, or, adjectively, in the sense of holy, his explanation of this compound term must be rejected altogether. To investigate the meaning of the word *fidh* is therefore my next object.

Dr. O'Conor states that the word ғɪᴀᴅ, or ғɪᴀᴅʜ, signifies a *witness,* or *index;* and it is quite true that it does mean a *witness,* but not an *index,* being of the same root as the Saxo-English word *wit,* as in the phrase *to wit,* and the word *witness,* which has also an Irish cognate in the word *fiadhnaise.* But the word in question is not written *fiadh* by the Irish Annalists in any one instance, but *fidh* or *fiodh,* which is a totally different word, signifying *wood,* and cognate with that Saxo-English word. To adduce authorities to prove that this is the mean-

ing of the word would be superfluous, as it is so explained in all the ancient Irish Glossaries and modern Dictionaries, and always translated *nemus* or *sylva*, by Colgan; but the following example of its use will be striking and interesting, as containing an example also of the word *neimheadh*, with which it has been combined in the term *Fidhneimhedh*, under discussion.

"A. D. 1583. Ní͠p óíon ap an ʒ-captɩn pɩn na ɼop a ṁuɩntɩp, ΝΕΙṀhΕΑᴰh naoɩṁ ná pɩlɩᴰ, ꝒΙᴰᴰh na poɩ́cɩp, ʒleann, na baɩle, na baᴏᴃᴏún, no ʒup coʒlaᴏ an cíp uɩle laɩp."

"A. D. 1583. From this Captain [Brabazon] and his people, neither the *Neimheadh* of the saint nor of the poet, the *wood* nor the forest, the valley, the town, nor the bawn afforded shelter, until the whole country was destroyed by him."—*Annal. Quat. Mag.*

It is obvious then that *fidh* signifies *wood*, and not *witness*, and that the second word, *neimheadh*, if understood adjectively, must simply mean holy, or sacred, and, if understood substantively, a *sanctuary*, or glebe land, and thus the term would mean *holy wood*, or *wood of the sanctuary* or glebe. And, as Dr. O'Conor's translation must thus be regarded as demonstratively incorrect, I might be satisfied to let the question rest here. But I can go further, even to prove that if Dr. O'Conor had studied the MSS., in which the term *Fidhneimhedh* is used and explained, he could not have even for a moment dreamed of its signifying either Gnomon or Round Tower, for it is used in the most authentic vellum Irish MSS. in the sense of *sacred grove*, or *wood of the sanctuary*, and in no other in Christian times, though it may have been, and, I have little doubt was, originally applied to designate the sacred groves of the Druids.

The most curious passages in which this term is found occur in the Brehon laws, in a tract treating of the classification of trees, and the fines levied for committing trespass upon them. The first runs thus :

"Ꞟpe[a] caċa[b] peaᴰa[c] acht[d] Ꝓɩonemeaᴰ,[e] no ᴰeʒpɩᴰ[f]."

  Succidantur   omnes   sylvæ   præter   sylvam sacram   seu   sanctam sylvam.

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[a] Ꞟpe is interpreted by the Glossographer as equivalent to the more modern word lecpaᴰ, *to cut.*

[b] Caċa is the ancient form of ʒaċa, *each, every.*

[c] Ꝟeaᴰa is the plural of pɩᴏ, or pɩᴏᴰ, *a wood.* According to the modern orthography the ᴰ would be aspirated in the singular and plural.

[d] Αcht, *but, except*, is so written and understood at this day.

[e] Ꝓɩonemeaᴰ is interpreted by the Glossographer pɩᴏ cɩllɩ, i. e. ᴡᴏᴏᴅ *of the church.*

In like manner the same laws, in specifying the fines for cutting down the fourth or lowest class of trees, called loꞃa ꞃeaꝺa, contain the following curious reference to *Fidhnemedh*.

"Loꞃa ꞃeaꝺa, ꞃaich, aiꞇeano, oꝑiꞃ, ꝼꞃaech, eiꝺeano, ȝilcach, ꞃꝑin. Cuꞃa a n-oiꞃe cach ae. .i. ꞇꞃi ꞃcꝑiꞃail inoꞇib iꞇiꞃ aiꞇhȝin ocuꞃ oiꞃe innꞇib ꞃin, in ꞇan iꞃ a ꝼiꝺ coimicheaꞃa, ocuꞃ ni ꝼil ni 'na n-ȝablaib, &c. Maꝺ a ꝼionemeꝺ beiꝺe imoꞃꞃa .iiii. ꞃcꝑiꞃail inoꞇib aꞃ oiꞃe, ocuꞃ ꝺa ꞃcꝑiꞃal aꞃ aiꞇhȝin, ocuꞃ a ꞇꞃiꞱn ina n-ȝabla, ocuꞃ a ꞃeiꞃeaꝺ ina cꞃaebaib."—E. 3. 5. fol. 3, b, a.

" The *Losa feada*, [shrubs] are *fern, furze, briar, heath, ivy, broom, thorn*. A *cura* is the fine for each, that is, three *screpals* for both restitution and fine, when in *a common wood*, and there is no fine for their branches, &c. If they be in a *Fidhnemedh*, then shall four *screpals* be paid for fine, and two *screpals* for restitution, a third [of a screpal] for their *limbs*, and a sixth for their branches."

Again, in a note in the margin of the same law tract (fol. 3, a, b.) the following reference is made to *Fidhneimedh*, which, like that just quoted, proves to a demonstration that it meant sacred wood, not Round Tower.

" Ꝺeꞇbiꞃ cꞃaino a ꝼiꝺ comaiꞇceꞃa, ocuꞃ can ꝺeꞇbiꞃ ȝꞃaiꝺ; ꝺeꞇbiꞃ ȝꞃaiꝺ a ꝼiꝺ neimeꝺ, ocuꞃ cin ꝺeꞇbiꞃ cꞃaino. Smuꞇꞇ a ꝼiꝺ neimeꝺ no co m-benꞇaꞃ uile, ocuꞃ enechlann ino o benꞇaꞃ."

" There is a difference of tree in the common wood, and no difference of rank; there is a difference of rank in the *Fidhneimedh*, and no difference of tree. The restriction of the law is on the *Fidhneimedh* until it be all cut down, and a fine for it when cut."

Though not essentially necessary to my purpose, but as a matter which cannot fail of being interesting to the general reader, I am induced to add here a few examples of the application of this term to a pagan sanctuary, or grove, in which there was an altar, or oracle, as it will go far towards proving that the word is of pagan origin.

Surely, if Dr. O'Conor had seen this, he could never have thought of translating ꝼiꝺneimeꝺ Round Tower! According to the modern Irish orthography this would be written ꝼiꝺ neimeaꝺ, which is the very form of the term adopted by the Four Masters at the year 995. Vallancey, in translating this passage in the Brehon Laws (*Collectanea*, Vol. III. p. 107), renders *fid neimead*, HOLY WOODS.

f Ꝺeȝꝼio the Glossographer interprets by ꞇo ꝺeꝼio, which would be very obscure, were it not found explained on a loose sheet of paper in the handwriting of the celebrated Duald Mac Firbis, inserted in a MS. in Trinity College, H. 2. 15. p. 208. This leaf is a fragment of Mac Firbis's first draft of his Glossary of the Brehon Laws, of which several fragments are to be found scattered among the College MSS. The phrase Ꝼioꝺ ꝺeꝼio aꞃ oun is thus explained on this leaf: " Ꝼioꝺ ꝺeꝼio aꞃ oun .i. coill ꝺee aꞃ no aȝ an oun .i. ꝼiꝺ niiheaꝺ," i. e. *Fiodh defid* on the Dun, i. e. the sacred *wood* on or at the *dun*, i. e. a *Fidh nimheadh*.

The first passage is from an abridged prose translation of Virgil's account of the destruction of Troy, preserved in the Book of Ballymote, and relates to the death of Polites and his father Priam by the spear of Pyrrhus, at the altar of Jupiter, over which hung a very ancient laurel, embracing the household gods in its shade. I here give the passage as it stands in the Book of Ballymote, with a literal translation by Mr. O'Donovan, and under it the passage in Virgil, to which it corresponds :

" Mapo bai in tneb pin aioci co haibbino, la bponac oi in aibci pin. Ro ela Poloinioep, mac Phpiaim, ian n-a guin oo Pipp ip in ap pin, oapo opup iaptupac na pig-ouine, ap cac aupoam ina paili, co h-ainm a paibi Ppiam h i **FIDNEMUD** loib; agup Pipp gac conaip no tegio ina oiaio, conio ano pug paip in tan po piact co m-bai i piaonaipi a achap, .i. Ppiam; agup oo bein Pipp puipmio paip ou'n leacan gai lan-moip bai ina oeip, co pug uppaino tpic, cup tuit mapb cen anmnin, i piaonaipi a achap. Atpact annaioi conacaib a eppio caca uime; agup cia cheap-baoap ni teapbaio a opoc-aigne; agup popopbaip aichipiugao Pipp o bpiatpaib, agup ippeao po paio pip: a cuilioe, ap pe, ip mop in gnim oo pignip, mo imoeapgao-pa agup mo mac oo mapbao im piaonaipi, agup hi piaonaipi altoipi na n-oe h-i **FIDNEMID** loib! agup oe nime oia oigail popt."—Fol. 245, a, b.

" Happy as this family was one night, sorrowful to them was that night. Poloinides, the son of Priam, after having been wounded by Pyrrhus in that slaughter, fled through the western door of the royal palace, and from one apartment [*aurdam*] to another, *until he came* to the place where Priam was in the *Fidnemud* of Jupiter ; and Pyrrhus followed him in every way through which he passed, and overtook him just as he came into the presence of his father, i.e. Priam; and Pyrrhus gave him a thrust of the large broad spear which was in his right hand, and pierced him with its head, so that he fell dead without a soul, in the presence of his father. The old man rose and put on his battle-dress ; and though it had become rusty, his warlike mind had not ; and he commenced abusing Pyrrhus in words, and in this wise spake he to him: ' Wretch,' said he, ' how monstrous is the deed thou hast committed, to enrage me by killing my son before me, and before the altar of the gods in the *Fidnemid* of Jupiter ! May the gods of heaven revenge it upon thee!' "

The following description of the death of Polites and Priam, as given by Virgil, will convey an exact idea of what object the Irish translator intended to designate by the term *Fidnemud*, or *Fidnemid*.

> " Ædibus in mediis, nudoque sub ætheris axe,
> Ingens ara fuit; juxtaque *veterrima laurus*
> *Incumbens aræ, atque umbra complexa Penates,*
> Hic Hecuba, ...
> . . . .
> Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de cæde Polites,
> Unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostes,

Porticibus longis fugit, et vacua atria lustrat
Saucius. Illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus
Insequitur, jam jamque manu tenet, et premit hasta.
Ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum
Concidit, ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.
Hic Priamus, quanquam in media jam morte tenetur,
Non tamen abstinuit, nec voci iræque pepercit.
At tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis,
Di, si qua est cœlo pietas, quæ talia curet,
Persolvant grates dignas, et præmia reddant
Debita : qui nati coram me cernere letum
Fecisti, et patrios fœdasti funere vultus."—*Æneid.* Lib. II. 512—539.

Thus again, the following passage, taken from an Irish translation of some ancient account of the siege of Troy, in a vellum MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, has the term *Fidhneimhedh* in the sense of sacred wood, or wood containing an oracle.

" Iſ ı ſın aeıſ aᵹuſ uaıſ oo ſuachoaoaſ laochſaıo Innſı Cımın ó ċoᵹaıl na Cſoᵹıa moıſı. Ro bı FIⱰhNEImI EⰄh oo-ımċ-chea ıſ ın c-ſleb ba coımneaſa ooıb, aᵹuſ oo ċuaoaſ mna Innſı Cemın ıno o'ıaſſaıo Fſeaᵹna aſ na oeaıb, aᵹuſ canᵹaouſ baóba bel-oeaſᵹa á cachaıſ Iſſınn o'a m-buaıóſeaó-ſun co nuıᵹe ſın : óıſ oo bı Uenıſ ben-cumachcach, aᵹuſ Enı óuſbaóach, ſıuſ Maıſc, oea ın chaċa, aᵹ ſuſáıl uılcc aſ na nınaıb ſın."—H. 2, 17, p. 123.

" This is the time and hour that the heroes of the Island of Lemnos were returning from the siege of great Troy. There was a *Fidhnemhedh* of difficult passage in the mountain next to them, and the women of the Island of Lemnos went into it to ask a response from the gods, and red-mouthed ravens came thither from the city of *Infernus* to disturb them ; for Venus the woman-powerful, and Eni [Bellona] the furious, the sister of Mars, goddess of war, were inflicting evils upon those women."

One other example of the application of this term, and I have done : it will show that, even if Dr. O'Connor had been so little acquainted with the Irish language as to be unable to understand its meaning from the passages already quoted, he might yet have discovered it through his knowledge of Latin. Thus, in an ancient Irish MS. Glossary in the Library of Trinity College, to which the Doctor had access, the word *nemhedh*, a poet, is explained in such a manner by allusion to *Fidhneimhedh*, that it would have been impossible not to see the proper meaning of the latter :

Neṁeó, .ı. Fılıó, a nemoſe: aſ ıſ a FIⰄNEmEⰄaIb ſo ᵹnıċıſ ſıleóa a n-ᵹneſſa. H. 2. 16. Col. 120.

" *Nemed,* i. e. a poet, from *Nemus* (a grove) : because it was in *Fidnemeds* (sacred groves) poets were used to compose their works."

After such evidences as I have now adduced, the reader will, I I trust, have little doubt as to the true meaning of the *Fidhneimhedh* of the Irish Annals.   I may however add, that those Annals and the Lives of our ancient saints show, that trees were a usual ornament in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Irish churches, and, having been often planted by the hands of the very founders of those buildings, were preserved with the most religious veneration, and their accidental destruction deplored as a great calamity.   Thus the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1162, commemorate the burning of the yew tree planted by St. Patrick at Newry, the memory of which is still perpetuated in the name of that flourishing town.   And the remains of the yew tree supposed to have been planted by St. Kevin, at Glendalough, have been preserved even to our own time.

Having now, as I trust, satisfactorily disposed of Dr. O'Conor's proofs, as derived from etymological conjecture, I proceed to combat his arguments—a task of much less difficulty.

We are called on to conclude that the *cloictheachs*, or belfries, noticed in the Annals, were not the Round Towers, because those Annals also show that the belfry of Slane, containing the holy treasure of the monastery and several of its ecclesiastics, was burned— a circumstance which, according to the Doctor, could not possibly refer to a Round Tower, first, on account of "its form, which, being round, could not hold so many persons and precious things; and, secondly, of its material, which, being of stone, and *in no part of wood*, could not be burned, though it might be broken down by lightning." The fallacy of these arguments can be very easily exposed.

1. So far from the rotund form of the Towers being inconsistent with the capacity to contain a number of persons and things, the very contrary is evident.   There are few, if any, of the Towers, which would not have held from fifty to eighty persons, at the moderate average of ten to each floor; and it is remarkable that their peculiar fitness as places of safety for the clergy and their holy utensils, &c., on occasions of sudden invasion, has been so apparent to many most distinguished antiquaries, that, without any other evidence than that which their construction afforded, they supposed them to have been erected for that purpose solely.

2. When Dr. O'Conor asserts that the Round Towers could not be burned because they were in no part (*nullibi*) of wood, he must

have been strangely forgetful of the mode of their construction, in which the floors, and, we may suppose, the doors also, were in every instance of that material; and though their combustible portion might not be easily ignited by lightning from above, they could evidently be fired by a hostile hand from below, as in the case of the belfry of Slane, and many other belfries, recorded in our Annals to have been burned. The destruction of their inflammable parts is the only injury which we are to suppose the *cloictheachs* suffered on those occasions; and we have no more reason to conclude that they were wholly of wood, than that the *damhliags* or stone churches were so, which are so constantly mentioned in those Annals as having suffered the same fate. Besides, can any thing more absurd be imagined than that the ecclesiastics should fly for safety with their holy treasures from a band of savage plunderers to a *wooden* belfry, while they had a stone edifice of any kind to shelter in ? Such an improbability would hardly obtain credit from any one but a person ready to believe any thing for the sake of a favourite theory.

Dr. O'Conor, however, was so deeply intent on establishing his hypothesis, that he lost no opportunity of pressing these puerile arguments on his reader's attention. Thus, in a note to a passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1097, which records the burning of the *cloictheach*, or bell-house of Monaster-Boice in the County of Louth, he repeats these arguments, to divert, as it would appear, the reader from the obvious conclusion at which he should otherwise arrive, namely, that the Round Towers were unquestionably the *cloictheachs* or bell-houses of the Annalists.

" Ex his sequitur, valde diversa fuisse, non solum nomine, verum et *re ipsa*, Hibernorum Campanilia a *Turribus rotundis* antiquissimis, *more patrio* constructis, juxta Giraldum, qui usque hodie per Hiberniam, e vivo saxo ædificata, conspiciuntur. Campanilia enim *Cloiccteach*, Turres autem rotundi *Fiadh-neimhe* dicebantur, i. e. Indicia cœlestia, uti supra ad ann. 994, et neque comburi poterant turres isti, neque pro bibliothecis aut rebus pretiosis servandis apti erant, vel ad finem istum constructi censendi sunt, repugnante forma, altitudine, arctitudine, et interna constructione."— *Annales IV. Magistrorum,* p. 670.

These indefatigable efforts of Dr. O'Conor's zeal may well excite a smile. The Round Tower Belfry of Monaster-Boice, in which the books and other precious things are stated to have been burned, still exists to demonstrate the absurdity of his conjectures. It is yet known only by the name given it by the Annalist, namely, the " *cloictheach;*"

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and, with such a strong and lofty tower attached to their monastery, it is quite ridiculous to suppose the monks of St. Boetius would have deposited their little library and other precious things in a wooden edifice for safety.

But I have yet to show, that notwithstanding all Dr. O'Conor's ingenuity in defence of a weak position, he must, or at least should have been himself aware, from the very same Annals from which the preceding passages are quoted, that the *cloictheachs* or belfries were unquestionably not of wood but of stone. What could he have said to a passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1121, which occurs but a few pages after that last referred to, stating that the *cloictheach*, or belfry of Telach n ionmainde in Ossory—supposed to be the present Tullamaine, near Callan, in the county of Kilkenny—was split by lightning, and that a stone which flew from that belfry killed a student in the church? The passage, as printed and translated by Dr. O'Conor himself, is as follows:

" A. D. 1121. *Cloicteach Thelcha n ionmainde in Osraicch do dluige do chaoirteinn, agus cloch do sgeinm as an ccloictheach ishin, co ro mharbh. mc leighinn isin cill.*"

" A. D. 1121. Campanile Telchionmandense in Ossoria dijectum a fulmine, et lapis divulsus e Campanile isto occidit juvenem lectorem in Ecclesia."

More to the same effect might be still adduced, but I trust it will be considered as unnecessary, and that I have now sufficiently refuted the authorities, etymologies, and arguments, adduced by Dr. O'Conor in support of these theories. I have reluctantly entered the lists with that celebrated man, and I have combated his assertions, only because the sacred cause of truth required the contest. But I should be sorry to have it supposed that I would insinuate an unfavourable opinion of his *general* accuracy, or attach a harsher character to his valuable labours than that, which the historian Warner tells us the Doctor's grandfather acknowledged to be applicable to his own, namely, " that the Amor Patriæ might have inclined him to extend the matter (of the Antiquities of Ireland) somewhat beyond the rigour, to which he should have confined himself."

To the preceding notices I have now to add the arguments of two gentlemen, who have lent their talents to sustain the hypothesis under consideration, since this Inquiry was originally written and presented to the Academy, namely our great national poet, Moore, and the ingenious Mr. Windele, of Cork. In the arguments of the

former, indeed, I find little but a repetition, embodied in more grace-
ful language and a more logical form, of the evidences which I have
already examined; yet, as it will be satisfactory to the reader to have
every thing bearing on the question brought together for his con-
sideration, I shall insert them in this place.

" How far those pillar-temples, or Round Towers, which form so remarkable a part
of Ireland's antiquities, and whose history is lost in the night of time, may have had
any connection with the Pyrolatry, or Fire-worship, of the early Irish, we have no cer-
tain means of determining. That they were looked upon as very ancient, in the time
of Giraldus, appears from the tale told by him of the fishermen of Lough Neagh point-
ing [out] to strangers, as they sailed over that lake, the tall, narrow, ecclesiastical round
towers under the water, supposed to have been sunk there from the time of the inun-
dation by which the lake was formed. This great event,—the truth or falsehood of
which makes no difference in the facts of the period assigned to it,—is by the annalist
Tigernach referred to the year of Christ 62 ; thus removing the date of these struc-
tures to far too remote a period to admit of their being considered as the work of Chris-
tian hands."—*History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 26.

Mr. Moore then proceeds to examine the various theories, which
have been advocated in connexion with their Christian origin and
uses, to which he makes objections, which shall be examined in their
proper place, and then resumes as follows :

" As the worship of fire is known, unquestionably, to have formed a part of the an-
cient religion of the country, the notion that these towers were originally fire-temples,
appears the most probable of any that have yet been suggested. To this it is objected,
that inclosed structures are wholly at variance with that great principle of the Celtic
religion, which considers it derogatory to divine natures to confine their worship within
the limits of walls and roofs ;—the refined principle upon which the Magi incited Xerxes
to burn the temples of the Greeks. It appears certain, however, that, at a later period,
the use of fire-temples was adopted by the Persians themselves ; though, at the same
time, they did not the less continue to offer their sacrifices upon the hills and in the
open air, employing the Pyreia introduced by Zoroaster, as mere repositories of the sa-
cred fire. A simple altar, with a brazier burning upon it, was all that the temple
contained, and at this they kindled the fire for their worship on the high places. To
this day, as modern writers concerning the Parsees inform us, the part of the temple
called the Place of Fire, is accessible only to the priests ; and on the supposition that
our towers were, in like manner, temples in which the sacred flame was kept safe from
pollution, the singular circumstance of the entrance to them being rendered so difficult
by its great height from the ground is at once satisfactorily explained.

" But there is yet a far more striking corroboration of this view of the origin of
the Round Towers. While in no part of Continental Europe has any building of a
similar construction been discovered, there have been found, near Bhaugulpore, in
Hindostan, two towers, which bear an exact resemblance to those of Ireland. In all
the peculiarities of their shape,—the door or entrance, elevated some feet above the

ground,—the four windows near the top, facing the cardinal points, and the small rounded roof,—these Indian temples are, to judge by the description of them, exactly similar to the Round Towers ; and, like them also, are thought to have belonged to a form of worship now extinct and even forgotten. One of the objections brought against the notion of the Irish towers having been fire-temples, namely, that it was not necessary for such a purpose to raise them to so great a height, is abundantly answered by the description given of some of the Pyrea, or fire-temples of the Guebres. Of these, some, we are told, were raised to so high a point as near 120 feet, the height of the tallest of the Irish Towers ; and an intelligent traveller, in describing the remains of one seen by him near Bagdad, says, ' the annexed sketch will show the resemblance this pillar bears to those ancient columns so common in Ireland.'

"On the strength of the remarkable resemblance alleged to exist between the pillar-temples near Bhaugulpore and the Round Towers of Ireland, a late ingenious historian does not hesitate to derive the origin of the Irish people from that region ; and that an infusion, at least, of population from that quarter might, at some remote period, have taken place, appears by no means an extravagant supposition. The opinion, that Iran and the western parts of Asia were originally the centre from whence population diffused itself to all the regions of the world, seems to be confirmed by the traditional histories of most nations, as well as by the results both of philological and antiquarian enquiries. To the tribes dispersed after the Trojan war, it has been the pride equally both of Celtic and of Teutonic nations to trace back their origin. The Saxon Chronicle derives the earliest inhabitants of Britain from Armenia ; and the great legislator of the Scandinavians, Odin, is said to have came, with his followers, from the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea. By those who hold that the Celts and Persians were originally the same people, the features of affinity so strongly observable between the Pagan Irish and the Persians will be accounted for without any difficulty. But, independantly of this hypothesis, the early and long-continued intercourse which Ireland appears to have maintained, through the Phœnicians, with the East, would sufficiently explain the varieties of worship which were imported to her shores, and which became either incorporated with her original creed, or formed new and distinct rallying points of belief. In this manner the adoration of shaped idols was introduced ; displacing, in many parts—as we have seen, in the instance of the idol Crom-Cruach— that earliest form of superstition which confined its worship to rude erect stones. To the same later ritual belonged also those images of which some fragments have been found in Ireland, described as of black wood, covered and plated with thin gold, and the chased work on them in lines radiated from a centre, as is usual in the images of the sun. There was also another of these later objects of adoration, called Kerman Kelstach, the favourite idol of the Ultonians, which had for its pedestal, as some say, the golden stone of Clogher, and in which, to judge by the description of it, there were about the same rudiments of shape as in the first Grecian Hermæ. Through the same channel which introduced these and similar innovations, it is by no means improbable that, at a still later period, the pillar-temples of the Eastern fire-worship might have become known ; and that even from the shores of the Caspian a colony of Guebres might have found their way to Ireland, and there left, as enigmas to posterity, those remarkable monuments to which only the corresponding remains of their own original country can now afford any clue.

" The connection of sun-worship with the science of astronomy has already been briefly adverted to ; and the four windows, facing the four cardinal points, which are found in the Irish as well as in the Eastern pillar-temples, were alike intended, no doubt, for the purposes of astronomical observation,—for determining the equinoctial and solstitial times, and thereby regulating the recurrence of religious festivals. The Phœnicians themselves constructed their buildings on the same principle ; and, in the temple of Tyre, where stood the two famous columns dedicated to the Wind and to Fire, there were also pedestals, we are told, whose four sides, facing the cardinal points, bore sculptured upon them the four figures of the zodiac, by which the position of those points in the heavens is marked. With a similar view to astronomical uses and purposes, the Irish Round Towers were no doubt constructed ; and a strong evidence of their having been used as observatories is, that we find them called by some of the Irish annalists Celestial Indexes. Thus in an account, given in the Annals of the Four Masters, of a great thunder-storm at Armagh, it is said that ' the city was seized by lightning to so dreadful an extent as to leave not a single hospital, nor cathedral church, nor palace, nor Celestial Index, that it did not strike with its flame.' Before this and other such casualties diminished it, the number of these towers must have been considerable. From the language of Giraldus, it appears that they were common in his time through the country ; and in thus testifying their zeal for the general object of adoration, by multiplying the temples dedicated to its honour, they but followed the example as well of the Greek as of the Persian fire-worshippers.

" There remain yet one or two other hypotheses, respecting the origin and purposes of these structures, to which it may be expected that I should briefly advert. By some the uses to which they were destined have been thought similar to that of the turrets in the neighbourhood of Turkish mosques, and from their summits, it is supposed, proclamation was made of new moons and approaching religious festivities. A kind of trumpet, which has been dug up in the neighbourhood of some of these towers, having a large mouth-hole in the side, is conjectured to have been used to assist the voice in these announcements to the people. Another notion respecting them is, that they were symbols of that ancient Eastern worship, of which the God Mahadeva, or Siva, was the object ; while, on the other hand, an ingenious writer, in one of the most learnedly argued, but least tenable, of all the hypotheses on the subject, contends that they were erected, in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the primitive Cœnobites and Bishops, with the aid of the newly converted Kings and Toparchs, and were intended as strong-holds, in time of war and danger, for the sacred utensils, relics and books, belonging to those churches in whose immediate neighbourhood they stood. To be able to invest even with plausibility so inconsistent a notion as that, in times when the churches themselves were framed rudely of wood, there could be found either the ambition or the skill to supply them with adjuncts of such elaborate workmanship, is, in itself, no ordinary feat of ingenuity. But the truth is, that neither then nor, I would add, at any other assignable period, within the whole range of Irish history, is such a state of things known authentically to have existed as can solve the difficulty of these towers, or account satisfactorily, at once, for the object of the buildings, and the advanced civilisation of the architects who erected them. They must, therefore, be referred to times beyond the reach of historical record. That they were destined originally to religious purposes can hardly admit of question ; nor can those who have satisfied

themselves, from the strong evidence which is found in the writings of antiquity, that there existed between Ireland and some parts of the East, an early and intimate intercourse, harbour much doubt as to the real birth-place of the now unknown worship of which these towers remain the solitary and enduring monuments."—*History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 29—36.

As in the preceding arguments I find nothing requiring an answer, which has not been already noticed, I shall gladly pass on to the arguments more recently adduced by Mr. Windele in a tone of confidence, which contrasts strikingly with the cautious spirit of inquiry exhibited by Mr. Moore.   The first article in support of this hypothesis, put forward by Mr. Windele, appears in a work entitled *Historical and Descriptive Notices of the City of Cork and its Vicinity, &c.*, Cork, 1840, and is as follows :

" The origin and use of these towers are still, as they have been for nearly two centuries past, '*questiones vexatæ*,' and are likely so to continue, dividing the leisure of archaiologists, with such useful objects of enquiry, as Hannibal's vinegar, Homer or Ossian's birth place, or the Mysteries of the Babylonian bricks ;—absurdities innumerable have been brought forth in the discussion.   One writer has found their original in the *square, solid* pillar of Simon the Stylite, where from, by way of close copy, a *round, hollow* tower was formed.   O'Brien, one of the latest authorities, has discovered the Hindoo *Lingam*, in their form ; and, their use he says, ' was that of a cupboard,' to hold those figures, sacred to that very decent deity the Indo-Irish *Budha*.   Grave writers, too, have not been wanting who ascribed their construction to the ' Danes,' to serve as watch towers ; and a recent essayist, has, by way of climax, declared his belief, that they were erected in order to serve,—as indices to the cathedral churches.   But amidst all these follies, the ground of debate has been gradually narrowed, and the parties belligerent, at present, may be classed into two, one contending for their Pagan, and the other for a Christian origin.

" Vallancey was the first who held the former opinion.   He was ably sustained by Dr. Lanigan, and followed by O'Brien, Dalton, Beaufort, and Moore.   The other side, reckons amongst its adherents, the names of Ledwich, Milner, Hoare, Morres and Petrie. To us, it seems, that all the force of argument, authority, and analogy, is with the former.   The advocates of the Christian origin, have, in vain, sought for a prototype, in Christian lands ; whilst their opponents have found it in India, Persia, and Babylonia; and, perhaps, we may add amongst the remains of the ancient Phœnician colonists of Sardinia; thus indicating to the antiquary, that connexion or affinity of the early inhabitants of Ireland, with the ' Golden Orient,' which their antiquaries are fain to claim.

" Their Irish names, *Tur-aghan* or *adhan, Feidh-neimhedh* and *Cilcagh* are of themselves conclusive as to their Pagan origin, and announce, at once, a fane devoted to that form of religion, compounded of Sabœism, or star-worship, and Budhism, of which the sun, represented by fire, was the principal deity in all the kindred mythologies of India, Persia, Phenicia, Phrygia, Samothrace, and Ireland.   This idolatry in many respects, differed from that of Gaul and Britain.   Zoroaster was its grand reformer in Persia, and

the reformation seems to have been accepted in Ireland. He it was, who caused Pyreia, or Fire temples, to be erected. Hanway tells us, that four of them which he saw at Sari, are of the most durable materials, round, about [above] 30 feet in diameter, and raised in height to a point of about 120 feet. It is objected to our Pyreia, that there was no necessity for carrying them up to so great a height. The objection equally lies against those at Sari. Fire temples, also constituted part of the Brahminical worship. They were called like ours, *Coil* from *Chalana*, to burn. Mr. Pennant, speaking of the Indian Pollygars, says, that they retained their old religion, and that their Pagodas are very numerous, ' Their form, too,' he says, ' are different, being chiefly buildings of a cylindrical or round tower shape, with their tops, either pointed or truncated.' Lord Valencia describes two round towers, which he saw in India, near Baugulphore. He says, ' they much resemble those buildings in Ireland ;' the door is elevated; they possess a stone roof and four large windows near the summit. From India, we pass more to the westward, and in Babylonia, the ancient cradle alike of the religion of India, Persia, and of Druidism, we find remains of the pillar tower. Major Keppel, in his ' Personal narrative,' has given us a sketch of a portion of a pillar, as he calls it, which he observed between Coot and Bagdad, near the Tigris. It was composed of sun-burnt bricks, twenty feet two inches high, and 63 feet in circumference. It was evidently detached from other ancient buildings near it. He concludes by stating, that ' the annexed sketch will shew the resemblance this pillar bears to those ancient columns, so common in Ireland.'

" Following in the track of the old Phenician navigators, we find Sardinia, an island once colonized from Iberia and Phenicia, strewed with very singular buildings, of high antiquity, called *Nuraggis*, a name deemed to be derived from Norax, the leader of the Iberian colony. These are conical towers, constructed of large cubic stones, whose sides fit each other, without being connected together by either lime or cement. The largest are from fifty to sixty feet high. The interior is divided into three dark chambers, one above the other. Under several of these structures, burying places and subterranean passages have been discovered, leading to other Noraghs. Several hundreds of these monuments, between large and small, are scattered about Sardinia. ' There are,' says the writer in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, ' we believe, structures of a similar description in some parts of Ireland.' In some places, the Nuraggis are called, ' *Domu de Orcu*,' or house of death, in the belief of their monuments of the dead. This would not be very inconsistent with the character of the Irish towers ; human bones having been found interred within that at Ram-Island in Antrim, and similar relics,—but having undergone the ancient pagan process of *Cremation*,—were recently discovered in the tower of Timahoe.

" From our still imperfect acquaintance with the literary remains of ancient Ireland, we are not aware of many notices of our Round towers occurring in the early documents, yet preserved. In our annals, the names of such places as *Muighe Tuireth-na-bh Fomorach*,—the plain of the Fomorian tower ; *Moy-tura*, the plain of the Towers, in Mayo ; *Torinis*, the island of the tower ; the tower of *Temor*, and many others are mentioned with reference to the most remote periods of our history. The Ulster Annals, at the year 448, speak of a terrible earthquake felt in various parts, in that year, by which, seventy-five towers were destroyed or injured. The ' annals of the Four Masters' mention, at the year 898, the *Turaghan Angcoire*, or Fire-tower of the Anchorite, at

Iniscailtre, in the Shannon ; and the same annals, as well as those of Ulster, note at the year 995, the destruction, by lightning, of Armagh, its hospital, cathedral, palace, and *Fidhnemead*, or celestial index, i. e. Round tower.

" These two last names ought to be decisive of the controversy. *Turaghan* literally signifies a Fire-tower; the addition *Angcoire* refers to an appropriation for anchoretical uses, long posterior to the erection of the edifice. This accords with the general practice of the early Christian clergy, who placed their churches on the site of the Druid fanes. Ryland, (Hist. Waterford,) mentions a Cromlech, or altar, which stands in the church-yard, near the sugar loaf hill, in the Barony of Gualtier. It is stated in the old life of Mocteus, (a work of the seventh century,) that when that saint came to Louth, he found the place in possession of the Magi, whereupon he lighted a fire, which they seeing, endeavoured to extinguish, least their own Idolatrous fire should fail, but Mocteus, proving the victor, founded his monastery there.

" That Anchorites may have shut themselves up in some of the then deserted and unoccupied towers, is not now to be questioned. The tower at Iniscailtre was so seized on and used; but it is very ridiculous to suppose that this body adopted a style of building here, unlike any thing in use among them in any other country. In fact the Anchorite *Inclusorii* were very different from those towers ; that in which Marianus Scotus was confined at Fulda, was a cell with an external wall. The Anchorite habitations are invariably called *cells* by the old writers, not towers. Such cells are still extant near several of the most ancient of our churches, as at Ardmore, where that of St. Declan is called the *Monachan*, or dormitory; and at Ardfert and Scattery, where there are several similar structures. And yet at each of these places, there still remains, or there has been, a Round tower.

" The architectural features of the Round tower are objects of the highest importance in the enquiry ; the forms of the windows and doors, in general, are of high antiquity,—forms out of use at the time that their alleged Christian founders could have commenced their erection. The style belongs to that period, when the subterranean chambers of the *Raths* were of every day construction,—and *their* style is Pelasgic. The windows and doors of the towers are in general of that form ; broad at base, narrow at top, i. e. sloping or battering inward; and, then, the *lintel* arch so prevalent in them, so—entirely Pelasgic. As for the presence of the *semicircular* arch, we no longer deem that of the comparatively late date, until recently supposed of it. The arch was known at an early period in China. It has been found in the ancient baths and palaces of *Mexico;*—in Egypt,—in the great pyramid, and in other tombs of a date reaching as high as 1540 years B. C. ;—in Etruscan works,—as the gates of *Pestum, Volterra,* the *Cloaca maxima,* &c. The Chevron and Bead ornaments, which occur on one or two of the door-ways of our towers, have been found on some very antique *cinerary* urns, dug up out of old pagan cairns, and tumuli, as well as on gold ornaments found in Bogs, &c. and as to the solitary crucifixion, carved on the door of Donoghmore tower, it has been shewn to be quite modern. Added to all these proofs, let the general form of the tower, so Asiatic, and so Un-european, be duly borne in mind, and difficulties must present themselves to our opponents of no ordinary dimensions or character indeed. To pursue this subject farther would carry us far beyond our proposed limits, and we must therefore give over."—p. 179—184.

Such then is the sum of "all the force of argument, authority, and analogy," which appeared to Mr. Windele to be with General Vallancey and his followers. "The advocates of the Christian origin," he says, "have, in vain, sought for a prototype, in Christian lands; whilst their opponents have found it in India, Persia, and Babylonia; and, perhaps, we may add amongst the remains of the ancient Phenician colonists of Sardinia." But, I must still ask, where have examples of such prototype been found in any of the countries referred to? Not surely in Lord Valentia's Towers at Bhaugulpore, in India, which are not proved to have been fire-temples, or of any very remote antiquity; nor in the four towers of the Guebres in India, so vaguely described by Hanway, which could not have been like our Round Towers; nor in Major Keppel's pillar of sun-burnt bricks, twenty-two feet six inches high, and sixty-three feet in circumference. And, as to the prototype which Mr. Windele, "following in the track of the old Phenician navigators," finds in Sardinia, I believe he is entitled to the whole merit of the discovery. The buildings in which he finds this prototype are those "called *Nuraggis*, a name deemed to be derived from Norax, the leader of the Iberian colony," and which, in some places, "are called '*Domu* [*Domos*] *de Orcu*,' or house of death, in the belief of their being monuments of the dead"— a rather singular appellation for temples of the sacred fire. But this Norax, according to the best ancient authorities, colonized Sardinia about 1250 years before the Christian era; and, I should like to be informed how these works of a Greek people could have preserved the form of the fire-temples of the Persian Magi, which were first constructed by Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, about seven centuries afterwards? This is indeed "following in the track of the old Phenician navigators" in a very singular and somewhat retrograde manner; but I suppose Mr. Windele will only find in it an evidence of the identity of our countrymen with the Iberian and Phœnician colonists of Sardinia. The real question, however, is,—Is there any similarity between these Nuraghes of Sardinia and the Irish Round Towers? Mr. Windele would have us believe there is, and describes the Nuraghes in such a manner as would impress us with this belief. "These are," he says, "conical towers, constructed of large cubic stones, whose sides fit each other, without being connected together by either *lime* or *cement*. The largest are from fifty to sixty feet high. The

interior is divided into three dark chambers, one above the other. Under several of these structures, burying places and subterranean passages have been discovered, leading to other Noraghs." And, lastly, to crown all, he quotes a writer in the Foreign Quarterly Review, who states that there are, he believes, structures of a similar description in some parts of Ireland; from which Mr. Windele obviously wishes us to suppose, that that writer meant the Round Towers. But, in the first place, I answer, that the writer in the Foreign Quarterly Review could not have meant any thing of the kind, or he would have expressed himself in clearer terms; and, in the second place, that if Mr. Windele had described those Nuraghes more fully, his readers would have discovered that they had scarcely a feature in common with the Irish Round Towers. That no doubt, however, may remain on this point, I shall present the reader with the general description of these singular structures, as given in the best work which has been written on the subject, the *Notice sur les Nuraghes de la Sardaigne*, &c., by M[r.] L. C. F. Petit-Radel, Paris, 1826 :

" DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE DES NURAGHES.

" Les Nuraghes ou Noraghes de la Sardaigne, sont des monumens de plus ou de moins de cinquante pieds de hauteur, dans leur état d'intégrité, sur un diamètre d'environ quatre-vingt-dix pieds, mesurés de dehors en dehors à la base du terre-plain, sur lequel les plus considérables sont fondés. Le sommet de ceux qui ne sont point ruinés, se termine en cône surbaissé, et dans ceux que le temps a tronqués à leur sommet, la courbure extérieure de la bâtisse existante, doit faire supposer qu'ils étaient jadis couronnés de la même manière et dans les mêmes proportions que ceux qui se trouvent encore dans un état parfait de conservation ; ce qui n'est pas très commun.

" Les matériaux employés pour leur construction sont tirés des roches voisines, et se composent de pierres calcaires dures et grenues ; de porphyre trachytique et de roches volcaniques cellulaires ; on en rencontre quelques-uns en granit. Chaque bloc a communément un mètre cube, particulièrement dans les assises les moins élevées ; les architraves plates, qui surmontent les portes et les lucarnes de ces édifices, sont d'une dimension double, c'est-à-dire deux mètres de long, et même davantage, sur la hauteur d'un mètre. La ligne que décrit la périphérie de chaque bloc, a toute l'irrégularité que produisent des cassures faites, par le marteau, sur des pierres dures. Quelquefois les pierres en sont plus exactement parallélipipèdes, sans cependant atteindre à la régularité parfaite, qui pourrait faire supposer l'emploi simultané de la règle, du niveau et de la scie, comme dans les ouvrages les plus soignés de l'antiquité grecque ou romaine. Enfin, les parois, tant extérieures qu'intérieures de ces édifices, sont appareillées sans ciment ; on y a trouvé des marteaux en bronze.

" Les Nuraghes sont le plus souvent bâtis en plaine, sur des tertres naturels ou sur des collines ; quelquefois ils sont entourés d'un terre-plain très étendu, de plus ou de moins de cent vingt mètres de circuit, fortifié d'un mur de dix pieds de haut, et du même style de construction que l'édifice qu'il entoure ; on en connaît plusieurs qui sont flanqués de cônes plus petits, et d'une forme absolument semblable à celle du cône principal qui occupe toujours le centre. Ces cônes accessoires sont réunis autour du cône central, au nombre de 3, de 4, 5, 6 et 7, et le plan de leur disposition respective est presque toujours symétrique. Le mur commun qui les renferme est quelquefois traversé dans toute sa longueur par une communication qui conduit de l'un à l'autre cône, et qui répond à l'usage de nos casemates, étroits, bas et bien bâtis. Enfin, ce mur commun est surmonté d'un parapet d'environ trois pieds de haut, qui défend la plate-forme au milieu de laquelle domine le cône principal. Quand le nombre des cônes accessoires est impair, le mur de clôture, et d'épaulement à-la-fois, obéit aux sinuosités que nécessite le dessein qu'on a eu de les disposer symétriquement, et fournit des exemples sans doute bien anciens, de cette eurhythmie dont Vitruve a parlé. (Lib. I, cap. II.)

" Les murs de ces monumens se composent, pour la plupart, de deux paremens, dont les blocs s'ajustent l'un à l'autre par approchement, sans aucun parpaing, c'est-à-dire, sans aucune pierre qui traverse le mur de part en part, sans aucun blocage intermédiaire, et, comme je l'ai déjà dit en parlant des parois extérieures, sans aucun ciment. L'épaisseur totale de ces deux paremens est, de bas en haut, traversée en spirale par une rampe, dirigée tantôt en pente douce, tantôt taillée en degrés de pierre, et pratiquée pour servir de communication entre les étages de trois chambres disposées l'une au-dessus de l'autre, et dont chaque voûte se termine en ogive ovoïde. Il paraît que la chambre la plus basse ne sera devenue souterraine, que par l'effet de l'addition des quatre cônes angulaires et du terre-plain qui en recouvre l'extérieur. Ceux-ci n'ont que deux chambres, dont les voûtes sont également coniques. On y voit aussi des pentes disposées intérieurement en spirales, et toutes ces spirales décrivent, dans leur coupe, une abside, dont la ligne courbe se combine, à son sommet, avec une ligne presque verticale, ce qui a dû causer quelque difficulté dans l'appareil d'une bâtisse exécutée sans ciment et sans autre outil que le marteau.

" Tous les Nuraghes ont leurs entrées terminées par des architraves plates. M. de la Marmora observe que, dans la région de Macomer et de Saint-Lussurgiu, les entrées sont assez hautes pour qu'on puisse s'y introduire debout ; mais que dans tout le reste de l'île, l'entrée, de ceux même qui sont les plus considérables, est si basse, qu'on ne peut s'y introduire qu'à plat-ventre, et que leur ouverture, comme celles des soupiraux de nos caves, ne s'élargit et ne s'élève qu'à mesure qu'on avance, en s'y glissant dans l'attitude la plus pénible."—pp. 31—34.

To render the preceding description more intelligible to the general reader, it may not be uninteresting to present him with illustrations, from the same work, of two of the most characteristic examples of these singular monuments; and I do so the more willingly, inasmuch as that they have not, at least to my knowledge, been hitherto made known to the British public. The two wood-cuts annexed will

give a good idea of the usual construction of a Nuraghe, consisting of a central cone containing three chambers, one over another, and standing on a square base having small cones at each of its angles, connected with each other by a parapet wall,—as in the Nuraghe of Borghidu, which is here illustrated. This monument is situated in the plain of Ozier, on a moderately elevated rock of very hard "*brèche trachytique*," of which the Nuraghe is formed. The present height of the central cone is about forty-five feet, but in its original perfect state it would have been about twenty-one feet higher, or in all sixty-five feet; and its greatest diameter is about forty feet. The square base or plinth, at the angles of which the smaller cones are placed, is about fifty-seven feet in diameter.

The first of these cuts gives a general elevation of the structure restored; and the second its ground plan :
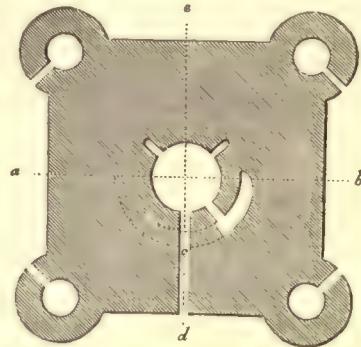
The cuts which follow represent a plan on the level *f g* of the second chamber, and a section through *d e* on the ground plan, exhibiting the
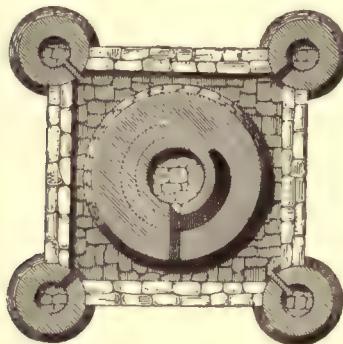
internal arrangement of the building, and the peculiar construction of its window.

In the two next sections will be seen the means of ascent, from the lower to the upper chamber, by a spiral gallery, constructed within the thickness of the wall, and ascending in a gradually inclined plane from one story to the other.

The first of these sections is taken on the line *a b* on the ground plan; the second, in part on the same line, but diverging in a semi-circle through the point *c* to show the course of the gallery :

The cuts which follow will afford an example of a Nuraghe of the simplest form,—that is, without a plinth and external cones,—and exhibit the usual construction of the window *c* and doorway *a* in those structures generally. The elevation represents the Nuraghe Nieddu, near Ploaghe, which is constructed of volcanic rocks of the neighbourhood; and the ground plan shows its internal arrangement:
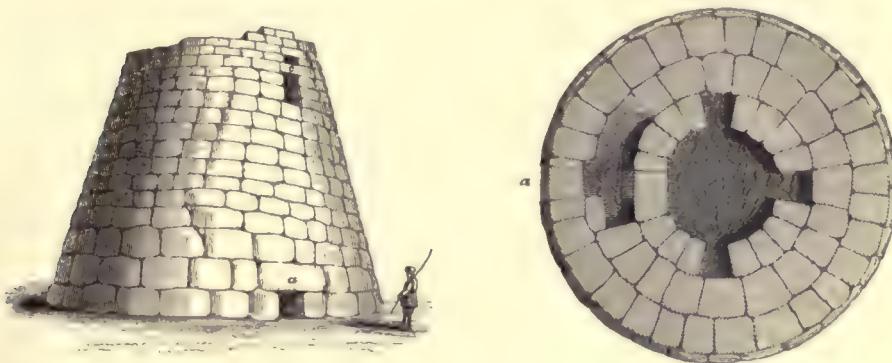
It will be observed, as a peculiarity in this specimen, that the gallery which affords a communication between the lower and upper chambers does not rise, as in the former example, from the first chamber, but commences immediately within the external doorway *a* by an ascent to the left. This Nuraghe is about twenty-eight feet in diameter, and, in its present state, about twenty-five feet in height.

That in the style of masonry observable in these ancient sepulchres, for such they undoubtedly are, there is a striking agreement to be found with that of many ancient monuments in Ireland, as well as with the Cyclopean remains of Greece and Italy, I am far from denying. On the contrary, I can claim the merit of having been the first to direct the attention of the learned to this interesting circumstance—a fact which I consider as of far greater value and importance, to the history of the British Islands, than even the settlement of the question of the origin of the Round Towers—in my Essay on the Ancient Military Architecture of Ireland, presented to the Royal Irish Academy in 1836, and which was honoured with the gold medal of that distinguished body. But, as I shall hereafter show, there are radically distinctive characteristics in all these remains, which are not found in our Round Towers. To Mr. Windele, however, the resemblance of the Round Towers to the Nuraghes of Sardinia appears so striking that he jumps at once to the conclusion that the former were not only fire-temples of the Guebres, but also in part sepulchres or monuments of the dead, as the latter are known to have been. " This," he states, " would not be very inconsistent with the character of the Irish towers ; human bones having been found interred within that at Ram Island in Antrim, and similar relics,— but having undergone the ancient pagan process of *Cremation*,— were recently discovered in the tower of Timahoe." But, I would ask, where are the evidences of either of these facts? and I must add that I utterly disbelieve the statement, respecting the recent discovery of the burned bones in the Tower of Timahoe. Mr. Windele, however, was fortified in his conclusion, not only by the Sardinian Nuraghes, but also by an opinion advanced by O'Brien, the author of " The Round Towers of Ireland," that amongst their other uses these buildings were occasionally, in part, applied to sepulchral purposes, like some of the Guebre Towers in Persia, and the Ceylonese Dagobs, and also by the fact, that " Sir William Betham at once declared that he fully adopted that opinion." Thus doubly armed, Mr. Windele, communicating a portion of the enthusiasm so excited to the gentlemen of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, inflamed that zealous body with such ardour to substantiate his hypothesis, that they set out on journeys of discovery to the principal Round Towers remaining in their own province, to excavate the very foundations

of those Towers in search of the wished-for human remains. The result will be best told in Mr. Windele's own words, as given in the Cork Southern Reporter:

" RESEARCHES AMONGST THE ROUND TOWERS.

" The public attention has lately been directed, through the press, to the discovery of a human Skeleton, within the basement of the Round Tower of Ardmore, in the County of Waterford. Since then the lower portion of a second Skeleton, consisting of the femoral and tibial bones, were found at a little distance from the former. And, in the nave of the ruined church adjoining, Mr. Windele discovered a fragment of an Ogham inscription, containing nine letters ; this had, probably, been removed at some distant time from the cemetery. These discoveries opened up a new subject of speculation to the antiquaries. An opinion advanced by O'Brien, the author of " the Round Towers of Ireland," that, amongst their other uses, these buildings were occasionally, in part, appropriated to sepulchral purposes, like some of the Gheber Towers of Persia, and the Ceylonese Dagobs was now regarded of greater value than it was supposed it was originally entitled to. Sir William Betham at once declared that he fully adopted that opinion ; he was fortified in it by the facts previously known, that in the Towers of Ram Island and Timahoe evidences of ancient interment had been found. Others again, unwilling to abandon previously cherished hypotheses, suggested that Ardmore Tower may have been erected in a more ancient christian cemetery, belonging to Declan's Monastery ; and the absence of the head and feet of one Skeleton, and of the whole trunk of the second, they alleged proved, that in digging for a foundation for the Tower, the builders merely cut a circular trench, amongst the graves, leaving undisturbed the narrow space within its periphery, and consequently, such portion of human remains as lay interred therein. This was certainly an ingenious solution, but then why all this hermetical sealing of that portion of the Tower above these remains, first laying down a concrete floor, then four successive layers of solid mason work, and finally above these a second floor of concrete. Even rejecting this, as of no account, it is contended that it is not a necessary consequence that the Tower must have been christian, altho' it had been erected within a more ancient cemetery.—Men died and were buried before Christianity, and there were Pagan as well as Christian burial grounds. But in this case, laying aside all the strong and stubborn arguments in favour of the pillar tower having been a Heathen Temple, dedicated to the Sun, or fire, there are two or three special considerations peculiar to Ardmore. In the first place, the lands on which it is situate are called *Ardo*, the height of the *fire*,—secondly, the ancient life of St. Declan, whilst it is particular in its mention of the churches and monastic buildings, is totally silent as to the *Cuilcagh* or Tower, which it would not have been, did this, the most remarkable of all the structures at Ardmore, owe its origin to that saint or any of his successors. Then again, the finding of the Ogham fragment. In a question of this kind this may be considered as of importance. The Ogham writing has been generally considered as Druidical, as the original literary character of pagan Ireland, whose descent has been traced back to Babylonia and Persepolis—the ancient of days. In Ireland the majority of inscriptions in this character, hitherto brought to light, have been obtained from localities of decidedly a heathen

origin.   Bealahamire ('the place of the field of adoration') near this city, possesses 2—
Beallanrannig in Kerry, where 7, and Coolcoolaught in the same county where 6 re-
main, were both ancient pagan cemeteries ; 5 inscribed stones form the imposts of
an old Pelasgico-Irish cave at Dunloe ; 2 similar stones occupy a like situation in a
similar cave, in a Rath west of Bandon ; all this is strong evidence of the Pagan cha-
racter of these inscriptions, and the finding one at Ardmore is *per se* a demonstration
that the place had been in possession of the Pagans, and therefore the probability of
a Gheber Tower and Cemetery.   At all events, discovery of the skeletons not being
deemed absolutely conclusive, further exploration in other similar structures was
considered necessary.   Permission from the Dean and Chapter having been obtained,
it was resolved to examine the Tower at Cashel.   Accordingly on the 3rd and 4th of
the present month, Messrs. Horgan, Odell, Hacket, Abell, Willes, Keleher and Win-
dele undertook the execution of that task ; they were joined at Cashel by the Very Rev.
Dean Cotton, to whose excellent taste in repairs and excavations all lovers of the pic-
turesque and admirers of the remarkable remains of antiquity which crown the rock,
stand so much indebted.   The door of this Tower is 12 feet above the external plinth
which forms the base of the building.   The interior of the structure was found filled
with loose earth intermixed with human bones to a depth of 2 feet ; under this ac-
cumulation was found a mass of solid stone work, forming the original floor of the
tower, five feet nine inches below the door.   Through this the workmen employed
wrought for two days, until late in the evening of the 4th they reached the founda-
tion, ascertaining that the masonry extended to the very floor of the rock on which
the tower was based.   This satisfied the explorers that at least *all* the towers were *not*
sepulchral.

   " Small fragments of charcoal were found at the base of the tower.   Whether these
could have ever formed any portion of a sacred fire, once burning within the tower,
who can affirm or rationally deny ?   The idea of such a possible use has however
been thrown out, and again met by a scepticism founded on the fewness of the particles
discovered.   Nothing, it would seem, less than a wheel-barrow full would suit the
gentleman who propounded doubts upon the subject ; but he forgot that the place
where they were found was a small hole not more than 18 inches diameter, and of a
like depth, merely opened to ascertain the distance of the rock from the surface.

   " Not content, however, with this examination, they next pitched upon the tower
of Cloyne, and here their operations were crowned with perfect success.   On Thursday
last, under the superintendence of Mr. William Hackett, the workmen, after pene-
trating through about two feet of rubbish, reached a solid floor, about a foot in thick-
ness, formed of small stones, laid in gravel, so firmly bedded as to yield only to re-
peated efforts with the crow-bar and pick-axe.   Under this they found, within a space
of six feet diameter, a stratum of earth-mould, in which were discovered three skele-
tons, laid west and east, two of them lying side by side of each other, and the third
under these.   The gentlemen under whose directions these researches were prosecuted,
and who were in attendance on this interesting occasion, were the Rev. Messrs. Hor-
gan, Rogers, Jones, Bolster and D. Murphy, Messrs. Hackett, Sainthill, Abell, Win-
dele, Keleher and J. Jennings.

   " This discovery sets at rest the question, raised but not deemed satisfactorily
disposed of, at Ardmore ; and it stands now ascertained, that the towers of Timahoe,

Ram Island, Ardmore and Cloyne were, amongst other uses, appropriated to sepulchral purposes ; whilst the society have, by their investigations in other directions, also established the fact, that other similar buildings, such as Cashel and Kinneh, in the west of the County of Cork, were *not* similarly used."

That Mr. Windele thought that the question of the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers was now settled to the satisfaction of all inquirers, appears from a letter, subsequently addressed to the Editor of the Cork Southern Reporter, and afterwards published in the sixth number of the Archæologist, in which he states, that he " had the folly to imagine that the recent discoveries at Ardmore and Cloyne would have had a sedative effect on the too long vexed question of the Round Towers." But he was, I think, a little too sanguine in his expectations. I, for one, must declare that I am no more satisfied with the proofs on which he rests his conclusions than his Munster opponent *Quidam*, whose object appears to have been to enjoy a laugh at all the theorists on this subject, by gravely propounding a new one more absurd than any previously advocated.

I shall examine Mr. Windele's discoveries separately in the order in which they were made, first noticing, however, his statement given on the authority of Sir William Betham, that similar discoveries had been made in the Towers of Ram Island and Timahoe ; on which I must observe, that such vague statements should be considered as of no value whatever in an inquiry of this kind. For, granting that human bones were found in those two Towers, I would ask—Could they only have been interred there cotemporaneously with the erection of the Towers. To make the fact worth anything it should be satisfactorily proved that this was necessarily the case. I know myself many Round Towers, into which it has been usual for a long time to throw the bones dug up in the cemetery, and the custom is continued at the present day. Sir William Betham has, indeed, stated, that the bones found within the Tower of Timahoe,—a Tower which I shall prove to be of Christian construction,—were cremated, and contained within a pagan urn; but what proof has he given us for this fact? Mr. Windele himself appears to have some doubts about it, for in a letter to me, dated Cork, 12th August, 1841, he asks : " Is it a fact that an *urn* containing *burnt* bones was found in Timahoe ?" And he adds this remark, " this, *if true*, would settle the age of these buildings"—a conclusion, however, in which I can by no means concur, as

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the erection of a Round Tower in Christian times on the site of a pagan sepulchre would not be a very unlikely circumstance.

Proceeding now with Mr. Windele's recent and better authenticated discoveries, I shall, in the first place, remark, with respect to the Tower of Ardmore, that what he calls the ingenious solution which was offered respecting the erection of that Tower in a more ancient Christian cemetery, is, in my opinion, not only an ingenious one, but the most rational that could possibly be offered. According to Mr. Windele, however, there are two or three special considerations peculiar to Ardmore, which favour the conclusion as to its pagan origin. In the first place, he says, " the lands on which it is situated are called *Ardo*, the height of the fire." Now on this statement I have to observe, first, that this is not the fact, for the Tower is situated on the glebe of Ardmore, or the great height, and, as appears from the Latin Life of St. Declan, the place was more anciently called *Ard na g-caerach*, and explained by *Altitudo ovium*. Secondly, there are no lands in the parish of Ardmore called Ardo, as Mr. Windele states, though there is a gentleman's house so called, but there are two townlands called Ardochesty and Ardoguinagh, one of which adjoins the glebe of Ardmore; and Mr. Windele had no authority for calling those townlands Ardo simply, or for his statement that the Round Tower of Ardmore is situated on either of them. And thirdly, even granting that Ardo was the name of the lands on which the Tower stands, it could not possibly signify the height of the fire, or legitimately admit of any interpretation but height of the yew, from *ard*, a height, and *eo*, of the yew. Mr. Windele's second argument is, that the ancient Life of St. Declan, whilst it is particular in its mention of the churches and monastic buildings, is totally silent as to the *cuilcagh* or tower, which it would not have been did this, the most remarkable of all the structures at Ardmore, owe its origin to that saint or any of his successors. This appears to me a most illogical conclusion. If, as Mr. Windele asserts, the ancient Life of St. Declan, whilst it is particular in its mention of the churches and monastic buildings, is totally silent as to the *cuilcagh* or tower, the legitimate conclusion, I think, would be, that the Tower was not in existence when the Life was written ; and though it may be fair to draw an inference that the Life would not have been silent as to the erection of this Tower—the most remarkable of all the structures at

Ardmore—had it owed its origin to St. Declan, it seems somewhat ludicrous to expect that it should record its erection, by any of St. Declan's successors, unless it were first proved that the Life was written subsequently to the existence of those successors, and that the Life of St. Declan included the Lives of his successors also.

Lastly, Mr. Windele says, " then again the finding of the Ogham fragment. In a question of this kind this may be considered as of importance. The Ogham writing has been generally considered as Druidical, as the original literary character of Pagan Ireland, whose descent has been traced back to Babylonia and Persepolis,—the ancient of days." To this I answer, that the Druidical origin of the Ogham writing still remains to be proved; but, even granting that it is Druidical, as he states, the finding of an inscription in this character at Ardmore would prove nothing, as it is perfectly certain that the character was used by Christian ecclesiastics both in manuscripts, and inscriptions on stone. But I have a stronger objection to make on this point. I utterly deny that the lines on the stone at Ardmore are a literary inscription of any kind, and I challenge Mr. Windele to support his assertion by proof. So much then for the discoveries at Ardmore !

These discoveries not being deemed absolutely conclusive, further exploration in other similar structures was considered necessary; and accordingly the South Munster Antiquaries proceed to examine the Tower of Cashel, and the result was such as " satisfied the explorers that, at least, *all* the Towers were *not* sepulchral." But I had nearly forgotten that, though they ascertained that the Tower of Cashel was not a sepulchre, they discovered evidences to favour the conclusion that it was a sacred fire-temple, namely, a few particles of charcoal in a small hole at the base of the Tower on the outside. And Mr. Windele triumphantly asks, " whether these could have ever formed any portion of a sacred fire once burning within the tower, who can affirm or rationally deny?" Now I, for one, will rationally, as I think, deny the probability of such a conclusion, and I think I can assign very sufficient reasons for doing so. In the first place, I repeat that we have no evidence whatever that sacred fires were ever lighted *in Towers* in this country; but we have an abundance of evidence, which I shall hereafter adduce, to prove that the Towers, that is, the wooden floors, &c. of them, as well as the

churches, were often burned by the plundering Danes. But,—to come to an evidence more in point in connexion with Cashel itself,—is Mr. Windele ignorant that in the year 1495 the cathedral, with which the Tower is in immediate contact, was burned by Gerald, the eighth Earl of Kildare, for which act being accused before the king, his excuse was that it was true, but that he had supposed the archbishop was in it! Now, I ask, would not this conflagration sufficiently account for an abundance of charcoal being found beside its walls, not to speak of a few particles? But these charcoal remains may be even of later date; for I have been informed that the boys of Cashel in recent times, but previously to the enclosure of the cemetery by Dean Cotton, were in the habit of lighting fires within the Tower to smother the young owls and other birds, which made the interior of it their home.

I may here observe, that some time after the examination of this Tower at Cashel, the South Munster Society of Antiquaries also examined the Round Tower of Kinneh, in the County of Cork, and that the result, as communicated to me by Mr. Windele, in a letter, dated 25th September, 1841, was as follows :

"We some time since examined the Round Tower of Kinneh. It is based on the rock, and on the inside the tower is open down to its base,—the solid rock forming its floor. Thus Cashel and Kinneh prove that all were not sepulchral."

The want of success of the South Munster Antiquaries in these examinations, though it may have damped, was not sufficient to destroy their enthusiastic ardour. Though it was now certain that *all* the Towers were *not* sepulchres, it was yet possible that one or more than one of them might have been erected for that purpose. Accordingly, " they next pitched upon the Tower of Cloyne, and here their operations were crowned with perfect success. Under a solid floor about a foot in thickness, formed of small stones laid in gravel, so firmly bedded as to yield only to repeated efforts of the crow-bar and pick-axe," they actually found, " within a space of six feet diameter, a stratum of earth-mould, in which were discovered three skeletons, laid west and east, two of them lying side by side of each other, and the third under these." To leave no doubt of the truth of the preceding statement, Mr. Windele gives us a list of the eleven gentlemen who were in attendance on the occasion of this interesting discovery. " The gentlemen under whose directions these researches

were prosecuted, and who were in attendance on this interesting occasion, were the Reverend Messrs. Horgan, Rogers, Jones, Bolster, and D. Murphy, Messrs. Hackett, Sainthill, Abell, Windele, Keleher, and J. Jennings."

To this last statement I wish particularly to call the attention of the reader, as, if correct, it would follow as a matter of course, that there would be no disagreement, as to the nature of the facts stated, among the persons who were present on the occasion of the discovery. Yet it is remarkable that there is a striking disagreement between the account, which I have above quoted, and one subsequently published in the same Cork newspaper. This disagreement will sufficiently appear from the following extracts from letters with which I have been kindly favoured by Mr. Windele himself. In the first of these letters, dated 25th September, 1841, Mr. Windele thus writes:

" I hasten to inform you of the result of an excavation which we caused to be made, on the 23rd instant, in the lower part of the Round Tower of Cloyne.

" You are probably aware that that building is based upon a lime stone rock, which stands out several feet higher than the surrounding ground, and that between it and the cemetery, in which stands the Cathedral, runs the high road, which here forms one of the principal streets of the ancient town of Cloyne. The workmen commenced by clearing out about 2½ feet of rubbish, under which they found a floor of small stones, a large powder pavement, which could not be penetrated by spade or shovel, but yielded to the pick-axe ; beneath this, in loose mould, were found *human bones, a skull*, and fragments of decayed timber. The space, within which the bones were found, is 6 feet, and the mason-work is, as it were hollowed to receive the bodies.

" This discovery you will probably deem to be confirmatory of that already made at Ardmore."

From Mr. Windele's second letter, dated 29th September, 1841, it will, however, appear, that the preceding account was any thing but a correct one ; and, it would also appear, that Mr. Windele was not present at the excavation at all. He thus writes :

" Last week I sent you a report, *obtained at second hand*, of so far as related to our antiquarian researches at *Cloyne*. Since then I visited, with others of the ancient craft, the Tower in question, and I now enclose you a semi-official statement of what occurred ; and in so doing, it is right that I should inform you that the statement, with regard to fragments of timber being found, was incorrect, no such remains having been discovered. It is a curious circumstance that many small oyster shells have been taken out from amongst the clay and rubble which covered the skeletons ; could these once have been men ? Lord Kaimes has somewhere said, that 'men by inaction degenerate into oysters,' and Sir —— ——, in more recent times, when speaking of his Jim Crow propensities, declared he did not know if he should not yet *turn* into an oyster ! We

are told of an Indian Bramin who shut himself up in a Tower for 40 years, during which lengthened period he industriously occupied himself in merely looking at the wall and thinking of—nothing. Who knows but, in these unexpected shells, we may have found some old Indo-Irish Bramins, whose contemplative inaction might have been productive of an ostracism. To the Budhists this, I submit, is worth some consideration.

" Since writing the foregoing I received your letter of the 27th instant, and now beg to answer your queries. The feet of the skeletons were under or in a line below the door of the Tower, which faces the S. E. ; consequently the bodies lay from N. W. to N. E. (not West and East as in Report).

" The hollowing of the mason-work to receive the bodies you are to reject. That was a fancy of my informant, who laboured hard on my visit, to persuade me of its correctness, but as I could see no such hollow I could not give in my assent. The little sketch and measurements at foot will best explain."
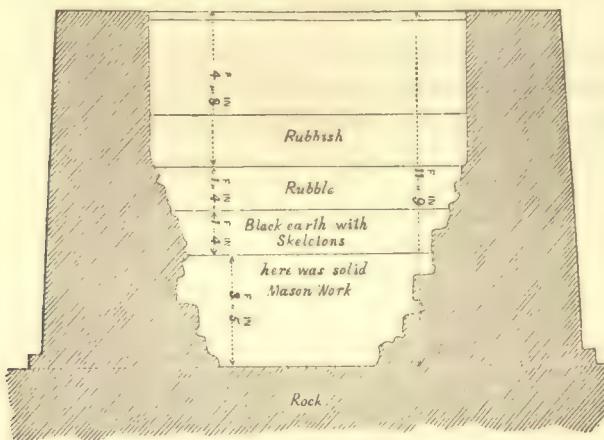
The semi-official statement, above alluded to, is as follows :

" ROUND TOWERS—CLOYNE.

" A correspondent of the *Southern Reporter* thus writes—The announcement made in your last paper, so far as regards the proceedings of the South Munster Antiquarian Society at Cloyne, mentions merely the operations of the first day, Wednesday. Those of the succeeding day were of a far more decisive and interesting character. The result of the whole is stated in the *proces verbal* drawn up on the conclusion of their researches, with the approbation of the several gentlemen present, viz. :—The Rev. Messrs. Rogers, Lawless, Horgan, Bolster, and Dominick Murphy ; Messrs. A. Abell, R. Sainthill, J. Windele, F. Jennings, and W. Keleher. The document I send you, and is as follows :—

" ' Having proceeded to excavate the tower according to order, we entered a bed of earth and of decayed rotten timber (probably the fallen nests of jackdaws and other

birds), interspersed with decayed bones of different animals and stones. After having cleared it out between three and four feet, we then met a bed of broken limestone, one foot four inches in thickness, underneath which was a bed of fine black earth, wherein we met with three skeletons stretched in the usual way from west to east, one being under the two, part of which I have kept; having three couple of collar bones, and three front parts of the lower jaw bones—the upper skeleton being the freshest. Under these we met with a layer of coarse heavy stones, with the even or smooth sides up, set in coarse gravel, under which were two tiers of light flags. After that we came to the solid rock.

" ' W. CHAPMAN, Sexton.'

" ' Cloyne, 24th Sept., 1841.' "

Now I would seriously ask, is it possible that any rational inquirer could give credence to statements so contradictory of each other, as those which I have now submitted to the reader, or is it on such statements that a question of this nature is to be decided ? But I have not done with the discoveries in the Cloyne Tower yet. It will be seen from the annexed notice on this subject, recently published in the Cork Southern Reporter, and kindly transmitted to me by Mr. Windele, on the 9th of April, 1842, that the human remains found in this Tower, and originally represented only as " human *bones* and a *skull*," having gradually assumed the forms of three human skeletons, are now increased to four,—and it is difficult to conjecture how many they will make in the next accounts. These are certainly very extraordinary bones ! It will be seen also, from the same article, that the researches in the Round Tower of Cashel, which had been given up as an unsuccessful affair, even proving "that at least *all* the Towers were *not* sepulchral," were, after all, not so unfortunate as had been supposed. But I must let the South Munster Society of Antiquaries now speak for themselves :

" ROUND TOWERS.

" Towards the close of the last summer we announced to our readers that a discovery had been made, of importance, in the elucidation of the mystery in which the origin of these structures was involved. We then gave details connected with the discovery of human remains within the foundation of Ardmore Tower. From that time to the present, we venture to affirm, more attention has been paid, and more of practical, rational investigation, has been directed to the subject, than it ever previously received.

" We have had the pleasure of laying before our readers various interesting communications from our literary friends, which, by the talent, ingenuity, and erudition, they display, prove that the subject is in the very best hands. The South Munster Antiquarian Society has also been most active, owing to the untiring exertions of its

members, correspondences have been opened in France, England, Scotland, and in many places in Ireland, all with most satisfactory results.

" Through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. M·Cosh, of Brechin, (Scotland) a correspondence has been established with the well known learned historian of that city, D. D. Black, Esq., whose work we have read with very great pleasure.

" We shall now, leaving the discussion to those who are so well able to conduct it, proceed to state the discoveries made subsequently to that at Ardmore.

" In the month of September, several of our fellow-citizens met by appointment at Cashel the Very Rev. Dr. Cotton, of Lismore, and Edward Odell, Esq., whose labours we before mentioned. The Round Tower there, was examined. Although human remains were found within that structure, yet, because they were near the surface mixed with earth and decayed timber, it was supposed they had been thrown in casually from the adjacent cathedral or burial ground. But it is now to be noted that there was evidence of a previous delving; and the discoveries since made shew, at least, a probability, that the human bones there found, had been disturbed from their original resting place, within the foundation walls. It must, however, be admitted, that the Cashel researches, cannot be adduced as a positive instance of the sepulchral character of these towers. Not so with Cloyne; there, at a depth from the doorway of about thirteen feet, being very nearly the same as at Ardmore, were found the bones. of four human skeletons lying in the direction from West to East. The space within which they lay, was an irregular serrated oval of about six feet and a half by four.

" The Roscrea Tower was opened three weeks since, at the request of our Society, by Edward Wall, Esq. of that town, who discovered human remains all through, from the doorway downwards, in a depth of over ten feet. To the very interesting particulars given by Mr. Wall, we purport adverting hereafter, as his researches are not yet concluded.

" The correspondence with Sir William Betham has shewn the success of the discoveries to which that learned and zealous antiquary has been instrumental. His noble friend, the Marquis of Downshire, caused to be opened the Round Tower of Drumbo. The tower of Maghera has also been opened; in both of which were found human remains. Similar results had previously attended the opening of the tower on Ram Island. The two most remarkable instances remain to be mentioned. We have the authority of Sir William Betham, that in the tower of Timahoe, there were not only human bones, but that a sepulchral Urn was found; and by Mr. Black's history we learn that in Abernethy tower (Scotland) human skulls and bones were found in great numbers, and *there* was also discovered an urn. These two facts prove that Timahoe and Abernethy towers, at least, were pagan structures, and leave a strong presumption in favour of the same inference with regard to the others. As we are aware that many further researches are about to be made, we hope ere long to present our readers with the results."

With respect to the discoveries in the Round Tower of Cloyne, upon which so much has been said, and so much stress laid, I shall only add, that it is my firm conviction, that none of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries were present at the exhumation of the bones; that the story of this exhumation, which has assumed so many forms,

rests on no better authority than that of the sexton, who was hired by the antiquaries to make the examination, and whose story, in many of its details, the antiquaries themselves did not believe to be true; and lastly, that the utmost that can be concluded from it is, that fragments of human bones were found in the rubbish, intermingled with those of other animals, oyster shells, and other remains. Of the discoveries of a similar nature more recently made in the Towers of Roscrea, Maghera, Drumbo, and, I believe, others, no detailed accounts have reached me, with the exception of those in the Tower of Drumbo : I believe, however, that it is only the discoveries in this Tower that are considered of any importance, and of these I am enabled to present the reader with an accurate account, kindly communicated to me by my ingenious friend, Mr. Edmund Getty, of Belfast, in a letter dated Belfast, 10th of January, 1842.

"My friend Mr. Thomson has communicated to me your note, requesting the particulars of the opening of the Round Tower of Drumbo, and I only delayed until a rough notice I had drawn up was read over by the Rev. Mr. Maunsell, by whose directions the enquiry was conducted. The tower, you will recollect, has lost part of its original height, and been filled up perhaps a few feet in the interior by stones thrown or fallen in, &c. The door described by Harris as 6 feet from the ground is now perhaps five feet.

"'For the first two feet the debris thrown out very much resembled the soil of the adjacent grave yard, having mixed thro' it a quantity of human bones, not in any regular form, tho' perhaps more in one spot than another,' and which I feel satisfied has been thrown in from the burying ground; 'some pieces of charcoal were found, and several of the stones thrown out bore evident marks of fire,' having been most probably used by persons forming fires here for temporary purposes unconnected with the original intention of the builders.

"'After this depth (2 feet) the stuff removed assumed more the appearance of mortar rubbish, and seemed in great measure (partly) composed of the ruins of the top of the tower which had fallen in at the period of its dilapidation, which, it would seem, must have been as early as 1744, for about that time Harris in his County of Down describes the tower as being much as at present. Among the rubbish were large stones, a considerable number of them having marks of fire; this is also observable in the interior of the building, where there is a slight superficial vitrification, but only above the surface of the ground, which has been lately excavated. Dubourdieu, in his Survey, published in 1802, takes notice of this appearance in these words : *At some former time very strong fires have been burned within this building, and the inside surface towards the bottom has the appearance of vitrification.* This stuff so described was excavated to the depth of more than one foot on the first day, and on the next morning the remainder of it was cast out, when the appearance changed to that of a rich black mould, apparently decomposed vegetable matter, with a good deal of charcoal and

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quantities of bones of various descriptions, chiefly of the lower animals,—some boar tusks and jaws, a few short horns of oxen and other remains of those animals. When this substance was thrown out to the depth of about three feet, having now reached a depth of about seven feet altogether below the surface, we commenced upon, a totally different soil made its appearance like the natural soil of the neighbourhood, yellowish or light brown ; it appeared to be covered all over as well as we could trace, with a slight coating of mortar, perhaps about one inch in thickness. Almost close underneath this, and nearly opposite the doorway, was discovered the skull of a human skeleton. This skeleton was afterwards explored with as much caution as possible, when it was found in a very decomposed state, wanting the right arm and hand, and the two legs from the knee down. It lay by compass N. N. W. by W. the head towards the west. The skull was tolerably preserved, having almost a perfect set of teeth in the lower jaw ; all the vertebræ remained undisturbed. In the earth was found the cap (*patella*) of one knee. No vestige of a coffin, dress or hair was observable. The skeleton was removed in order to continue the excavation, which was down to the depth of nearly two feet from the layer of mortar, when coming to the solid ground that appeared never to have been moved, and reaching the foundation of the tower without making any further discovery, the examination was considered to have been completed. The following measurements of the body were taken : from the crown of the head to the knee 4 feet, 3 inches ; from the hip-joint to the knee 1 foot 10 inches ; length of the back bone 2 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The interior chamber of the tower is 9 feet. The body, as it was found, appeared to be so placed that, had it been entire, it would have occupied the centre of the ground, the head being about a foot, or rather more, from the western side of the tower.'

" The above notes were taken from an amended copy of a narrative of the examination drawn up by me, and submitted for correction to the Rev. Horatio Maunsell, who, assisted by Mr. Durham of Belvidere, directed the operations. It was returned to me copied in part and amended in Mr. Maunsell's hand-writing. I am thus particular, as Mr. Thomson and I did not go out to Drumbo till the third day, when the skeleton was discovered. I may add that we were informed, the plaster floor described was less perfect at the east side than to the west. It may either have been disturbed by former enquirers, or more probably affected by the weather, to which from being directly under the door, it was more exposed than other parts. This may account for the want of the legs from the knee-joint. Mr. Thomson, on our return to Mr. Callwell's, the proprietor of the estate, (the tower is in the freehold of the incumbent Mr. Maunsell,) observed traces of hair on his shoes, which he considered had been mixed with the clay he trod on in the tower. The quantity of stones thrown out of the tower had composed a very small portion indeed of the material of the upper part of the tower, which most probably fell without, not within. The bones of animals found I consider to have been carried in by persons who made a temporary abode there ; and the marks of the fire may have been caused, if not by the flame from their rude hearth, by a burning from accident of an interior floor and stairs, if such things, as I think probable, had existed.

" I delayed writing until I had received a reply from Mr. Maunsell, as I wished to give you a perfect narrative of our proceedings. The part copied by him is marked by inverted commas."

In the preceding account I see nothing to object to. But what is the conclusion to be fairly drawn from it ? not surely that it proves the Tower to have been raised as a sepulchral monument in pagan times, or even that the bones found within it were a deposit cotemporaneous with its erection. To me it appears that the only rational conclusion to be drawn from the discovery of these bones would be unfavourable even to the very early Christian antiquity of the Tower, for,—like the discovery of the imperfect skeleton at Ardmore,—it indicates that the Tower was erected on a spot which had been previously used as a Christian cemetery, as the position of the remains clearly shows. And this, too, would account for the imperfection of the skeleton; for, though it is obvious that in digging the foundation of the circular wall of the Tower it would have been necessary to penetrate to the virgin clay, and thus run the chance of removing a portion of a skeleton, or skeletons, yet, from the respect always paid to the remains of the dead among Christians, and even pagans, it would have been an object to leave the area enclosed within the circle undisturbed as far as possible.

So much then for this singular hypothesis. But it will be asked, how do I account for the discovery of pagan urns in the Towers of Timahoe in Ireland and of Abernethy in Scotland ? and, certainly, if these discoveries were satisfactorily proved, they would, as Mr. Windele writes to me, stand much in the way of my theory. But they are not satisfactorily proved. With respect to the discovery of the urn in the Tower of Timahoe, I have already expressed my utter disbelief of the statement, and have also shown that Mr. Windele himself is not without doubts of its truth ; and, with respect to the alleged discovery of human bones and an urn in the Tower of Abernethy, I shall venture also to express my disbelief of it, and will state my reasons for doing so. It will be recollected, that this statement, as already given in full, was put forward in the Cork Southern Reporter, as resting on the very respectable authority of Mr. D. D. Black's History of Brechin, and that not a word was said of any other authority for the facts. The words are, " by Mr. Black's history we learn, that in Abernethy Tower (Scotland) human skulls and bones were found in great numbers, and *there* was also discovered an urn ;" and it is added, " these two facts prove that Timahoe and Abernethy Towers at least, were pagan structures, and leave a strong presump-

tion in favour of the same inference with regard to the others."
Having for a considerable time failed to procure a copy of Mr. Black's
work, I requested Mr. Windele to favour me with a transcript of the
passage in it, on which this statement rested, and he sent me, as a
copy of the extract required, a descriptive account of the Tower in
question, but nothing authorizing the statement put forward in refe-
rence to the pagan urn. I have, however, been since favoured with
a copy of Mr. Black's work by its talented author, and I certainly do
find such a statement in it, not however, as Mr. Black's own, but as
one put forward by the Rev. Dr. Small, and which Mr. Black very
obviously regards as of very little value, as will appear from the fol-
lowing extract from his work :

" The Rev. Dr. Small of Edenshead, Abernethy, who has written a book on ' Ro-
man Antiquities,' states the tradition, regarding the tower of Abernethy, to be, that it
was erected as a burying place for ' the Kings of the Picts,' and to the doctor ' it is as
clear as a sunbeam, that the Pictish race of Kings lie ALL buried within it.' In con-
firmation of this hypothesis, the Reverend Doctor writes, that on the 10th May, 1821,
the interior of the tower was dug into, when, at about four feet from the surface, the
Sexton found, in presence of the gentlemen assembled, ' plenty of human bones, and
the fragments of a light green urn, with a row of carving round the bottom of the neck,'
and that, digging still farther, they ' came to three broad flags, which either served as
the bottom of the first coffin or the cover of another, and by removing one which
seemed the largest, found that there were plenty of bones below; *and thus, after gain-
ing our end in ascertaining the original design of building it, as a cemetery for the Royal
Family*, we desisted,' says the doctor. We introduced ourselves to Dr. Small, from
whom we purchased a copy of his work. We are quite satisfied he is a gentleman on
whose veracity implicit reliance may be placed; but we rather fear he jumps at conclu-
sions, and is not a little credulous—and still worse, we doubt his antiquarian skill.
Shade of Huddleston, how wouldst thou shudder, if shades can shudder, to learn that
Dr. Small derives Pittendriech, your burial place of the Druids, from two common
Scotch words—ascribing the origin of the term to the circumstance of the Romans
having ' got a more *dreich* piece of road *pitten* to them,' when forming their famous way
through North Britain ! The doctor, in describing his researches in the tower, adds,
that the Sexton of Abernethy, afterwards, found ' seven other human skulls all lying
together, all of them full-grown male skulls,' buried in the tower, one of which, the
most entire, was carried away by Sir Walter Scott. Our friend, Thomas Simpson,
the successor of the sexton alluded to by the doctor, hints pretty broadly, that situated
so close to the kirk-yard as the tower is, there would be no great difficulty in finding
skulls in the latter, when it was once seen there was a demand for them. Thomas
applies to this case the famous axiom in political economy, that the demand regulates
the supply."—*History of Brechin*, pp. 265, 266.

I may also observe, that in another passage in his work, Mr. Black

distinctly says, " Dr. Small's *speculation* does not coincide with our opinions ;" and also gives as his own opinion, that " the Round Tower of Brechin was erected somewhere about the year 1000,"—an opinion which I shall hereafter show is not far from the truth.   As to Dr. Small's statement, and the speculation respecting it in which he indulges, I may safely leave it to the consideration of my antiquarian readers, who will be at no loss to determine the value of the alleged discovery of " *fragments of a light green* urn with a row of carving round the bottom of the neck,"—a monument of pagan antiquity not previously found in the British isles ; and this is the fact that proves to the South Munster Society of Antiquaries that the Abernethy Tower, at least, was a pagan structure !

I have also to state that Mr. Windele, at the time when he sent me the extracts from Mr. Black's work, also very kindly favoured me with the copy of a letter from the historian of Brechin to William Hackett, Esq., of Middleton, a member of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, detailing the results of excavations recently made under Mr. Black's direction within the Round Tower of Brechin ; and, as these details not only very clearly exhibit the writer's opinions on the hypothesis under consideration, but also contain a very interesting account of the discoveries made on the occasion, I shall present his letter to the reader, in full :

" SCOTLAND, *Brechin*, 13*th April*, 1842.
" DEAR SIR,

" The obstacles alluded to in my last letter having all been removed, Mr. M'Cosh and I proceeded on this day week, Wednesday, 6th April, to excavate the interior of the round Tower of Brechin.   Sir James Carnegie, Baronet, of Southesque, our principal Heritor, taking an active interest in our proceedings, and Patrick Chalmers, Esquire, of Auldbar, having volunteered in the most handsome manner to pay all expenses, although unfortunately, from his bad state of health, he is unable to witness our proceedings, and has, in consequence of continued indisposition, been obliged to resign the seat he held in Parliament for this district of Burghs, a circumstance which has thrown this quarter into a fever of Politics, for it will be no easy matter to find a man possessed of all Mr. Chalmers' qualifications to fill his room.

" The round Tower of Brechin, you will recollect, has a doorway on the west side, the sill of which is 6 feet 7 inches from the ground, and this doorway being filled up with stonework, our first proceeding was to open it.

" I went down on Wednesday morning at six o'clock (I wish to be minute)—accompanied by David Black, carpenter in Brechin, and James Jolly, mason in Brechin ; and these tradesmen in my presence, carefully removed the stones which blocked up the doorway, leaving the arch free and uninjured, and displaying a handsome entrance

into the Tower.   A set of wooden steps were then fitted, to give access by the door, while precautions were adopted for shutting up the Tower, when the workmen were not there, so as to prevent any person introducing *modern antiques* for our annoyance. After removing some old wood, and other timber recently placed there by the church officers, James Jolly was left alone, as the circle of the tower did not give scope for more workmen.   He then proceeded to dig amongst the loose earth, and has been so employed till to-day, being from time to time visited by Mr. M'Cosh and me.   Each shovelful, as dug up, was carefully sifted, and thrown into a heap.   The sifted earth when accumulated into a small heap, was then thrown out at the door of the tower, and down to [the] wooden steps alluded to. After this the earth was put, by a spadeful at a time, into a barrow, and wheeled to a corner of the churchyard.   Here, again, the earth was thrown by a shovel into a cart, and then driven away.   By this repeated *handling*, I think it next to impossible that any thing of the least consequence could have escaped observation.   I directed James Jolly to keep a regular journal of his proceedings ; and each evening when he gave up work, he brought to the British Linen Company Bank Office, and left with the accountant, Mr. Robert Lindsay, the articles found each day ; and Mr. Lindsay again labelled and marked the articles so found. David Black the carpenter is Mr. M'Cosh's tradesman, a master workman and an individual of undoubted character ;—James Jolly is a journeyman mason, a very intelligent man, and a person upon whose integrity ample reliance can be placed ; and Mr. Lindsay, with whom I have been acquainted through life, and who has now been with me for thirteen years continuously, is a man of the strictest probity.   I am fully satisfied, therefore, that we have got a careful and correct account of every thing found in the tower.   James Jolly has now dug eight feet below the door sill, that is, he is about one foot five inches below the external ground line and hewn basement or plinth of the tower, and has come to where the hewn work ceases, and rude undressed stones form the building.   At this depth we stop until we hear from you.   We have not reached the native rock on which the tower is built ; but we have now reached the clay or till and sand work, which appears to have been disturbed, as [if] it were what had been dug out for the foundation and thrown into the centre of the tower.   Until this depth we have dug through a fine mould composed of decayed wood and other vegetable matter, mixed up with a little animal matter.

    " We found a quantity of peats, and a good deal of dross of peats, or refuse of moss, and we also found great varieties of bones, principally sheep bones, especially jaw bones of sheep, some bones of oxen, and a few human bones, these last being vertebræ, pieces of skulls, toes and bits of jaw-bones.   These bones were found at all depths, but we found no bones of any size.   We have likewise got a quantity of slates, a hewn stone for the top of a lancet-shaped arch, part of the sill of a window with the base of a mullion traced on it, some basement stones, and others of baser workmanship ; oyster shells, buckies or sea-shells, nails, buttons, bits of copper and verdigris, two small lumps of bell metal, several little bits of stained glass, and part of an elf arrow have also been found at different depths ; and yesterday we found the remains of a key and some charred wood.   But what will most please your pagan friends is the fact, that since we began we have each day found various pieces of URNS or jars.   None of the pieces although put together form a complete urn ; but I think amongst the pieces I can trace out three or four distinct vessels.   One appears to have been of glazed

earthen ware, and to have had little handles as thus ;   while round the inner ledge there are small round indentations : about   a third of this vessel remains, as marked by the dotted lines ; the other   two vessels are of clay, regularly baked, apparently, but not glazed, and one is slightly ornamented round the edge thus   the indentations being evidently made by alternately pressing the thumb   and fore-finger horizontal, and the thumb perpendicular, in the wet clay.

" Now, how came all these things there ? I am afraid you will set me down, not for a pagan, but for a veritable Heathen when I say, that my opinion is, the slates, glass, wood, and iron had been tossed in at what in Scotland is called the Reformation, when our Scotch Apostle, John Knox, drove your Roman Catholic Apostles from what he termed their rookeries ;—that the bones and great part of the animal and vegetable matter had been carried to the top of the tower by the rooks and jackdaws (kaies of Scotland) for building their nests and feeding their young, and had tumbled from thence to the bottom of the tower ;—that the peats and the rest of the stuff had been thrown at various times into the bottom of the tower as a general receptacle for all refuse ;—and that the fragments of URNS or jars, are just the remains of culinary articles belonging to the different kirk officers.

" After this declaration can I expect to hear from you again, advising me what further we ought to do in regard to our round towers, which, in my eyes, remain as great a mystery as ever ?

" The steeple of the church of Montrose was rebuilt some eight years ago, on the site of a steeple which had existed beyond the memory of man. It was thought necessary to dig the foundation of the new tower deeper than the old had been founded, and in the course of this excavation, various skeletons were found buried amongst sand and gravel, the subsoil on which the town of Montrose stands. The fact of bodies being buried below towers and steeples, then, will scarce prove the erection to be either Christian or pagan.

" The tracings which you sent of Cloyne Tower represent very closely the style of building of the Round Tower of Brechin, especially where two or more horizontal stones are connected by a smaller perpendicular one thus
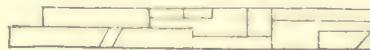
and also where one is laid with a little toe or thin part of it projecting as it were beyond itself over another stone, as above. In Brechin too, as at Cloyne, we find it impossible to drive a nail into the joints of the doorway, while into some parts of the general masonry I have thrust my cane with ease for several inches. Sir William Gell, you remark, gives drawings of a similar mode of building in the vicinity of Rome. But is not this just a mode common to all nations in their rude state, who put up as large stones as they can find or move with ease and bring them together by means of smaller pieces ? . . . . " D. D. BLACK."

On this excellent letter it is not necessary for me to make a single remark. It will go far to account for the heterogeneous nature of the remains discovered in the Irish Towers, and which may be further

accounted for by the fact that during the war in Ireland, at the close of the sixteenth century, these Towers became the receptacles of thieves and wood-kerne. For this fact we have the authority of an Irish sermon written at the time, in which the author laments, among other evils, that "the temples were defiled, the cemeteries dug up, the chapels profaned, the monasteries broken, the cloisters without protection, the cells inhabited by harlots, the belfries (cloᵹáιρ) inhabited by wood-kerne"!

I might, I think, now have done with the discoveries of Mr. Windele and the South Munster Society of Antiquaries; but, as these gentlemen, or their organ, have "ventured to affirm that from the commencement of their researches to the present time more attention has been paid, and more practical, *rational* investigation, has been directed to the subject" (of the origin and uses of the Round Towers) " than it ever previously received,"—I must beg leave to express my dissent from such conclusion, and to offer a few remarks in support of my opinion. That these gentlemen, whose antiquarian zeal I greatly admire and applaud, have discovered a new species of antiquarian investigation, wholly unknown to the antiquaries of past ages,—a sort of railroad process, requiring but little laborious travelling on the old high roads of learning and research, I am free to acknowledge, but I am by no means satisfied that, in inquiries of such a nature, this is the safest mode of travelling. On the contrary, I am of opinion that, after all, the old mode is the best,—that if—to abandon figure and come to the point—we wished to ascertain whether our pagan ancestors erected the Round Towers as sepulchral monuments or not, we should determine the question, not by the short process of digging in the bases of the Towers, but by the more laborious examination of the ancient literature of our country, which is still so abundant in amount, and so rich in information on the usages of the times to which those gentlemen desire to refer these monuments. To adduce all the authorities which our ancient manuscripts could furnish respecting the ancient pagan modes of sepulture in Ireland, from the earliest period of the history of the country, would greatly exceed the space allotted to this section of my inquiry,—but, as the subject is of considerable interest, and has not been hitherto treated of, I shall adduce a few notices from our manuscripts which will satisfactorily show what the sepulchral usages of the pagan Irish were,

and be sufficient to demonstrate that the hypothesis of the South Munster Antiquaries is wholly visionary.

The first authority which I shall adduce will satisfactorily prove, that the Irish in pagan times had regal cemeteries in various parts of the island, appropriated to the interment of the princes of the different races, who ruled as sole monarchs, or provincial kings or toparchs; and that such cemeteries were well known to the people in Christian times, though no longer appropriated to their original purpose, except in one or two instances, where the localities were consecrated to the service of Christianity. This valuable authority is preserved in one of the most celebrated Irish manuscripts—the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* —a work compiled at Clonmacnoise, and transcribed by Moelmuiri, the son of Ceileachar, the grandson of Conn na m-bocht, a distinguished writer of that great abode of learning—the *Scotorum nobile culmen*,—in the twelfth century, and of which the autograph original on vellum, the property of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, is now before me. The article, which I give entire, is called *Senchas na Relec*, or History of the Cemeteries; and I may add, that, judging from its language, its age must be referred to a period several centuries earlier than that in which its transcriber flourished. There is a second copy of the same tract preserved in an ancient vellum manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 3, 17, beginning at page 745, but the older copy is that given here. I should also observe that this tract is glossed in the original, evidently by Moelmuiri himself, and that such explanations of the transcriber are given within crotchets, both in the Irish text and in the translation of it.

" Senċaſ na ſɼelec ın ſo.

" Móſ ſí móſ-bſieċaċ ſo ʒab oſ h-Eſınꝺ, .ı. Coſɼmac, mac Aıſɼc, mıc Cuınꝺ Céꝺ-caċaıʒ. ba maıċ ıaſɼom baí ınꝺ Eſıu ſıa lınꝺ, ſó-ꝺéıʒ ſo ſcaíleꝺ bſieċ ſeċʒae ſó Eſınꝺ accı-ſɼeom, con na láınċéa ʒuın ꝺunı ın h-Eſınꝺ ſſí ſé ıúbılı bıccı, .ı. uıı. m-blıaꝺna; aſ baı cſieċım ın oén Dé oc Coſɼmac, ꝺo ſéıſ ſieċa; aſ ſó ſáıꝺ ſeom na aıꝺéſaꝺ cloċa ná cſunnu, aċċ no aꝺénaꝺ ın cí ꝺoſ ſonı, 7 ſo ſo ċomſıꝺ aſ cul na ulı ꝺúla, .ı. ın c-oén Dıa neſc-ċomſıꝺ, ſo cſuċaıʒ na ꝺúlı, ıſ ꝺó no ċſɼeıcſeꝺ. Conıꝺ e-ſeom ın cſeſ ſo cſieꝺ ın Eſınꝺ ſıa cíaċcaın Paſɼaıc .ı. Conċoboſ mac Neſɼſa, ꝺía ſo ınnıſ Alcuſ ꝺó céſaꝺ Cſıſc; Moſanꝺ, mac Coſɼſı Cınꝺ ċaıcc, (.ı. mac Maın) ın ꝺaſna ſeſ; Coſɼmac ın cſeſ; 7 ane ıſ ꝺoıʒ co n-ꝺeoċacaſ oſem aıle ſoſ a ſlıċ ımón cſieċım ſın.

" Iſ anꝺ, cſá, no ʒnaċaıʒeꝺ (.ı. Coſɼmac) a ꝺooʒnoſ h-ı Cemſaıʒ, aſ ſlıce ceċ

ριζ ρεμι, no co ρο milleo a ροιrc a Θηζυιr Ζαι-buaιrρneέ, mac Θέαέ Ριno ruaέ
αιρτ. In Αcaill (.ı. τulaέ h-ı rıl Sζrίn Colaιm Cille ınoıu) ımorρο 7 ı Cenannar,
7 h-ı τıζ Cleτıζ, no bίo ρom ıαρταιn; άρ nί bά h-aoa ρı co n-anım h-ı Τempaıζ.
Τάnıc τrά bάr oıa ınnaıζıo[a]-ρeom h-ı τıζ Cleτıζ ır ın blıaoaın ταnaıρe aρ coll
a ροιρc[b], ıaρ n-ζlenamaın cnama bραταn[c] ına bραζıτ[d]. Ro ραιo ρeom, (.ı. Coρ-
mac) ımorρo, rrıa muınτıρ, cen a aonacul ır ın όρuζ (.ı. oaıζ ba ρelec ıoala-
oαρέa), oaıζ nı h-ınano Dıa ρό aoaır ρeom 7 ceέ aen ρo aonaέτ ırr ın όρuıζ,
aέτ a aonacol ı Rρoρ na ρıζ 7 a aıζe ραιρ. Fuaır ρeom bάr ıαρ rın, 7 ρο
ρeραo comaρlı oc a aer ζράoa, 7 ırreo ρό έιnρeτ a aonacol ır ın όρuıζ, aıc ı
m-bαταρ ρıζ Τemρa ρomı-ρeom. Ro τocbao ıaρom coρρ ıno ρıζ ρo έρı, oıa bρeıέ
ırr ın όρuζ, 7 h-ı τραέτ ın όoαno ρό έρί ı n-aρoa, con nά ρέταιρ a τeέτ. Co τucρατ
oía n-uıo coρ τίaέταın oaρ bρeıέ ρlαέa τeέτ oaρ τımna ın ρıζ. Feραıc a ρeρτ
ıaρom ı Rρoρ na ρıζ, amaıl aρbeρτ ρέın.

"Roρταρ ıατ ρo τρa ρρım-ρeılce h-Θρeno ρía cρeτım: .ı. Cρuaέu, ın όρuζ,
ın Τallτıu, Luaέaιρ Aılbe, Óénaέ Aılbe, Óénaέ Culı, Óénac Colman, Τemaıρ
Θρano[e].

"Óénaέ Cρuaέan έeτuρ, ırr ano no aonaıcτıρ clanna h-Θρemoın, .ı. ρıζnao
Τemρaέ, no co τάnıc Cρemέano, mac Luζoeέ Rıab n-oeρζ, (.ı. ır ρeρıoe ceτ ρί
oıb ρo aonaέτ ır ın όρuζ), .ı. Cobέaέ Coel όρeζ, 7 Labρaıo Loınζreέ, 7 Θoέo
Feoleέ co n-a τρı maccaıb (.ı. na τρı Fıoemna, .ı. όρer 7 Nάρ 7 Loτορ.), 7 Θoέo
Aıρem, 7 Luζaıo Rıab n-oeρζ, 7 ρé ınζena Θέaέ Feolıζ (.ı. Meob, 7 Clochρu,
Muρerc, 7 Oρebρıu, Muζaın 7 Θle.) 7 Aılıll, mac Mατa, co n-a ρeέτ m-bρaέρıb
(.ı. Ceτ, Anlon, Doέe, eτ ceτeρı) 7 ıno ρıζnao ulı co Cρemέano (.ı. ır ıaτ ρo ρo
aonaıcıτ h-ı Cρuaέaın). Cıo ροτeρa naέ ır ın όρuıζ na h-aonaıcτıρ na ρıζ?
(.ı. rıl Cobέaıζ co Cρemέano). Nı h-annρa; aρ ρορταρ ıατ oa coıceo ρo τeέτρa
clano h-Θρemoın .ı. cóıceo n-Ζaleoın, (.ı. coıceo Laıζen) 7 coıceo Olnecmaέτ,
(.ı. coıceo Connaέτ). Coıceo n-Ζalíon έeτuρ, ρo ζabρaτ rίl Labρaoa Loınζrıζ.
Clano Cobέaıζ Coıl όρeζ, ımorρo, bά h-e a ρleρc láma ρıoe coıceo Connaέτ;
Conıo aıρı ırre (.ı. coıceo Connaέτ) τucao oo Meıob ρé ceέ cóıceo. (Iρ aıρı
τucao oρba oo Meıob, aρ nı boı oo rıl Θaέaέ neέ ba τualaınζ a ζabaıl, aέτ rıρı,
aρ nıρ b'ınζnıma Luζaıo ın ταn rın); 7 oana ın ταn no bıo ρίζı n-Θρeno o claıno
Cobέaıζ Coıl όρeζ, ba cóıceo Connaέτ a ρuıoleρ (ı. a ρleρc lama); Conıo aıρı
rın no aonaıcτıρ ın oénuέ na Cρuaέna ıατ. Irr ın όρuıζ ımorρo no aonaıcτίρ ıaτ
ό amρıρ Cρımταıno (.ı. Nıaonaıρ) co amρıρ Loeζaıρe, mıc Neıll, cenmoτάτ τρıaρ,
.ı. Aρτ, mac Cuıno, 7 Corρmac, mac Aıρτ, 7 Nıall Noı-ζıallaέ.

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[a] Innρaıζıo, in H. 3. 17.   [b] Iaρ choll a ρuıρc, in H. 3. 17.

[c] Iuρ lenamaın cnama bραταın ına bραζaıo, H. 3. 17.

[d] H. 3. 17 adds, no ρıabρa ρo h-oρτ .ı. Τuαcha oe Danaınn, άιρ ıτ rrıu aτbeρτa
ρıabρa, i. e. or it was the Siabhras that killed him, i. e. the Tuatha De Dananns, for
they were called Siabhras.

[e] In H. 3. 17, the names of these cemeteries are given as follows : Cρuaέan, 7 όρuζ
mıc Inoıc, 7 Τallτı, 7 Aenach ρean-Cloέaıρ, 7 Luaέaıρ Aılbe, 7 Aenach Aılbe,
7 Aenach Θarina, 7 Aenach Chuıle, 7 Aenach Cholmaın, 7 Τeriaıρ Θρan, 7
Maρτρa Munτıρı Fınnταınn.

" Ro ınnıṙemaṙ ṫıa ın ṙaṫ aṙ náṫ anꝺ ṙo aꝺnaṫṫ Coṙmac. Iṙ aıṙı, ꝺaná, náṫ anꝺ ṙo aꝺnaṫṫ Aṙṫ, aṙ ṙo ṫṙeıṫ ın la ṗıa ṫabaıṙṫ ṫaṫa Mucṙama, 7 ṙo ṫaıṙnᵹın ın cṙeṫım, (.ı. co ṙoṙbeṙaꝺ ın Cṙıṙṫaıꝺeṫṫ ṙoṙ Eṙınꝺ) 7 aṙbeṙṫ co m-baꝺ anꝺ no beıṫ a ṙeṙṫ ı n-Ꝺuma n-Ꝺeṙᵹ-luaṫṙa, aıṫ h-ı ṙaıl Ṫṙeoıṫ ınꝺıu. Ꝺıa ṙo ꝺeṫṫ ṙom ıṙ ın ꝺuaın ꝺo ṙıᵹnı ṙın .ı. Caın ꝺo ꝺenꝺa ꝺen. (.ı. ꝺuan ꝺo ṙıᵹnı Aṙṫ, 7 ıṙṙe a ṫoıṙṙeṫ, caın ꝺo ꝺenꝺa ꝺen ⁊c.) In ṫan ṙoucaꝺ a coṙṗ (.ı. Aıṙṫ) ṙaıṙ (.ı. co Ꝺuma n-Ꝺeṙᵹ-luaṫṙa) ıaṙṫaın, ꝺıa m-beṫıṙ ṙıṙ h-Eṙenꝺ oca ṙṙeınᵹ aṙṙ, nı ṙeṫṙaıṫıṙ, co ṙo aꝺnaṫṫ ıṙ ıno ınuꝺ ṙaın ; Foꝺeıᵹ aṙ ṙoṙ eclaṙ Caṫalacꝺa ıaṙṫaın balı ın ṙo aꝺnaṫṫ (.ı. Ṫṙeoıṫ ınꝺıu), Foꝺeıᵹ na ṙıṙınnı, 7 na cṙeṫmı ṙo m-bí aṙ na ṙaıllṙıᵹeꝺ, ṫṙıa ṙíṙ ṙlaṫa, ꝺó.

" Nıall, ımoṙṙo, ıṙṙ anꝺ ṙo aꝺnaṫṫ ın Oṫaın. Conıꝺ ꝺe aṫa Oṫaın ṙoṙṙ ın ṫelaıᵹ, .ı. oṫ ṫaını .ı. ıno oṫṙaꝺ 7 ıno ṫṫaíní ꝺo ṙonṙaṫ ṙıṙ h-Eṙenꝺ oc caíní Neıll anꝺ.

" Conaıṙe móṙ ꝺna h-ı Maıᵹ Fecı ı m-Ꝺṙeᵹaıb (.ı. oc Feṙṫa Conaıṙe) ṙo aꝺnaṫṫ ; aṫṫ ṫena ıṙṙe Conaıṙe Caṙṙṙaıᵹe ṙo h-aꝺnaṫṫ anꝺṙıꝺe, 7 ní h-e Conaıṙe móṙ ; Co m-baꝺ h-e, ꝺṅá, ın ṫṙeṙ ṙı ṙo h-aꝺnaıṫṫe h-ı Ṫemṙaıᵹ h-e, .ı. Conaıṙe, 7 Loeᵹaıṙe 7 * * * *.

" h-ı Ṫallṫın, ımoṙṙo, ṙo h-aꝺnaıṫṫıṙ Ulaıꝺ, .ı. Ollom Fóṫla co n-a ṫlaınꝺ, co ṫanıc Conṫobaṙ, .ı. aṙ ıṙ anꝺ ṙo ṫoᵹ ṙıꝺe a ṫabaıṙṫ eṫeṙ Slea[a] 7 muıṙ, 7 aıᵹeꝺ ṙaıṙ, ṙoꝺeıᵹ na cṙeṫmı ṙo m-boı.

" Uaṙlı Ṫuaṫı ꝺe Ꝺananꝺ ıṙ ın Ꝺṙuᵹ no aꝺnaıṫṫıṙ ; (.ı. ın Ꝺaᵹꝺa 7 a ṫṙı meıc, 7 Luᵹ 7 Oe 7 Ollam 7 Oᵹma 7 Eṫan,[b] 7 Coṙṙṙe, mac Eṫaıne,) 7 ṙoṙ a ṙlıṫṫ-ṙıꝺe ꝺo ṫoıꝺ Cṙınṫanꝺ ; aṙ ba ꝺo Ṫhuaıṫ Ꝺéa a beṙ, .ı. Náṙ, 7 ıṙ ṙí ṙo aṙlaıᵹ ṙaıṙ con baꝺ h-e baꝺ ṙeılıc aꝺnaıcṫı ꝺó 7 ꝺıa ṫlaınꝺ ın Ꝺṙuᵹ ; conıꝺ h-é ṙaṫ, cen a n-aꝺnaıcṫı h-ı Cṙuaṫaın.

" Laᵹın (.ı. Caṫaıṙ co n-a ṫlaınꝺ, 7 na ṙıᵹ ṙemṙo) ı n-Oenach Aılbe ; Clanꝺ Ꝺeꝺaꝺ, (.ı. ṙıl Conaıṙe 7 Eṙnaı) h-ı Ṫemaıṙ Eṙanꝺ ; Fıṙ Muman, [.ı. Ꝺeṙᵹṫene] ı n-Oenaṫ culı, 7 ı n-Oenaṫ Colman ; Connaṫṫu h-ı Cṙuaṫaın."—*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, fol. 41. b.

" HISTORY OF THE CEMETERIES HERE.

" A great king of great judgments assumed the sovereignty of Erin, i. e. Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Erin was prosperous in his time, because just judgments were distributed throughout it by him ; so that no one durst attempt to wound a man in Erin during the short jubilee of seven years ; for Cormac had the faith of the one true God, according to the law ; for he said that he would not adore stones, or trees, but that he would adore him who had made them, and who had power over all the elements, i. e. the one powerful God who created the elements ; in him he would believe. And he was the third person who had believed, in Erin, before the arrival of St. Patrick. Conchobor Mac Nessa, to whom Altus had told concerning the crucifixion of Christ *was the first ;* Morann, the son of Cairbre Cinncait, (who was surnamed Mac Main) was the second person ; and Cormac was the third ; and it is probable that others followed on their track in this belief.

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[a] Eṫeṙ Leca 7 muıṙ in H. 3. 17.   [b] Eṫan .ı. banṙıle in H. 3. 17.

" Where Cormac held his court was at Tara, in imitation of the kings who preceded him, until his eye was destroyed by Engus Gaibhuaiphnech, the son of Eochaidh Finn Fuath-airt ; but afterwards he resided at Acaill, (the hill on which Scrin Colaim Cille is at this day), and at Cenannas, [Kells], and at the house of Cletech ; for it was not lawful that a king with a *personal* blemish should reside at Tara.   In the second year after the injuring of his eye he came by his death at the house of Cletech, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat.   And he (Cormac) told his people not to bury him at Brugh, (because it was a cemetery of Idolaters,) for he did not worship the same God as any of those interred at Brugh ; but to bury him at Ros na righ, with his face to the east.   He afterwards died, and his servants of trust held a council, and came to the resolution of burying him at Brugh, the place where the kings of Tara, his predecessors, were *buried*.   The body of the king was afterwards thrice raised to be carried to Brugh, but the Boyne swelled up thrice, so as that they could not come ; so that they observed that it was 'violating the judgment of a prince' to break through this Testament of the king, and they afterwards dug his grave at Ros na righ, as he himself had ordered.

" These were the chief cemeteries of Erin before the Faith, [i. e. before the introduction of Christianity,] viz. Cruachu, Brugh, Tailltiu, Luachair Ailbe, Oenach Ailbe, Oenach Culi, Oenach Colmain, Temhair Erann.

" Oenach Cruachan, in the first place, it was there the race of Heremon, i. e. the kings of Tara, were used to bury until the time of Cremhthann, the son of Lughaidh Riabh-n-derg, (who was the first king of them that was interred at Brugh) viz. Cobhthach Coelbregh, and Labhraidh Loingsech, and Eocho Fedhlech with his three sons (i. e. the three Fidhemhna, i. e. Bres, Nar, and Lothor), and Eocho Airemh, Lughaidh Riabh n-derg, the six daughters of Eocho Fedhlech, (i. e. Medhbh, and Clothru, Muresc, and Drebriu, Mugain, and Ele,) and Ailill Mac Mada with his seven brothers, (i. e. Cet, Anlon, Doche, *et ceteri*) and all the kings *down* to Cremhthann, (these were all buried at Cruachan).   Why was it not at Brugh that the kings (of the race of Cobhthach down to Crimhthann) were interred ?   Not difficult ; because the two provinces, which the race of Heremon possessed, were the province of Gailian, (i. e. the province of Leinster), and the province of Olnecmacht, (i. e. the province of Connaught).   In the first place the province of Gailian was occupied by the race of Labhraidh Loingsech, and the province of Connaught was the peculiar inheritance of the race of Cobhthach Coelbregh ; wherefore it (i. e. the province of Connaught) was given to Medhbh before every other province.   (The reason that the government of this land was given to Medhbh is, because there was none of the race of Eochaidh fit to receive it but herself, for Lughaidh was not fit for action at the time).   And whenever, therefore, the monarchy of Erin was enjoyed by any of the descendants of Cobhthach Coelbregh, the province of Connaught was his *ruidles* (i. e. his native principality).   And for this reason they were interred at Oenach na Cruachna.   But they were interred at Brugh from the time of Crimhthann (Niadh-nar), to the time of Loeghaire, the son of Niall, except three persons, namely, Art, the son of Conn, and Cormac, the son of Art, and Niall of the Nine Hostages.

" We have already mentioned the cause for which Cormac was not interred there. The reason why Art was not interred there is, because he 'believed,' the day before the battle of Muccramma was fought, and he predicted the Faith, (i. e. that Christianity

would prevail in Erin), and he said that his own grave would be at Dumha Dergluachra, where Treoit [Trevet] is at this day, as he mentioned in a poem which he composed, viz. *Cain do denda den*, (i. e. a poem which Art composed, the beginning of which is *Cain do denna den*, &c.) When his (Art's) body was afterwards carried eastwards to Dumha Dergluachra, if all the men of Erin were drawing it thence, they could not, so that he was interred in that place, because there was a Catholic church to be afterwards at the place where he was interred (i. e. Treoit *hodiè*) because the truth and the Faith had been revealed to him through his regal righteousness.

" Where Niall was interred was at Ochain, whence the hill was called Ochain, i. e. *Och Caine*, i. e. from the sighing and lamentation which the men of Erin made in lamenting Niall.

" Conaire More was interred at Magh Feci in Bregia (i. e. at Fert Conaire) ; however some say that it was Conaire Carpraige was interred there, and not Conaire Mor, and that Conaire Mor was the third king who was interred at Tara, viz. Conaire, Loeghaire, and * * * *.

" At Tailltin the kings of Ulster were used to bury, viz. Ollamh Fodhla, with his descendants down to Conchobhar, who wished that he should be carried to a place between Slea and the sea, with his face to the east, on account of the Faith which he had embraced.

" The nobles of the Tuatha De Danann were used to bury at Brugh, (i. e. the Dagda with his three sons ; also Lughaidh, and Oe, and Ollam, and Ogma, and Etan, the Poetess, and Corpre, the son of Etan,) and Cremhthann followed them because his wife Nar was of the Tuatha Dea, and it was she solicited him that he should adopt Brugh as a burial-place for himself and his descendants, and this was the cause that they did not bury at Cruachan.

" The Lagenians (i. e. Cathair with his race and the kings who were before them) were buried at Oenach Ailbhe. The Clann Dedad (i. e. the race of Conaire and Erna) at Temhair Erann ; the men of Munster (i. e. the Dergthene) at Oenach Culi, and Oenach Colmain ; and the Connacians at Cruachan."

The preceding document will, I think, be sufficient to satisfy all rational inquirers of the visionary character of the hypothesis of the Round Towers having been erected as places of sepulture, at least in pagan times ; for, though it does not throw any light on the character of the monuments in use preceding Christianity, it refers us distinctly to their principal localities, in many of which we may still examine the monuments themselves.

Our ancient MSS., in like manner, acquaint us with the localities of the principal battle-fields in Ireland, and with the particular monuments of the most distinguished kings and warriors, from the earliest periods to the establishment of Christianity in the country ; and in most of these localities the monuments still remain. But do we in any of those places discover a Round Tower, or the vestige of one ? Most assuredly not, nor any monument having a characteristic

in common with one. We find the stone carn and the green mound, with their sepulchral chambers within them, and their monumental character indicated by the upright stones, sometimes single—like the *stele* of the Greeks—and sometimes forming a circle, or concentric circles. We find the giants' graves, or beds, as they are called by the Irish—the cromlechs and Druids' altars of speculative antiquaries. And when we explore any of these monuments, we find, according to their age, either the rude *unglazed* sepulchral urn of baked clay, and occasionally of stone, containing bones more or less calcined, or unburned skeletons, or occasionally both, in the same sepulchre. We also find very frequently weapons of stone or metal; and, in monuments of importance indicating the distinguished rank of the persons interred, ornaments of silver and gold. And that such and no other were the varieties of sepulchral monuments in use in Ireland in pagan times, a volume of historical evidences from our ancient MSS. might be adduced to prove : a few examples will, however, be sufficient for my present purpose. Thus, as an example of the class of monuments in use in Ireland during the sway of the Tuatha De Danann race, as well as subsequently, I take the two following passages, relative to the monuments at the royal cemetery of Brugh na Boinne, on the banks of the Boyne, as given in the Dinnsenchus, contained in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 190.

"Do oingnaib in bnoga inn ro .i. Long ingine Fonaino, Lecc in Dagoa, Mun na Monnigna, Lecc in Macae, ir oia colpca paicen Inben Colpca; baipc Cnim-chaino Nianain, ir ann no aonacc; Fenc Feoelmio Reccmain, Cann ail Cuinn Cec-cacaig, Cumoc Cainppi Lipeacain, Fulacc Fiachach Snaipcine, &c."

"Of the monuments of Brugh here, viz. the Bed of the daughter of Forann, the Monument of the Dagda, the Mound of the Morrigan, the Monument of [*the monster*] Mata ; it is from its *colpa* or thigh Inbher Colptha is called ; the *Barc* of Crimthann Nianar, in which he was interred ; the grave of Fedelmidh, the Lawgiver, the *Carn-ail* [stone carn] of Conn of the Hundred Battles, the *Cumot* [commensurate grave] of Cairbre Lifeachair, the *Fulacht* of Fiacha Sraiphtine."

The second passage enters more into detail, as follows :

"Alicen. Imoae in Dagoa cecamup; Da Cic na Monnigna, pore aipm i n-genaip Cepmuio Mil-bel, mac in Dagoa; Fine m-boinne nina Neccain, ir i cuc le in coin m-big oiap bo ainm Dabilla, unoe Cnoc Dabilla oicicup; Duma Cnepc; Fenc Epclaim bniceman in Dagoa, ppip i n-aban Fenc Pacpic inoiu; Cipp 7 Cuip-pel, mna in Dagoa; .i. oa cnoc; Fenca Aeoa Luipgnig, mic in Dagoai; Depc m-buailcc m-bic; Lecc Cellaig, mic Mailcoba; Lecc gabna Cinaooa, mic Inga-laig; Capcap Leic Macae; Glenn in Macae .i. pelci pin, uc alii oicunc; Liag

ɓuıoı, mıc Muıρeóa, aıρm ı ꝼaıl a cenn; Lecc ɓenn .ı. lecꞇ ꝼoρꝑ a ꞇoρchuıꝑ ın Maꞇae; uıı. x. ıꞇ coꝑ leıꝑ 7 ıııı. cınó; Duma na cnaṁ; Caıꝑel Aenȝuꝑa, mıc Cꝑunómaeıl; Rouꞇ ꝑula Mıoıꝑ, &c."

" Aliter. The Bed of the Dagda, first; the Two Paps of the Morrigan, at the place where Cermud Milbhel, son of the Dagda, was born ; the Grave of Boinn, the wife of Nechtan; it was she took with her the small hound called Dabilla, from which Cnoc Dabilla is called ; the Mound of Tresc ; the grave of Esclam, the Dagda's Brehon, which is called *Fert-Patric* at this day ; [*the monuments of*] Cirr and Cuirrell, wives of the Dagda ; these are two hillocks ; the Grave of Aedh Luirgnech, son of the Dagda ; the Cave of Buailee Bec ; the Monument of Cellach, son of Maelcobha ; the Monument of the steed of Cinaedh, son of Irgalach ; the Prison of Liath-Macha ; the Glen of the Mata, i. e. the monster, as some assert ; the Pillar-stone of Buidi, the son of Muiredh, where his head is interred ; the Stone of Benn, i. e. the monument on which the monster Mata was killed ; it had one hundred and forty legs and four heads; the Mound of the bones ; the *Caisel* (stone enclosure) of Aengus, son of Crunnmael ; *Rout sula* Midir, &c."

As examples of the sepulchral monuments of this Tuatha De Danann race most familiar to the majority of my readers, I may point to the magnificent mounds situated on the Boyne at Drogheda, Dowth, Knowth, and New Grange, which last has lain open to the inspection of the curious during the last hundred and fifty years.   And in connection with these monuments I may observe, that the occasional absence of articles of value within them, when opened in modern times, by no means proves that such had not been deposited there originally, as the plundering of these very sepulchres by the Danes is recorded in the Annals of Ulster at the year 862 :

" A. D. 862. Uam Achaıó Aloaı 7 Cnoóbaı, 7 uam ꝼeıꝑꞇ ɓoaoan oꝑ Dubao, 7 uam mna an Ȝoban ꝑo ꝛcꝑuıoꝛeꞇ Ȝaıll, quoo anꞇea non peꝑꝼecꞇum eꝛꞇ .ı. a ꝼecꞇ ꝑo ꝛlaꞇꝛaꞇ ꞇꝑı ꝑıȝȝe ꝼeꝛonn Flaınn, mıc Conaınȝ .ı. Amlaıṁ, 7 Imaꝑ, 7 Auıꝑle."

" A. D. 862.   The cave of Achadh Aldai and of Cnodhba [Knowth], and the cave of the sepulchre of Boadan over Dubhad [Dowth], and the cave of the wife of Gobhan, were searched by the Danes, *quod antea non perfectum est*, on one occasion that the three kings Amlaff, Imar, and Auisle, were plundering the territory of Flann, the son of Conaing."

As an example of the monuments of a different race, and of later date, I may refer to the cemetery called Relec na Riogh, at Rathcroghan, the place of interment of many of the kings of the Scotic or Milesian race, and at which was interred the last pagan monarch of this race,—the celebrated Dathi,—who was killed by lightning, according to our annalists, in the year 406.

In the ancient MS. from which the preceding tract on the pagan cemeteries of Ireland has been taken, there is also a tract on the deaths and burials of Dathi, the last pagan monarch, and the other princes of this race interred at Rathcroghan, from which I extract the following poem, ascribed to Dorban, a poet of West Connaught, as it will very clearly show the character of the sepulchral monuments in that great regal cemetery.

      " Niam 7 Druċċ ir Daċi,
         ċri inġena Rorraċi,
         a reċċ m-bráċir,—mor a ceġlaċ,—
         má Ailell oar rino Dréġmaċ,

      Aċa rin 'r in duma mór
         ril ir in oenuc, cen bron,
         Crí meic riġ Laġen ieroa,
         la ċri inġena oelboa.

      A árim no a innirin
         na ril róċib oo laeċaib
         noċon ril ic rileoaib,
         7 ní ril ic ġaeċaib.

      Coéca ouṁa, oemniġim,
         ril in oenuċ na Cruaċna,
         aċá ró caċ oúma oib
         coeca rer rin-ġlan ruaċoa.

      Iaċ ċri reilce Iolaioe
         relec Chailċen, re coġa,
         relec Cruaċan rin-ġlaine,
         ocur relec in Droġa.

      Caċ cnoc ril 'rino oenuċ rin
         aċa roi laiċ ir riġna,
         ir ecir ir cuoċaire,
         7 mná ġlana ġriboa.

      Sloġ Connaċċ ba comromaċ,
         aireċċ rin-alaino ruaċoa,
         alaino in caċ conġalaċ,
         aonaċċ i Caċair Cruaċna.

      Ni ril ir in maġin rein
         cnoc in Oenuċ na Cruaċna,
         naċ repe riġ no riġ-rlaċa,
         no mná, no ecer ruaċoa.

      Aonaiċċe rloġ ro Míoi,
         ar lár in Droġa cuaċaiġ ;
         no aonaiscir aro Ulaio
         ir in Calċin co luaċair.

Ḟιρ Ulaιᴅ, ρια Conċoboρ,
    aonaιcᴅe h-ι Culᴅιn ριam,
    co baρ ιnᴅ ḟιρ ρορbaραιʒ,
    ᴅιa n-ᴅeċaιᴅ ᴅιb a nιam.''

" Niam and Drucht and Dathi,
    Three daughters of Rossachi,
    His seven brothers,—great his household,—
    With Ailell of fair Bregia,

These are *buried* in the great mound
    Which is at the Oenach, without doubt,
    Three sons of the King of extensive Leinster,
    With *his* three beauteous daughters.

To reckon or to tell
    The number of heroes under them [the mounds]
    Is not in the power of poets,
    And it is not in the power of sages.

Fifty mounds, I certify,
    Are at Oenach na Cruachna,
    There are under each mound of them
    Fifty truly-fine warlike men.

The three cemeteries of Idolaters are
    The cemetery of Tailten, the select,
    The cemetery of the ever-fair Cruachan,
    And the cemetery of Brugh.

Every hill which is at this Oenach [Cruachan]
    Has under it heroes and queens,
    And poets and distributers,
    And fair fierce women.

The host of Connaught that was energetic,
    A truly fine warlike host,
    Beautiful the valiant tribe,
    Buried in Cathair Cruachna.

There is not at this place
    A hill at Oenach na Cruachna,
    Which is not the grave of a king or royal prince,
    Or of a woman, or warlike poet.

The host of great Meath are buried,
    In the middle of the lordly Brugh ;
    The great Ultonians used to bury
    At Talten with pomp.

The true Ultonians, before Conchobhor,
    Were ever buried at Talten,
    Until the death of that triumphant man,
    Through which they lost their glory.''

P

This poem is followed by a prose commentary, apparently written by Moelmuiri himself, and, though it is not wholly necessary to my present subject, I cannot resist the temptation to extract it in this place, as throwing light upon the sources from which the information on this subject was obtained :

" Maċi Ulaọ ꞃia Conċoboꞃ ꞁ Talten ꞃo aonaċta, .ı. Ollam Foṫla 7 moꞃꞃeꞃ-
ꞃıuꞃ leıꞃꞃ ọıa maccaıb, 7 ọıa h-uıb, 7 co n-ọꞃeım aıle ọo maċıb Ulaọ. Uaꞃlı
Tuaċe ọe Ọanaṅọ (cenmoċa moꞃꞃeꞃꞃıuꞃ ꞃo aonaċt ọıib h-ı Taltın) ıꞃ ın Ꝺꞃuꝅ,
.ı. Luꝅ, 7 Oe, mac Olloman, 7 Oꝅma, 7 Caꞃꞃꞃe, mac Etaıne, 7 Etan (banꝼılı)
ꝼeın, 7 ın Ọaꝅọa 7 a ṫꞃı meıc (.ı. Aeọ 7 Oenꝅuꞃ 7 Ceꞃmaıt), 7 ꞃoċaıọe moꞃ aꞃ-
ċena ọo Tuaıċ ọe Ọanaṅọ, 7 Ꝼeꞃ m-Ꝺolꝅ, 7 caıċ aꞃ ċena. Rıꝅo coıcıọ Ꝅalıan ꞁ
n-Oenaċ Aılbı; Rıꝅṅaọ Muman ꞁ n-Oenaċ Culı, ꞁ n-Oenaċ Colman, 7 Ꝼecı.
Clann Ọeọaọ h-ı Temaıꞃ Eꞃann; Rıꝅṅaọ Connaċt h-ı Cꞃuaċaın, ut ọıxımuꞃ.

" Coeca cnoc ın ceċ Oenuċ ọıb ꞃın : coeca cnoc, ém, ꞁ n-Oenuċ Cꞃuaċaın,
7 .l. cnoc ın Oenuċ Talten, 7 .l. ın Oenuċ ın Ꝺꞃoꝅa.

" It ıaẟ ꞃo ımoꞃꞃo ꝼılıọ Connaċt, .ı. Ọoꞃban, 7 Ꝼlaıṫcıuꞃ, 7 Oenꝅuꞃ ꝼılı; á
Ꝅnoı ın luċṫın, (.ı. ın ıaꞃċuꞃ Connaċt ıta .ı. Ọelmna Tıꞃı ọa loċa); Toꞃna Eċeꞃ,
7 Scanlan mac Eoꝅaın, ın ꝼılı, 7 Ọaıċen Eċeꞃ, ꞃo maꞃb ın bılı; ıꞃ ọe ata Ꝺılı
Ọaıċen h-ı Tıꞃ Manı, ıꞃ ꝼꞃıꞃ atbeꞃaꞃ bılı Scaċen ınoıu. Atat tꞃa ın luċċ ꞃın ule
ꞁ n-Oenuċ na Cꞃuaċna ; 7 ata anọ aꞃọ-ꞃı ın ċoıcıọ, .ı. Aılıll, mac Mata Muꞃeꞃcı,
7 a ꞃetıꝅ, .ı. Meọb, ınꝅen Eċaċ Ꝼeọlıꝅ, ıaꞃ na bꞃeıċ á Ꝼeꞃt Meọba ọ'á muntıꞃ,
aꞃ ba h-aıꞃeꝅou leo a h-aọnacul h-ı Cꞃuaċaın. Nı éıc oım a n-aıꞃım ulı. Iꞃ
anọ ꞃo aonaċt Ọaċı, aꞃọ-ꞃí h-Eꞃenn, 7 ıꞃ ınċı a tat ın luċċ ꞃo tuꞃım Toꞃna
Eċeꞃ. Cíaꞃꞃaıꝅı a ọıꞃı.

" Ꝼlanọ tꞃa 7 Eoċaıọ Eolaċ h-Ua Ceꞃın ıꞃ ıaẟ ꞃo éꞁnoıltat ꞃo a lleḃꞃaıb
Eoċaọa h-Uı Ꝼlanọacan ꞁ n-Aꞃọ Maċa, 7 a lleḃꞃaıb Manıꞃtꞃeċ, 7 aꞃ na leḃꞃaıb
toꝅaıọıb aꞃ ċena, .ı. aꞃ ın Lıbuꞃ Ꝺuọı, teꞃto aꞃ ın Caꞃcaꞃ ꞁ n-Aꞃọ Maċa, 7 aꞃ ın
Lıbuꞃ Ꝅınn, boı ım Manıꞃteꞃ; 7 ıꞃ ꞃıọe ꞃuc ın mac leꝅınọ leꞃꞃ ꞁ n-ꝅaıt ọaꞃ muıꞃ,
7 nı ꝼꞃıċ ꞃıam ọıleꞃꞃ. Conıọ ꞃenċaꞃ na ꞃelec ınꞃın."

" The chiefs of Ulster before Conchobhor were buried at Talten, viz. Ollamh Fodhla and seven of his sons, and grandsons, with others of the chiefs of Ulster. The nobles of the Tuatha De Danann (with the exception of seven of them who were interred at Talten) were buried at Brugh, i. e. Lugh, and Oe, son of Ollamh, and Ogma, and Car- pre, son of Etan, and Etan [the poetess] herself, and the Dagda and his three sons, (i. e. Aedh, and Oengus, and Cermait,) and a great many others besides of the Tuatha De Dananns, and Firbolgs, and others. The kings of the province of Galian [Leinster] *were buried* at Oenach Ailbi ; the kings of Munster at Oenach Culi, in Oenach Colman and Feci. The Clann Dedhadh at Temhair Erann. The kings of Connaught at Cruachan *ut diximus.*

" There are fifty hills [mounds] at each Oenach of these : fifty hills at Oenach Cruachan, fifty hills at Oenach Talten, and fifty at Oenach in Broga.

" These were the poets of Connaught, viz. Dorban, and Flaithcius, and Aengus the poet these were of Gno, (in the west of Connaught, i. e. of Delmna Tiri da Locha) ; Torna Eiges, Scanlan Mac Eoghain, the poet, and Daithen, the poet, whom the tree

killed ; whence is Bile Dathen in Tir Maine, at this day called Bili Scathen. All these are buried at Oenach na Cruachna ; and there are also buried there the supreme king of the province, i. e. Ailell Mac Mata of Muiresc, and his wife, i. e. Medhbh, the daughter of Eochaidh Fedhlech, her body having been removed by her people from Fert Medhbha, for they deemed it more honourable to have her interred at Cruachan. I am not able to enumerate them all. It is here Dathi, monarch of Ireland, was buried, and it is here lie those enumerated by Torna Eiges. Ciarraigi was his reward.

"It was Flann and Eochaidh Eolach O'Ceirin that collected this account from the books of Eochaidh O'Flannagan at Armagh, and from the Books of the Monastery [Monasterboice], and from other select books, viz. from the Libur Budi, which disappeared from the Carcar at Armagh, and from the Libur Gerr, which was at the Monastery ; and this was the book which the student took with him by stealth across the sea, and was never found since. So far the History of the Cemeteries."

In accordance with this description we find that the monuments within the cemetery at Rathcroghan, which is of a circular form, measuring one hundred and sixteen paces in diameter, and surrounded with a stone ditch greatly defaced,—the *cathair* of the poem,—are small circular mounds, which when examined are found to cover rude sepulchral chambers formed of stone, without cement of any kind, and containing unburned bones. The monument of Dathi, which is a small circular mound, with a pillar-stone of red sand-stone, is situated outside the enclosure, at a short distance to the east, and may be at once identified from the following notice of it, given by the celebrated antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis, in 1666 :

"Cuᵹᴀᴅ copp Oᴀéꞯ ᵹo Cpuᴀchᴀꞯn, ᵹup h-ᴀᴅnᴀꞯceᴀᴅ e ꞯ Relꞯᵹ nᴀ pꞯoᵹ ꞯ ᵹ-Cpuᴀcᴀꞯn, ꞯ ᴃ-ꝼᴀꞯl ᴀ pᴀᴅᴀoᴀp pꞯoᵹpᴀꞯᴅ pꞯl Epeᴀ́moꞯn ᴅo upṁop, áꞯc ᴀ ᴃ-ꝼuꞯl ᵹup ᴀnꞯu ᴀn Chᴀꞯppée Oheᴀpᵹ mᴀp lꞯᴀᵹ op ᴀ lꞯᵹe 'nᴀ leᴀ́c lᴀꞯṁ le Rᴀꞯé Cpuᴀcᴀn, ᵹup ᴀnopᴀ, 1666."—*Lib. Geneal.* p. 251.

"The body of Dathi was brought to Cruachan, and it was interred at Relig na riogh at Cruachan, where the most of the kings of the race of Heremon were *buried*, and where to this day the RED PILLAR STONE remains as a stone monument over his grave near Rath-Cruachan, to this time, 1666."

The following notice of Carn Amhalgaidh, preserved in the Book of Lecan, fol. 247, a, will give a distinct idea of the kind of monuments, which the pagan Irish chieftains erected for the purpose of receiving their bodies after death, and will also tend to show that an annual meeting of the people, called in Irish Oenach, was usually held at those regal cemeteries :

"Cᴀpn Aṁᴀlᵹᴀꞯᴅ, .ꞯ. Aᴍᴀlᵹᴀꞯ, mᴀc Fꞯᴀchpᴀ Elᵹᴀꞯo, mꞯc Oᴀchꞯ, mꞯc Fꞯᴀch-pᴀch. Ir leꞯr po cochlᴀᴅ ꞯn cᴀpn, cum ᴀenᴀꞯᵹ h-Uᴀ n-Aᴍᴀlᵹᴀꞯᴅ ᴅo ᴅenᴀm 'nᴀ

τhimchell caċa bliaòain, oo ꝼeiτhem a lonᵹ ocu�...

ᴄhimchell caċa bliaòain, oo ꝼeiᴄhem a lonᵹ ocuꝼ a cablaiᵹ aꝼ ocuꝼ ino, ocuꝼ oia aonocol booein."

" Carn Amhalgaidh, i. e. of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra Elgaidh, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra. It is by him that this carn was formed, for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Hy-Amhalgaidh around it every year, and to view his ships and fleet going and coming, and as a place of interment for himself."

If it were necessary to my purpose I might also adduce, from the most ancient Irish MSS., several minute descriptions of the modes of interment practised by the pagan Irish; one, however, which cannot fail to interest the reader, may suffice. It is found in that most valuable MS., the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, so often quoted already, and occurs in a very ancient story, written to show that Finn Mac Cumhaill was also sometimes known by the name of Mongan, and which details the circumstances connected with the death of Fothadh Airgtheach, who was for a short time monarch of Ireland, and was killed by the warrior Cailte, the foster-son of Finn Mac Cumhaill, in the battle of Ollarba, fought, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, in the year 285. In this tract, Cailte is introduced as identifying the grave of Fothadh Airgtheach, at Ollarba, in the following words :

" ðamaiꝛ-ne laᴄ-ꝛu, a Ꝼino, ol in ᴄ-oclaċ. Aoauᴄᴄ, ol Monᵹan, ni maiċ ꝛin. ðamaiꝛ-ni la Ꝼino, ᴄꝛá, ol ꝛe ; ou loomaꝛ oi Albae.ᵃ Immaꝛnacmaꝛ ꝼꝛi Ꝼoċuo n-Aiꝛᵹᴄeċ h-i ꝼuno accuᴄ ꝼoꝛ Olloꝛbi. Ꝼiċiminiꝛ ꝛcanoal n-ano. Ꝼocaꝛᴄꝛo eꝛċoꝛ ꝼaiꝛ, co ꝛeċ ᴄꝛíᴄ, co lluio h-i ᴄalmain ꝼꝛiꝛꝼ anall, 7 con ꝼacaib a iaꝛno h-i ᴄalam ; iꝛꝛeò an oícelᴄaꝛ ꝛo ꝛo boi iꝛ in ᵹai ꝛin. Ꝼuᵹebᴄaꝛ in mael cloċ oia ꝛo laꝛa a ꝛouo ꝛi,ᵇ 7 ꝼoᵹebċaꝛ anaiꝛ iaꝛꝛn iꝛ in ᴄalam, 7 ꝼoᵹebċaꝛ aulaoᶜ Ꝼoċaio Aiꝛᵹᴄiᵹ ꝼꝛiꝛ anaiꝛ bic. Aᴄa compaꝛ cloċi imbi ano h-i ᴄalam. Aᴄaᴄ a oí ꝼoil aiꝛᵹiᴄ, 7 a oi bunne ooaᴄ, 7 a muinᴄoꝛc aꝛᵹiᴄ ꝼoꝛ a compaiꝛ ; 7 aᴄá coiꝛċe oc a ulaio ; 7 aᴄa oᵹom iꝛ in ċino ꝼil h-i ᴄalam oiꝛ ċoiꝛċí. Iꝛꝛeò ꝼil ano,

EOChAIÐ AIRᵹᴄhEChINSO.

Ra m-bi Caílᴄe in imaeꝛiuc ꝼꝛi Ꝼino. Eᴄhe (.i. oo ᵹniċheꝛ) laꝛ in óclaic a ꝛiċᴄ ꝛamlaio ule, 7 ꝼoꝼeꝛċa."

" We were with thee, O Finn, said the youth. Hush ! said Mongan, that is not good [fair]. " We were with Finn, once, said he ; we went from Alba, [*recte* Almain]. We fought against Fothadh Airgthech here with thee at Ollarba. We fought a battle here ; I made a shot at him, and I drove my spear through him, so that the spear entered the earth at the other side of him, and its iron head was left buried in the earth.

ᵃ Almain in H. 3, 17, which is better.

ᵇ An ꝛoao ꝛin, i. e. *that shot,* in H. 3, 17.

ᶜ Ulaio in H. 3, 17, which is the form of the word still in use.

This is the very handle that was in that spear. The round stone from which I made that shot will be found, and east of it will be found the iron head of the spear buried in the earth ; and the *uluidh* [carn] of Fothadh Airgthech will be found a short distance to the east of it. There is a chest of stone about him in the earth. There are his two rings of silver, and his two *bunne doat* [bracelets?], and his *torque* of silver on his chest; and there is a pillar stone at his carn ; and an Ogumis [inscribed] on the end of the pillar stone which is in the earth. And what is in it is,

<div align="center">EOCHAID AIRGTHECH HERE.</div>

It was Cailte that was here along with Finn. All these things were searched for by the youth who had arrived, and they were found."

I think I have now adduced sufficient evidence to satisfy the reader respecting the real character of the pagan modes of sepulture in use in Ireland, and that the theory, advanced by my friends of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, is at variance as well with the ancient Irish authorities as with the existing monuments of known pagan antiquity.

The only remaining hypothesis of those referring the Round Towers to a pagan use, namely, their having been PHALLI, or PRIAPEIA TEMPLA, is happily so absurd, and at the same time so utterly unsupported by authority or evidence worthy of refutation, that I gladly pass it by without further notice, even though it has found a zealous supporter in the person of Sir William Betham, since these pages were originally written and read to the Academy, and who was consequently not unacquainted with their contents.

<div align="center">* * *</div>

SECTION IV.

THEORIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ORIGIN AND USES OF THE ROUND TOWERS.

1. That they were Anchorite Towers.—2. That they were penitential prisons.—3. That they were belfries.—4. That they were keeps, or monastic treasure-houses.—5. That they were watch-towers and beacons.

1. ANCHORITE TOWERS.—The hypothesis that the Towers were erected for the use of anchorites, in imitation of the pillar of St. Simon the Stylite, originated with Dean Richardson, of Belturbet, and has been warmly advocated by Walter Harris, in his edition of Ware's works, pp. 130—135, and in later times by the celebrated architectural antiquaries, Dr. Milner and Mr. King.

The arguments adduced in support of this hypothesis rest almost entirely on the supposed agreement, in form, size, and internal construction, between the Irish Towers and the pillars of the Eastern Anchorites, to prove which Harris is at great pains to establish a uniformity, which, it will be easy to show, certainly never existed.

The first point of agreement, as Harris gravely states, consists in both being of a *round* form. " Those of *Asia* were in form round, so are ours." This I am forced to concede.

Secondly. " They [the Eastern Pillars] were of various Heights, so likewise are ours." This, too, I must allow. But the Eastern Pillars varied in height from six cubits, or nine feet, to thirty-six or forty cubits, in *one* of great celebrity, while the Irish Towers varied in height from sixty to one hundred and thirty feet. The only point of agreement therefore is in each class being of various heights ; and on the same data Harris might with equal justice have asserted a common origin for any two classes of objects, however differing in other respects.

Thirdly. " That they were *hollow*, as ours are." This agreement Harris endeavours to establish in opposition to the learned Bollandus, who expressly states that the Stylite columns were solid. For this purpose he first translates a passage of Evagrius (Hist. Eccl. lib. i. chap. 3) as follows :

" At the same time, (i. e. in the 4th Century) flourished *Symeon*, a man of celebrated Memory and high Fame. He first instituted the *Station in a Pillar*, and built a little dwelling Place (*Domicilium*) on it, the Measure of which was scarce two Cubits."

And again :

" *Symeon*, (proceeds *Evagrius*), wore out 56 Years in these extreme Severities ; for he spent 9 in a Monastery, wherein he had first learned the Rudiments of Divine Precepts of living, and in this Hovell 47 ; of which last Number he spent 10 in a very narrow Place (which others say was a dry Well) 7 in smaller *Pillars*, and at length 30 in a *Pillar* of 40 Cubits high, which stood 300 Furlongs at most from *Antioch*."—(*Hist. Eccl.* Lib. 14. Cap. 51.)

This translation, to my mind, carries on its very face sufficient evidence as well of its own inaccuracy as of the falseness of the conclusions which Harris endeavours to draw from it : for, if the pillar were hollow from its base, what necessity was there to build a *domicilium* of scarce two cubits on its top ?—and, if even the Stylite were stated to have instituted the station *in* and not *on* the pillar, is it not

evident that nothing more could be meant than such a pulpit or tub-like cavity on its summit as would be necessary to prevent the enthusiast from falling. In this sense only has the passage been always understood and translated, as far as I can find ; as an instance of which take the old Cambridge version of Evagrius, by Valesius, 1692.

" In these times, Symeon, a person of an holy and most celebrated memory, flourished, and was eminent; he was the first person that instituted the station *upon* a pillar, the circumference of whose mansion was scarce two cubits," &c. " Moreover, Symeon spent six and fifty years in this afflictive and austere mode of life. In the first monastery wherein he had been imbued with the precepts of a divine life (he spent) nine years, and seven and forty in that place called *the Mandra* during ten years (of which time) he performed his combat in a certain narrow place; (he dwelt) seven years in the shorter pillars, and thirty years *upon* a pillar of forty cubits long."

Harris next quotes Raderus, the Tyrolese Jesuit, and Petrus Galesinius, an Italian priest, to support his hypothesis, neither of whom, however, assists him in the matter, and even if they did, could not be received as authorities of any weight. The former says (I quote Harris's translation), that " The Hole or Cell or Domicile placed at the Top of the *Pillars*, in which the *Stylites* stood, were 2 Cubits, or 3 Feet broad, and were *not covered with a Roof,* that they might have the freer Liberty of contemplating the Heavens," &c. ; and that, " When any Person went up to the *Stylites*, or they came down to others, it was by the Means of Ladders." Galesinius, indeed, says that the *Stylite* " was shut up in a *hollow Pillar* for forty years ;" but might not this be very properly said of a person enclosed in such a cell or hole as that already described ? and yet Harris has the weakness to consider this authority as conclusive, and forgetting his own quotation from Raderus, adds : " But let it be considered, whether a Ladder could from the Outside be safely reared to the Height of 60 Feet against a round Spire of such small Dimensions at Top, in Order to supply the *Stylite* with Food and other Necessaries ; unless, like *Elijah*, we allow him to be fed by Ravens, the Necessity of which Miracle will be avoided, if we admit the Eastern *Pillars* to have been *hollow*, and, like ours, fitted with Lofts and Stages, by Means of which, and the Help of short Ladders, access might readily be had to the Top."

This is inexpressibly puerile. If the pillars were so narrow that a ladder could not be applied with safety from the outside, their extreme diameter at top being but three feet, what sort of a chimney-

like cavity to place " Lofts and Stages" in must that have been within
it ? Certainly one not more than a foot in diameter, if we allow the
wall to have had any thickness, and which, consequently, could only
be ascended by a climbing-boy, and a very small one too, whom we
must necessarily suppose to have been attached to the saint's esta-
blishment for the purpose !   It is difficult indeed to treat such rea-
sonings with proper gravity. There is no distinction more ancient
than that between tower and pillar ; insomuch that even Dr. Milner,
with all his zeal in support of Harris's hypothesis, had not the hardi-
hood—a quality he rarely wanted in seeking to establish a point—
to adopt such imbecile reasonings.

Harris, after thus settling, to his own satisfaction, the points of
agreement between the pillars of the Eastern *Stylites* and those of
the West, next proceeds to point out the circumstances in which
they differ, and to explain the probable causes of this non-conformity.
The first is, that the Eastern Pillars were not roofed, while the Irish
were invariably so, a disagreement which he considered necessary
from the difference of region.

" For human Nature could not bear to be perpetually exposed without Shelter to
the Severities of this cold and moist Climate, whatever might have been done in the
milder Eastern Countries."

Very rational indeed ! What, then, were the uses of the four,
five, or six unglazed apertures at top ? Would not the situation
of an unfortunate anchorite thus exposed to the winds of heaven, let
them blow from whatever point they might, be even worse than that
of a person exposed to the open air ?

He next says :

" Another Difference is, that the Eastern Columns were only 3 Feet in Diameter at
the Extremity, as appears from *Evagrius, Nicephorus* and others : Whereas those
among us appear to be 8 Feet in the Diameter at the Base, and some more, and the
Diminution to the Extremity does not seem to the Eye (for I was never on the Top
of any of them) to be above a fourth part, which also corresponds with the Rules of
Architecture ; so that the *Irish Tower*, being 6 Feet in the Diameter at the Extremity,
afforded Room to the *Solitary* to stretch himself at Length in it, which he could not do
in the Eastern *Pillar*. But may not this Difference be accounted for from the Relaxation
of Discipline from what it was in the first Institution of the *Stylite Order* by *Symeon;*
as we often read to have been practised in other religious Orders, which has from Time
to Time caused such infinite Reformations among them ?"

The difference of diameter, here acknowledged, appears to me to

be quite sufficient to prove the fallacy of Harris's speculation, for as to the relaxation of discipline, &c., which he supposes might have caused this difference, it is mere idle conjecture, and unworthy of notice.

Harris further on says :

"The Habitations of these Anachorites are called by some of our Writers *Inclusoria* in *Latin*, and *Arcti Inclusorii Ergastula, the Prisons of a narrow Inclosure.* Particularly in the Life of *Dunchad O-Braoin*, who was Abbot of *Clonmacnois*, and having obtained a very popular Reputation for Learning and Piety, to avoid the air of vain Glory, he betook himself to an Anachoretical Life, and shut himself up *in Arcti Inclusorii Ergastulo, in the Prison of a narrow Inclosure*, and employed himself wholly in the Contemplation of God and Eternity, where he died in 987."

He adds :

"I will not take upon me to affirm, that it was in one of these Towers at *Clonmacnois*, (where there are more than one of the Kind) that he shut himself up ; but the Expression used upon the Occasion may be very well adapted to them."

In this statement Harris has not dealt fairly with his readers. In the first place it would have been impossible for him, as I believe, to have pointed out any other authority for calling the cells of the anchorites *Arcti Inclusorii Ergastula,* than that single one in the Life of Dunchad O'Braoin ; and, secondly, he leads the reader to infer that it might have been in one of the Towers of Clonmacnoise that the abbot secluded himself, and there died. This he must have known to be contrary to fact. According to his Life, as given by Colgan, Dunchad had led this sort of life when in a private station, from which being dragged, on the death of the Abbot Tuathal, he was forced to take on him the labours of the abbacy. Still, however, longing for a retired state, he repaired in the year 974 to Armagh, hoping that he should be allowed to do so in a place in which he was unknown, and far remote from that in which his sanctity had procured him so much admiration. In this expectation he was disappointed. His reputation had probably travelled before him, and the respect which it procured for him was soon so general throughout that city that he determined on withdrawing from it. As soon, however, as this intention was discovered, the principal inhabitants deputed some venerable persons to request him to stay a year longer among them. The request was complied with ; and when, at the close of the year, he was again bent on departing, a similar entreaty was made to him with the same success, and so on annually, until at length he died

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there, on the 16th of January, A. D. 987.—See *Colgan's Acta Sancto-rum*, pp. 105, 106.   Thus we find that if Harris had taken upon him to affirm that it was in one of the Towers of Clonmacnoise that Dun-chad had shut himself up—a fact which nevertheless he wishes his readers to infer—he would have asserted that which he knew was not the truth.   If the Round Towers had been appropriated to the use of anchorites, those of Clonmacnoise would have suited Dunchad's purpose as well as any other, and he had no occasion to go elsewhere for retirement : he might have locked the door of his keep or *prison* —after drawing up the ladder, in the manner Dr. Milner conjectured— and have bid defiance to all friendly intruders.   As to his habitation at Armagh, it is called in his Life a cell (*cella*)—a term which it would be surely an overstretch of the imagination to apply to a *tower*.

Finally, Harris says :

" I am informed by a skilful Critick in *Irish*, that this slender Round Tower is called *Cloch-Ancoire*, in that Language, i. e. *the Stone of the Anchorite*, and not *Cloghad*, or a *Steeple*, as *Molyneux* fancies; and a Tradition prevails at *Drumlahan* in the County of *Cavan*, where one of them stands in the Church Yard, that an *Anchorite* lived on the Top of it."

The critic, however, who communicated this piece of information, if in earnest, gave but a bad instance of his skill in the Irish tongue. It is unquestionable that the Towers are still known by no other names than *cloictheach* and *clogas*—words signifying bell-house or belfry—in every part of Ireland in which the Irish language still re-mains; and there is not a shadow of proof that they were ever known by the name of *cloch-ancoire*, or stone of the anchorite,—an appella-tion, which it would have been absurd to apply to a tower.   As to the tradition, it scarcely deserves comment. If there were a tradition of a recluse having lived in the tower of Drumlahan, it must have referred to a period not very remote; and the circumstance of a re-ligious enthusiast having taken up his residence there,—as the hermit of Killarney did in the abbey of Mucruss,—would no more make the one than the other an *anchorite stone*, or tower.   But I have the au-thority of the Rev. Mr. Beresford, the present Rector of Drumlahan, that the only tradition relative to the Tower preserved there is, that it was a *cloictheach*, or belfry.

The true origin, however, of this story of the *cloch-ancoire* and of the tradition will, I think, be found in the following passage from

the Annals of the Four Masters, with which Harris must certainly have been acquainted, though he did not find it convenient, or deem it prudent, to bring it forward.

"A. D. 1484. Ḃrian Ua Ḟairċeallaiġ, Saccarṫ ṫo ċionrcċain cloċ angċoire ṫo ḃenaṁ aġ ċempoll móṙ Ṫroma leaṫain, ṫ'ecc."

"A. D. 1484. Brian O'Farrelly, a priest who commenced to build a *cloch angcoire* at the great church of Druim-leathan, died."

A really "skilful critic in Irish"—Mr. O'Donovan—to whom I submitted the preceding extract, has favoured me with the following observations on it :

"It is remarkable that in the ancient written Irish language the term cloċ angċoire, i. e. *lapis anachoretæ*, is always applied to an anchorite's cell, while in the living language and in modern printed litanies the same apparent form of the term is invariably applied to the anchorite himself. I never heard any name for a hermit or anchorite in the spoken Irish language but cloċ-angċoire; it literally means, *the recluse of the stone*, or, *of the stone habitation;* for there can be no doubt that the word cloċ, which literally signifies a stone, was often used by the Irish to denote a stone building, as I could show by many examples from the Irish Annals ; and so far will etymology alone induce us to believe that the Irish anchorite secluded himself in a *stone domicile;* but this was certainly not a *cloigtheach*, or Round Tower. Cloċ-angċoire, when it signifies, as in the spoken language, an anchorite, is a compound word, the first part of which is in the nature of an adjective, like *church* in the compound *church-door* in English. But it is not a compound word as used in the above passage by the Four Masters, for angċoire is in the genitive case, governed by cloċ, and therefore means the *stone*, or *stone domicile of the recluse*."

What description of cell the *cloch angcoire* of Drumlahan was, or whether it was of any particular form, is scarcely necessary to our purpose to inquire. It is enough for us to know that it was certainly not the existing Tower, which is of a very remote antiquity, nor a building of the Round Tower form or character, as there could have been no necessity to erect such a structure there, if that which already existed had been considered applicable to the purpose. But it cannot be questioned that the habitation of the anchorite at Drumlahan, or as it is now called, Drumlane, was, like other hermits' cells, a small, low, stone cell ; for it was so described to Mr. O'Donovan in 1836, by the late Mr. Kennedy of that place,—who was the descendant, by the mother's side, of the O'Farrellys, the hereditary Herenachs of the church,—and who also told him that the building was partly remaining in his grandfather's time, and situated near the

church : and of such a cell, which still exists, Harris himself gives
us the following description :

"One of these Anachorites, at present, remains in *Ireland, viz.* at *Foure*, in the
County of *West-Meath ;* but instead of taking his Station in one of these *Towers,* he
inhabits a small low Cell, so narrow, that a tall Man can scarce stretch himself at length
on the Floor.   He makes a vow at his Entrance never to quit his Cell, and the only
Recreation he takes is to walk on a Terras built over it, if he may be said to walk, who
cannot in a direct Line stretch out his Legs four Times."

He afterwards states that the servants of this anchorite, who used
to beg provisions for his support about the country, used to call him
" *the Holy man in the Stone*,"—a term, which in the spoken lan-
guage of the Irish at the time, was expressed by *cloch-angcoire*, and
which, being found by Harris in the Irish Annals, as applied to the
cell at Drumlahan, gave origin to his tradition in connection with it,
and to its erroneous application to the Round Tower there.   The fact
referred to in the Annals, therefore, not only contradicts the asser-
tions of Harris, but establishes also the fallacy of the theory of the
anchorite use of the Towers, as drawn from this fabricated tradition.

I have now gone through the entire of Harris's arguments, treat-
ing them with an attention which I should not consider them to have
deserved, but for the influence which they appear to have hitherto
had on the question—his theory having been adopted even by many
from whom we might have expected a more rational conclusion.   The
reader will now be able to appreciate their value, and I shall not
commit a longer trespass on his patience by adducing further proofs
of their futility.   Neither do I think it necessary to transcribe the ob-
servations of Mr. King, or of Dr. Milner, in support of this conjecture,
as they consist chiefly of objections to the other theories, and offer no-
thing new, or requiring an answer, in support of their own.   Dr. Mil-
ner indeed says, that " it is *impossible* to show what other purpose
they were calculated for."   But I indulge the pleasing hope, that the
reader who will accompany me through the succeeding parts of this
Inquiry will be of a contrary opinion.

2. PENITENTIAL PRISONS.—This theory was first promulgated by
Dr. Smith, the industrious author of some of our County Histories,
on the authority, as he states, of Irish MSS., which, however, were
nameless, and have never yet seen the light.   These evidences are
thus stated :

" I was formerly of opinion that they [the Round Towers] were built for the residence of Anchorites, and this conjecture was founded from such kind of pillars, having been erected in the eastern countries for the reception of Monks, who lived on the top of them, as is mentioned by *Evagrius* in the life of *St. Symeon* the *Stylite*, so called from his living in a pillar 40 years, as *Petrus Galesinius* reports. And it seemed probable, that our *Irish Asceticks* had the models of these buildings originally from *Asia*, which they early visited, as appears from several lives of the *Irish* saints ; but the use to which our ancient *Irish* MSS. put these towers, was to imprison penitents. Some of our writers have named them *Inclusoria*, and *Arcti Inclusorii Ergastula, The prisons of a narrow inclosure.* Particularly in the life of *Dunchad O-Braoin*, Abbot of *Clonmacnois*, into which prison it is said he betook himself, where he died in 987. The *Irish* name for a penance is *Turris*, i. e. the *Latin* name for a tower, derived from penitents being imprisoned in them. And 'tis no less certain that all the *Irish* ecclesiastical words are directly taken from the *Latin*, as *Temple, Aglish, Ashbeg,* &c. from *Templum, Ecclesia, Episcopus,* &c. The MSS. add, that these penitents were placed on the top of the tower, and having made a probation of a particular number of days according to their crimes, they were admitted to descend to the next floor, and so on, till they came to the door which always faced the entrance of the church, where they stood and received the absolution of the Clergy, and blessings of the people, as some of our *Irish* MSS. particularly relate."—*Antient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, vol. ii. pp. 408, 409.

In the preceding passage, which contains the whole of what Dr. Smith has written in support of this theory, there is but one assertion that has any foundation in truth, namely, that all the Irish ecclesiastical words are directly taken from the Latin ; and even this is only partially true, for there are some Irish ecclesiastical words not so derived ; nor is the Irish word *tur*, or, as it is more usually written, *tor*, though cognate with the Latin, derived from it, but from a common source. Moreover, the Irish never adopted the Latin word *turris* into their own language ; and it would have been as difficult for Dr. Smith to produce an authority for the application of this word either to a *tower*, or *penance*, in the Irish language, as to have produced the Irish MSS. from which he drew his erroneous, if not fabricated, account of the use of the Round Towers. The word used for penance in Irish is ꞏaꞇꞃꞇᵹe (*aithrighe*), a Scytho-Celtic word, signifying literally *compunction, sorrow,* &c., and figuratively *penance*. This is the word used by the annalists, as in the following passage from the Annals of the Four Masters :

" A. D. 946. Ᵹoꞃmꝼlaꞇ, ꞇnᵹen ꝼlaꞇꝺ, mꞇc Maꞇleaꞔlaꞇꝺꝺ, Rꞇoᵹaꝺ Neꞇll Ᵹluꝺ-ꝺuꞇꞃ, ꝺ'ecc, ꞇaꞃ ꝺ-aꞇꞇꞃꞇcꞔe ꝺꞇoꞔꞃa ꞇꝺ a ꞇaꞇꞃꞇmꞇeꞔꞇaꞇꞃ ⁊ ꝺoaꞇlcꞇꞃ."

" A. D. 946. Gormflaith, daughter of Flann, son of Maileachlainn, Queen of Niall Glundubh, died, after *having performed* severe penance for her transgressions and sins."

Τυραρ signifies in Irish " a journey, expedition, pilgrimage," and is not derived from the Latin *turris*, but, as it appears, from a more primitive Irish word τυρ, a journey, a *tour*, a search, (Heb. רת, to search, explore.)—Vide O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary. And thus τυρ-αραċ signifies a traveller and a pilgrim, because the latter, when he took the penitential staff, was obliged to perform a certain round or journey—as the practice continues to this day—but not a *tour* from the top to the bottom of a *tower !* The word τυραρ, however, which is only employed figuratively to denote a pilgrimage, is not used in this sense in the Irish Annals, or any other ancient authorities that I have seen, the word αιλιċηe, or οιλιċηe, being that which is always used. " To this day," says Dr. O'Conor, " the word used for a pilgrimage by the common Irish is *Ailithre*. So the Annals of the Four Masters say, that ' Arthgal, son of Cathal, King of Connaught, took the penitential staff, and travelled to Hiona *dia ailithre*,' i. e. on his pilgrimage. (IV. Masters, 777.) This word *Ailithre* is composed of *Ail*, a great upright rock or stone, and *itriallam* [correctly *triallaim*] to go round ; and there is no name in the Irish language for the pil- grimages of Christians to Hiona, or to Jerusalem, or to Rome, but that identical word *Ailithre*, which was used by the Pagan Irish for a pilgrimage to the sacred stone of the *Carne*, or of the *Tobar*, the emblematical God of the Druids."—(See Dr. O'Conor's interesting remarks on the well-worship of the ancient Irish, in the third Num- ber of Columbanus's Letters, pp. 89, 90.)

The following extract from Tighernach's Annals, compiled before the year 1088, will furnish an example of the use of the two words employed in Irish for penance and pilgrimage :

" A. D. 980. Αmlαιm, mαc Sιτριυcα, αρο-ριᵹ αρ Ᵹhαllαιƀ Ατhα Clιατh, ƿο ƀul co h-I α n-ΑΙϹhRΙᵹhЄ ⁊ α n-ΑΙϹΙϹhRΙ."

" A. D. 980. Amlaff, son of Sitriuc, chief king of the Danes of Dublin, went to Iona, on penance (αιċριᵹe) and pilgrimage (αιlιċρι)."

The true nature of the penance performed on Irish pilgrimages is known to every person acquainted with our ancient customs, and may be found fully detailed in " Richardson's Folly of Pilgrimages in Ireland" (Dublin, 1727). It consists, now as anciently, in per- forming a certain *turas*, or journey, round a number of stations at a holy place, repeating at each station a certain number of prayers, &c., " and so," as Richardson concludes in his curious account of the pe-

nitential stations at Lough Derg (p. 134), "their *Turras* (that is *Pilgrimage*) is ended."

In the preceding observations I am happy to find myself supported by the approval of Mr. O'Donovan, to whom, as a most competent Irish scholar, I submitted them, and who has favoured me with the following remarks, which I consider as too valuable not to lay before the reader:

"I have read your observations upon Dr. Smith's *Penitential Tower theory*, and consider them correct and judicious. With respect to his Irish MS. authorities, I cannot believe that he had any such, and, from having read his published works and MS. collections, I have strong reasons to believe that he could not have understood it even if he had ; but, depending upon the interpretation of others, who often imposed upon him, and perhaps upon themselves, he made a vague reference to MSS., according to his usual mode, in order to add weight to his hypothesis. If Dr. Smith had MSS. in his possession, relating to the origin and use of the Round Towers of Ireland, why has he not told us something about their date, or whether they were of vellum, parchment, or paper, or who were their authors or scribes ? Why has he not given us the original of some passage from one of these MSS., with a literal translation ? To such questions I would venture, without fear of contradiction, to reply, because he had no such MSS. I doubt not, however, but that he might have seen or been told of some passage in some modern Irish MS., in which the word *turas*, pilgrimage, or penitential station, occurs, and which he misunderstood as referring to Round Towers,—a striking instance of which kind of antiquarian juggling we have seen in Vallancey's quoting Cormac's Glossary as authority for the pagan antiquity of the Tower of Kildare. I make no doubt that the MS. referred to by Dr. Smith is a description, in Irish, of the *Turas* or Station of Lough Derg, many copies of which were, in his time, extant throughout the country.

" His asserting that the Irish ' *Turas*,' as resembling in sound the Latin *Turris*, is a corroboration of *his hypothesis of the use of the Round Towers*, has no weight with me. The Irish word ꞇupaꞃ is certainly not derived from the Latin, but is, as well as the English word *tour*, to be referred to some original language of mankind. ꞇupaꞃ signifies *a journey*, as ᵹo n-eiꞃiᵹió oo ꞇupaꞃ leaꞇ, ' *may you have success on your journey*;' ꞇꞃuaᵹ mo ꞇupaꞃ ᵹo loċ oeaꞃᵹ, ' *pity my journey or pilgrimage to Lough Derg*.' ꞇupaꞃ is sometimes figuratively used in the spoken Irish language to signify a certain penitential station, which the Roman Catholics still perform, or lately performed, in many parts of Ireland, at holy wells near ancient churches and in the modern chapels: it is performed by moving on the knees from one penitential station to another at the ancient churches, or from one station of the Holy Cross to another in the modern chapels, and repeating certain prayers before each station. Hence aᵹ ꞇabaiꞃꞇ ꞇupaiꞃ means ' *performing a station or a pilgrimage;*' but the word is understood by the most illiterate peasant as alluding to the *journeying on the knees;* and the same person, who would know that aᵹ ꞇabaiꞃꞇ ꞇupaiꞃ means performing a station or pilgrimage, would understand ꞇupaꞃ faoa to mean *a long* JOURNEY ; ċꞃioċnuiᵹeaꞃ mo ꞇupaꞃ, ' *I have finished my* JOURNEY;' ᵹo n-eiꞃiᵹió oo ꞇupaꞃ leaꞇ, ' *may you succeed*

on your journey.' From these examples it appears quite obvious that the Irish word ᴛᴜᴩᴀᴩ has nothing to do with *tower* or *turris*, but that it is of the same signification and derivation with the English '*tour*,' which I trust no person will derive from the Latin *turris*, a *tower*.

    " I am of opinion that the term ᴛᴜᴩᴀᴩ is not long in use in the sense of station or pilgrimage, for I never met any ancient MS. authority for such a figurative signification of the word. It is always used in Irish books and MSS. to signify a *journey*, a *travel*, a *tour;* and if the word ɴᴀᴏṁ were added, then it would mean a pilgrimage, 'a holy journey,' (ɴᴀᴏṁ-ᴛᴜᴩᴀᴩ). But in all our ancient annals the word used to signify '*pilgrimage*' is ᴀɪʟɪᴄᴩɪ. Ꞇᴜᴩᴀᴩ does not mean '*penance*,' as asserted by Dr. Smith, and never had any such signification, the word ᴀɪᴄᴩɪᵹe (which is a noun formed from the adjective ᴀɪᴄᴩeᴀᴄ, *sorrowful*,) being always used to denote penance, whether mental or corporeal."

To these judicious remarks it is hardly necessary to add another word. I am quite persuaded that if Dr. Smith had had any distinct authority for his vague reference, either manuscript or printed, he would not have failed to have triumphantly produced it. Why did he not tell us what the Towers were called in those ancient Irish MSS., which state that they were used to imprison penitents? He answers this question by anticipation, thus : " Some of our writers have named them *Inclusoria* and *Arcti Inclusorii Ergastula, the Prisons of a narrow enclosure*—particularly in the Life of Dunchad O'Braoin, &c." But these are not *Irish* words, and I have already shown, in the preceding section, that the authorities here referred to make no allusion whatever to towers, but on the contrary distinctly and invariably call those *Inclusoria cellæ* or cells.

    The name, however, by which the ' Penitentiaries' were called in Irish may be seen in almost every page of our Annals : it is ᴅᴜɪᴩ-ᴄeᴀᴄʜ or ᴅeᴀᴩ-ᴄeᴀᴄ—a name which is supposed by some to be poetically compounded of the words ᴅeᴀᴩ, *a tear*, and ᴛeᴀᴄʜ, *a house*. It is thus explained by O'Reilly in his Irish Dictionary :

    " ᴅeᴀᴩ-ᴄeᴀᴄ, *dear-theach*, an apartment in a monastery calculated for prayers and penitence."

Thus in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 905, the burning of the Deartheach of Mayo is recorded :

    " A. D. 905. *Dertech Maige Eo do loscc*."

Erroneously translated by Dr. O'Conor :

    " A. D. 905. Nosocomium Maionense combustum."

But correctly by Colgan, who knew the meaning of the passage far better than Dr. O'Conor:

" A. D. 905.   Domus pœnitentium in Mogeo incendio vastata."—*Acta SS.* p. 606.

And again:

" A. D. 1075. *Cluain Ioraird do loscc. con a dertigh.*"

Also erroneously translated by O'Conor, as follows:

" A. D. 1075. Cluanirardia combusta cum suo Nosocomio."

But correctly by Colgan:

" A. D. 1075. Cluain-erardia cum sua Pænitentium æde, combusta."—*Ib.* p. 407.

A hundred other instances to the same effect might be adduced, but these will, I trust, suffice; nor should I have deemed the proofs advanced by Dr. Smith deserving of so much notice, if they had not imposed on the acute mind of such an able antiquary as Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who expresses his approbation of this theory in the following words:

" On comparing and considering the various accounts which have been drawn up by so many able and intelligent antiquaries, I am inclined to favour the opinion of Dr. SMITH, which is strongly grounded upon the tradition of an ancient Irish manuscript." —*Journal of a Tour in Ireland*, p. 284.

3. BELFRIES. 4. KEEPS, or MONASTIC TREASURE-HOUSES. 5. WATCH-TOWERS AND BEACONS.—As these theories are only erroneous in their exclusive application, and are sound when applied conjointly— as will, I trust, be proved in the second part of this Inquiry—it is not necessary to take any further notice of them in this place.   I shall content myself, therefore, with observing, that if they have hitherto failed of a more general adoption, it has been the result not less of a want of *facts* to support them, than of the difficulties in argument which their advocates had to encounter, in ascribing to a single and exclusive use a class of buildings, all of which exhibited peculiarities of structure, which were manifestly not necessary to that one purpose.

PART II.

TRUE ORIGIN AND USES OF THE ROUND TOWERS.

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SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

In the preceding part of this Inquiry I have endeavoured to remove the too prevalent existing prejudices of my countrymen in favour of theories respecting the origin and uses of the Round Towers, which I deem erroneous, by a dispassionate examination of the evidences which have been adduced to support them; and to the calm inquirer after truth, who may have accompanied me through that rather tedious preliminary investigation, I trust I have submitted such evidences as will prepare his mind for an unbiassed examination of the proofs I have now to tender, in support of the conclusions which I hope to establish.

That my countrymen should be so generally inclined to believe in hypotheses—I allude particularly to those referring the Towers to a pagan origin—on such evidences, will probably excite surprise in the minds of the learned of other countries, among whom a more philosophical spirit has been directed to subjects of historical and antiquarian inquiry; but such surprise must be materially diminished, when it is recollected that sound antiquarian investigation, even in the wealthier sister islands, is but of recent growth, and that, from various causes unnecessary to point out, it has naturally followed but slowly in Ireland. I may add too, as a fact of great importance, that the little that has been hitherto written by men of acknowledged judgment and learning, on the subject of Irish architectural remains, has been far more calculated to mislead than guide the mind on this subject. What, I may ask, could be expected but the wildest speculation, when Sir James Ware, the first and most judicious of all the writers who have treated of Irish antiquities, and whose work still ranks as our text-book for information on such subjects, tells us, with all the weight of authority due to his learning and love of truth, that the Irish

did not begin to build with stone and mortar until the twelfth century? The words in which this learned writer despatches this subject, as translated by his laborious editor, Harris, are as follows :

" *Malachy O-Morgair*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, [who died in 1148] was the first *Irishman*, or at least one of the first, who began to build with Stone and Mortar, of which his contemporary Sir [St.] *Bernard* gives this Account, ' *Malachy* thought it incumbent on him to build a Chappel of Stone at *Bangor*, like those he had seen in other Countries : and when he began to lay the Foundation of it, some of the Natives were astonished at the Novelty; because such Buildings were never seen before in that Country.' And a few Words after he introduces an ill-natured Fellow, and puts this Speech in his Mouth. ' What has come over you, good Man, that you should undertake to introduce such a Novelty into our Country ? We are *Scots* [i. e. *Irishmen*] not *Gauls*. What Levity is this? What Need is there of such a proud and unnecessary Work? How will you, who are but a poor Man, find Means to finish it ? And who will live to see it brought to Perfection ?' *&c.* We find also an Account given by the same *Bernard*, that this *Malachy* had some Years before built a Chappel in the same Place, ' made indeed of planed Timber, but well jointed and compactly put together, and for a *Scottish* [i. e. an *Irish*] Work, elegant enough."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 181, 182.

It is true that Harris elsewhere, in his edition of Sir James Ware's works, timidly combats this conclusion of the great antiquary on the authority of the passage in Cambrensis, which would imply, in the opinion of that writer, that the Towers were of great antiquity in his time : but, by connecting this conclusion with a theory of his own which he could not substantiate, he only involved the subject in greater mystery than before, and predisposed the unguided mind to wander in a region of more unbounded speculation.

Nearly cotemporaneous with Sir James Ware, and following in his track, Sir William Petty goes even farther, thus :

" There is at this Day no Monument or real Argument, that when the *Irish* were first invaded, they had any Stone-Housing at all, any Money, any Foreign Trade, nor any Learning but the Legend of the Saints, Psalters, Missals, Rituals, &c. ; *viz.* nor Geometry, Astronomy, Anatomy, Architecture, Engineery, Painting, Carving, nor any kind of Manufacture, nor the least use of Navigation ; or the Art Military."—*Political Anatomy of Ireland*, (second edition), chap. v. p. 25.

The next writer who investigated our antiquities, and treated of the origin of the Round Towers in particular, was the celebrated Dr. Thomas Molyneux; but his feeble efforts to remove the mystery of the existence of such remains among a people supposed to have been so uncivilized as the Irish, by ascribing them to their oppressors, the pagan Danes, added nothing to the knowledge already extant on the subject.

And lastly, the more laboured efforts of Dr. Ledwich, in our own time, in support of the same theory, have only served to increase the darkness in which our ecclesiastical antiquities were previously involved.

While the Irish were thus instructed in error by their own most distinguished antiquaries, the uncertainty in which the origin of our ecclesiastical architectural remains was involved was still further increased by the opinions expressed on this subject by the most distinguished antiquaries of England and Scotland, who universally adopted Ware's opinion that the Irish were unacquainted with the art of building with lime and stone previously to the twelfth century. They even go so far as to apply the same dogma to the architectural remains of the Irish colony of Scots, who settled in Scotland in the beginning of the sixth century,—as an example of which I quote the following passage, from Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 141 :

> "Ancient monuments of the British Scots there are none, save cairns of stones, used as sepulchres, and as memorials. These were adapted to Celtic indolence : while the Gothic industry raised vast stones, instead of piling small ones : nor are any cairns found in Gothic countries, so far as I can learn, except such as are very large. The Celtic churches, houses, &c. were all of wattles, as are the barns at this day in the Hebudes ; so that no ruins can be found of them. The early cathedral of Hyona must have been of this sort ; and it was burnt by the Danes in the ninth century. The present ruin is not older than the thirteenth. In the twelfth century Saint Bernard represents a stone church as quite a novelty even in Ireland."

Opinions such as these, which I shall prove to be wholly erroneous, proceeding from authorities of weight, have had an effect in Ireland doubly mischievous, and greatly to be deplored ; first, as stripping our architectural remains of their true antiquity, and thus destroying that charm of association which would have led to their preservation ; and secondly, on the other hand, as preparing the public mind for the reception of those wild theories respecting the pagan origin of the Round Towers, which, originating with General Vallancey, have been so generally adopted by his followers in the same school.

Under these circumstances, to disabuse the minds of my countrymen of prejudices, which are calculated to lessen them in the estimation of the learned and judicious,—while, at the same time, I satisfy them of the extreme antiquity of the ecclesiastical architectural

remains, still so abundant in Ireland, and thus excite a desire for their conservation,—is a task which, however humble, I may well feel a pride that it should have fallen to my lot to accomplish. To do this, however, it is necessary that I should not confine this Inquiry to the question of the origin and uses of the Round Towers alone, but also, as accessary and indeed essential to that Inquiry, go into an investigation of our ecclesiastical architecture generally, of which the Round Towers constitute only a subordinate feature.

It is true that these remains will be found to be of a very simple and unartificial character, and to exhibit nothing of that architectural splendour so gratifying to the taste, which characterizes the Christian edifices of Europe erected in the later days of ecclesiastical power; but if, as the great sceptical poet, Byron, so truly says,

"Even the faintest relicts of a shrine
  Of any worship wake some thoughts divine,"

these simple memorials of a Christian antiquity, rarely to be found outside our own *insula sacra*, and which, in their grave simplicity, exhibit a characteristic absence of meretricious grandeur, typical of the primitive ages of the Christian Church, can scarcely fail to excite a deep and reverential interest in the minds of Christians generally, and still more of those who may justly take a pride in such venerable remains of their past history.

SECTION II.

ANTIQUITY OF IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL REMAINS.

It must be admitted that the opinion expressed by Sir James Ware, as founded on the authority of St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, that the Irish first began to build with stone and mortar in the twelfth century, would, on a casual examination of the question, seem to be of great weight, and extremely difficult to controvert; for it would appear, from ancient authorities of the highest character, that the custom of building both houses and churches with oak timber and wattles was a peculiar characteristic of the Scotic race, who were the ruling people in Ireland from the introduction of Christianity till the Anglo-Norman Invasion in the twelfth century. Thus we have the authority of Venerable Bede that Finian, who had been a

monk of the monastery of Iona, on becoming bishop of Lindisfarne,
" built a church fit for his episcopal see, not of stone, but altogether
of sawn wood covered with reeds, after the Scotic [that is, the Irish]
manner."

"... fecit Ecclesiam Episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen more Scottorum, non
de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit atque harundine texit."—*Beda, Hist.
Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 25.

In like manner, in Tirechan's Annotations on the Life of St. Pa-
trick, preserved in the Book of Armagh, a MS. supposed to be of the
seventh century, we find it stated, that " when Patrick went up to
the place which is called Foirrgea of the sons of Awley, to divide it
among the sons of Awley, he built there a quadrangular church of
moist earth, because wood was not near at hand."

" Et ecce Patricius perrexit ad agrum qui dicitur Foirrgea filiorum Amolngid ad
dividendum inter filios Amolngid, et fecit ibi æclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam
quia non prope erat silva."—Fol. 14, b. 2.

And lastly, in the Life of the virgin St. Monenna, compiled by
Conchubran in the twelfth century, as quoted by Ussher, it is simi-
larly stated that she founded a monastery which was made of smooth
timber, according to the fashion of the Scotic nations, who were not
accustomed to erect stone walls, or get them erected.

" E lapide enim sacras ædes efficere, tam Scotis quàm Britonibus morem fuisse
insolitum, ex Bedâ quoq; didicimus.   Indeq; in S. *Monennæ* monasterio Ecclesiam
constructam fuisse notat Conchubranus *tabulis de dolatis, juxta morem Scoticarum gen-
tium: eo quòd macerias Scoti non solent facere, nec factas habere.*"—*Primordia*, p. 737.

I have given these passages in full—and I believe they are all
that have been found to sustain the opinions alluded to—in order
that the reader may have the whole of the evidences unfavourable
to the antiquity of our ecclesiastical remains fairly placed before
him ; and I confess it does not surprise me that, considering how
little attention has hitherto been paid to our existing architectural
monuments, the learned in the sister countries should have adopted
the conclusion which such evidences should naturally lead to; or
even that the learned and judicious Dr. Lanigan, who was anxious to
uphold the antiquity of those monuments, should have expressed his
adoption of a similar conclusion in the following words :

" Prior to those of the twelfth century we find very few monuments of ecclesiastical
architecture in Ireland.   This is not to be wondered at, because the general fashion of

the country was to erect their buildings of wood, a fashion, which in great part con-
tinues to this day in several parts of Europe. As consequently their churches also
were usually built of wood, it cannot be expected that there should be any remains
of such churches at present."—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 391, 392.

Before, however, we deem such authorities invincible, let it be
remembered that on similar evidences the antiquaries of England, till
a recent period, came to the conclusion that the churches of the Bri-
tons, and even of the Saxons, were mostly built with timber ; for, as
is stated by Grose in the preface to his Antiquities of England on the
subject of architecture (p. 63) : " An opinion has long prevailed, chiefly
countenanced by Mr. Somner, that the Saxon churches were mostly
built with timber ; and that the few they had of stone, consisted only
of upright walls, without pillars or arches ; the construction of which,
it is pretended, they were entirely ignorant of." Yet this opinion
is now universally acknowledged to be erroneous, and I trust I shall
clearly prove, that the generally adopted conclusion as to the recent
date of our ecclesiastical stone buildings is erroneous also.

It is by no means my wish to deny that the houses built by the
Scotic race in Ireland were usually of wood, or that very many of the
churches erected by that people, immediately after their conversion
to Christianity, were not of the same perishable material. I have
already proved these facts in my Essay on the Ancient Military Ar-
chitecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Conquest. But
I have also shown, in that Essay, that the earlier colonists in the
country, the Firbolg and Tuatha De Danann tribes, which our his-
torians bring hither from Greece at a very remote period, were ac-
customed to build, not only their fortresses but even their dome-roofed
houses and sepulchres, of stone without cement, and in the style
now usually called Cyclopean and Pelasgic. I have also shown that
this custom, as applied to their forts and houses, was continued in
those parts of Ireland in which those ancient settlers remained, even
after the introduction of Christianity, and, as I shall presently show,
was adopted by the Christians in their religious structures. As cha-
racteristic examples of these ancient religious structures, still remain-
ing in sufficient preservation to show us perfectly what they had been
in their original state, I may point to the monastic establishment of
St. Molaise, on Inishmurry, in the bay of Sligo, erected in the sixth
century ; to that of St. Brendan, on Inishglory, off the coast of Erris,

in the county of Mayo, erected in the beginning of the same century ; and to that of St. Fechin, on Ard-Oilean, or High Island, off the coast of Connamara, in the county of Galway, erected in the seventh century.   In all these establishments the churches alone, which are of the simplest construction, are built with lime cement.   The houses, or cells, erected for the use of the abbot and monks, are of a circular or oval form, having dome roofs, constructed, like those of the ancient Greek and Irish sepulchres, without a knowledge of the principle of the arch, and without the use of cement ; and the whole are encompassed by a broad wall composed of stones of great size, without cement of any kind.

Such also, or very nearly, appears to have been the monastic establishment constructed on the island of Farne, in Northumberland, in the year 684, by St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, who is usually reputed to have been an Irishman, and, at all events, received his education from Irish ecclesiastics.   This monastery, as described by Venerable Bede in the seventeenth chapter of his Life of that distinguished saint, was almost of a round form, four or five perches in diameter from wall to wall. . This wall was on the outside of the height of a man, but was on the inside made higher by sinking the natural rock, to prevent the thoughts from rambling by restraining the sight to the view of the heavens only.   It was not formed of cut stone, or brick cemented with mortar, but wholly of rough stones and earth, which had been dug up from the middle of the enclosure; and of these stones, which had been carried from another place, some were so large that four men could scarcely lift one of them.   Within the enclosure were two houses, of which one was an oratory, or small chapel, and the other for the common uses of a habitation; and of these the walls were in great part formed by digging away the earth inside and outside, and the roofs were made of unhewn timber thatched with hay.   Outside the enclosure, and at the entrance to the island, was a larger house for the accommodation of religious visiters, and not far from it a fountain of water.   For the satisfaction of the reader I annex the passage in the original :

"... condidit Ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, & domos in hac æque ciuitati congruas erexit.   Est autem ædificium situ penè rotundum, à muro vsque ad murum mensura quatuor fermè siue quinq'; perticarum distentum, murus ipse deforis altior longitudine stantis hominis.   Nam intrinsecus viuam cedendo rupem multo illum fecit altiorem,

quatenus ad cohibendam oculorum siue cogitationem lasciuiam, ad erigendam in su-
prema desideria totam mentis intentionem, pius incola nil de sua mansione præter
cœlum posset intueri : quem videlicet murum non de secto lapide vel latere & cæmento,
sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus & cespite, quem de medio loci fodiendo tulerat, compo-
suit. E quibus quidam tantæ erant granditatis, vt vix à quatuor viris viderentur
potuisse leuari : quos tamen ipse angelico adiutus auxilio illuc attulisse aliundè, &
muro imposuisse repertus est. Duas in mansione habebat domos, oratorium scilicet &
aliud ad communes vsus aptum habitaculum : quorum parietes quidem de naturali
terra multum intus forisque circumfodiendo siue cedendo confecit, culmina verò de
lignis informibus & fœno superposuit. Porrò ad portam insulæ maior erat domus, in
qua visitantes cum fratres suscipi & quiescere possent ; nec longè ab ea fons eorundem
vsibus accommodus."— *Vita S. Cuthberti, apud Colgan, Acta SS.* p. 667.

That these buildings were, as I have already stated, erected in the
mode practised by the Firbolg and Tuatha De Danann tribes in Ire-
land, must be at once obvious to any one, who has seen any of the
pagan circular stone forts and bee-hive-shaped houses still so fre-
quently to be met with, along the remote coasts, and on the islands,
of the western and south-western parts of Ireland,—into which little
change of manners and customs had penetrated, that would have de-
stroyed the reverence paid by the people to their ancient monuments—
the only differences observable between these buildings and those
introduced in the primitive Christian times being the presence of lime
cement, the use of which was wholly unknown to the Irish in pagan
times,—and the adoption of a quadrangular form in the construction
of the churches, and, occasionally, in the interior of the externally
round houses of the ecclesiastics, the forts and houses of the Firbolg
and Tuatha De Danann colonies being invariably of a rotund form,
both internally and externally.

It may interest the reader to present him with two or three cha-
racteristic specimens of these singular structures, of different styles
and eras, and which have been hitherto unnoticed. The annexed
view will give a good idea of the general appearance of the round and
oval houses erected in pagan times, and of which there are some
hundreds still remaining, though generally more or less dilapidated.
This house, known to the peasantry by the name of *Clochan na car-
raige,* or the stone house of the rock, is,—or was when I sketched it
about twenty years since,—situated on the north side of the great
island of Aran, in the bay of Galway, and is, in its interior measure-
ment, nineteen feet long, seven feet six inches broad, and eight feet
high, and its walls are about four feet thick. Its doorway is but three

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feet high, and two feet six inches wide on the outside, but narrows
to two feet on the inside.   The roof is formed, as in all buildings of
this class, by the gradual approximation of stones laid horizontally,
till it is closed at the top by a single stone ; and two apertures in its
centre served the double purpose of a window and a chimney.

        The next example presents a view of a house of one of the early
saints of Ireland, and exhibits the characteristics of the Cyclopean
style more than the preceding one, the stones being mostly of enor-
mous size.   It is the house of St. Finan Cam, who flourished in the
sixth century, and is situated on Church Island in Lough Lee or
Curraun Lough, on the boundary of the baronies of Iveragh and Dun-
kerrin, in the county of Kerry, and four miles to the north of Derry-
nane Abbey, in Irish Ɗoɪpe Ⴔhíonáin, which derives its name from
that saint.   This structure, though nearly circular on the outside, is
quadrangular on the inside, and measures sixteen feet six inches in
length, from north to south, and fifteen feet one inch from east to
west, and the wall is seven feet thick at the base, and at present but
nine feet nine inches in height ; the doorway is on the north side,
and measures on the outside four feet three inches in height, and in
width two feet nine inches at top, and three feet at bottom.   There
are three stones forming the covering of this doorway, of which the
external one is five feet eight inches in length, one foot four inches

in height, and one foot eight inches in breadth ; and the internal one is five feet two inches in length, and two feet nine inches in breadth.

The next example is of somewhat later date, being one of the houses erected by the celebrated St. Fechin, who flourished in the seventh
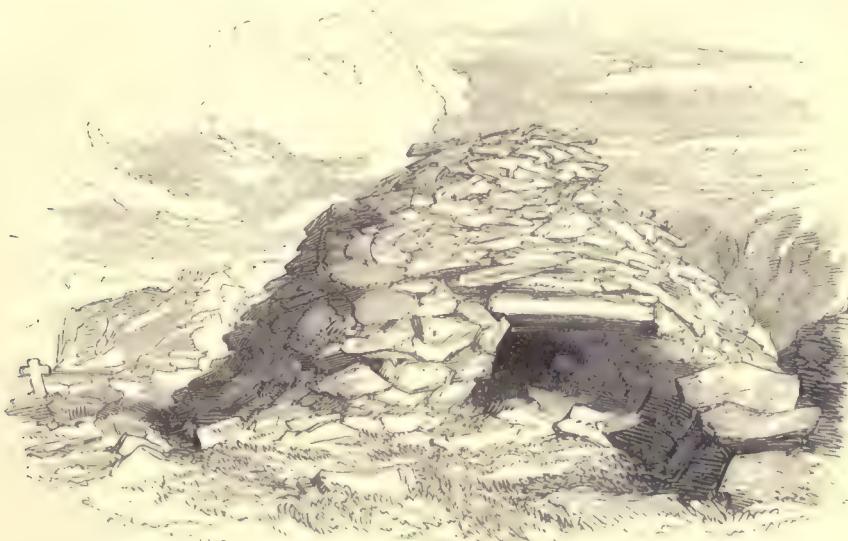
century, at his little monastic establishment on Ard-Oilean, or High Island, off the coast of Connamara, in the county of Galway. This building, like the preceding one, is square in the interior, and measures

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nine feet by seven feet six inches in height; the doorway is two feet four inches wide, and three feet six inches high. The material of this structure is mica slate, and, though its external appearance is very rude, its interior is constructed with admirable art.

The introduction of this quadrangular form, by the first propagators of Christianity in Ireland, is clearly pointed out in an ancient Irish stanza, predicting this and other Christian innovations, which is quoted as the composition of a certain magus of the name of Con, in the ancient Life of St. Patrick, ascribed to St. Evin, a writer of the sixth century, and thus translated by Colgan :

" Constantinus autem in suis vaticinijs loquens de eo eodem aduentu cecinit. *Adueniet cum circulo tonsus in capite; cuius œdes erunt ad instar œdium Romanarum: efficiet quod cellœ futurœ sint in pretio & œstimatione: œdes eius erant [erunt] angustœ & angulatœ & fana multa: pedum pastorale dominabitur. Quando hœc portenta & prodigia euenient, nostra dogmata & idola euertentur: fides & pietas magnificabuntur.* Quæ omnia veridicè prædicta esse probauit euentus, licet per ora mendacijs assueta, prolata, cogente omnis veritatis fonte & authore; qui sæpè patrem mĕdacij cogit ad testimonium veritati præbendū."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 123.

It is remarkable, however, that the early Irish Christians do not appear to have adopted all at once the quadrangular form and upright walls, here alluded to as characteristic of the houses of the Romans, and observable in the churches still existing, the erection of which is ascribed to St. Patrick and his successors. In the remote barony of Kerry called Corcaguiny, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Smerwick Harbour, where the remains of stone fortresses and circular stone houses are most numerously spread through the valleys and on the mountains, we meet with several ancient oratories, exhibiting only an imperfect development of the Roman mode of construction, being built of uncemented stones admirably fitted to each other, and their lateral walls converging from the base to their apex in curved lines; —indeed their end walls, though in a much lesser degree, converge also. Another feature in these edifices worthy of notice, as exhibiting a characteristic which they have in common with the pagan monuments, is, that none of them evince an acquaintance with the principle of the arch, and that, except in one instance, that of Gallerus, their doorways are extremely low, as in the pagan forts and houses.

As an example of these most interesting structures, which, the historian of Kerry truly says, " may possibly challenge even the Round Towers as to point of antiquity," I annex a view of the oratory at

Gallerus, the most beautifully constructed and perfectly preserved of those ancient structures now remaining; and views of similar oratories will be found in the succeeding part of this work.

This oratory, which is wholly built of the green stone of the district, is externally twenty-three feet long by ten broad, and is sixteen feet high on the outside to the apex of the pyramid. The doorway, which is placed, as is usual in all our ancient churches, in its west-end wall, is five feet seven inches high, two feet four inches wide at the base, and one foot nine inches at the top; and the walls are four feet in thickness at the base. It is lighted by a single window in its east side, and each of the gables was terminated by small stone crosses, only the sockets of which now remain.

That these oratories,—though not, as Dr. Smith supposes, the first edifices of stone that were erected in Ireland,—were the first erected for Christian uses, is, I think, extremely probable; and I am strongly inclined to believe that they may be even more ancient than the period assigned for the conversion of the Irish generally by their great apostle Patrick. I should state, in proof of this antiquity, that adjacent to each of these oratories may be seen the remains of the circular stone houses, which were the habitations of their founders; and, what is of more importance, that their graves are marked by

upright pillar-stones, sometimes bearing inscriptions in the Ogham cha-
racter, as found on monuments presumed to be pagan, and in other
instances, as at the oratory of Gallerus, with an inscription in the
Græco-Roman or Byzantine character of the fourth or fifth century,
of which the annexed is an accurate copy.

This inscription is not perfectly legible in all its letters, but is suffi-
ciently so to preserve the name of the ecclesiastic, and reads as follows :

"ᴄɪᴇ ᴄᴏᴢᴜᴍ ᴍᴇᴄ . . . ᴍᴇᴢ."

That is,

" THE STONE OF COLUM SON OF . . . MEL."

It is greatly to be regretted that any part of this inscription should
be imperfect, but we have a well-preserved and most interesting ex-
ample of the whole alphabet of this character on a pillar-stone now
used as a grave-stone in the church-yard of Kilmalkedar, about a mile
distant from the former, and where there are the remains of a similar
oratory.   Of this inscription I also annex a copy :
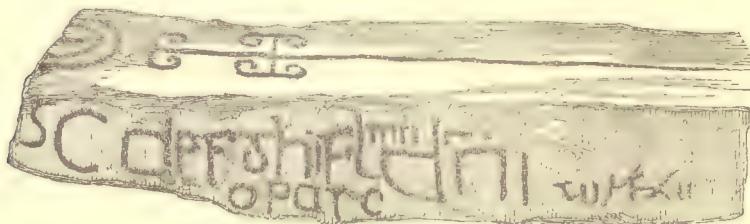
I should observe that a drawing of this inscription, made by the
late Mr. Pelham, and which, he tells us, may be depended upon as a
correct copy, has been already published by General Vallancey in the
sixth volume of his Collectanea, Part I.; and I may add, as a charac-
teristic example of that gentleman's antiquarianism, his observations
thereon, which are as follows :

" There are very evidently two kinds of characters on this stone.   One the *Ogham*,
on each side of a line ; the other a running character, which appears to be a mixture of
Phœnician, Pelasgian, and Egyptian."—p. 184.

He then presents us with four examples of Egyptian and Perse-
politan characters, to show their similarity to the characters on the
Kilmalkedar stone, and concludes with a comment on the circum-
stance of a flowered cross being sculptured on another side of it, as
follows :

" The cross was, and is still, a usual ornament with the Asiatic nations. The vest-
ment of the priest of Horus is full of ✚. See Caylus, Vol. VI. Pl. 7."—pp. 184, 185.

That the inscription is, however, truly what I have stated it to be,
a mere alphabet wanting the A, which has been broken off, will, I
am satisfied, be at once apparent to every intelligent scholar; and
also that the three large letters D̅N̅I, which occur in the middle of the
inscription, and which Vallancey supposed to be an *Ogham*, is no-
thing more than a usual abbreviation of DOMINI. As to the object
of this inscription I can of course offer only a conjecture, namely,
that it was an *abecedarium*, cut by one of the early Christian settlers in
this place,—either a foreigner, or a native who had received a foreign
education,—for instructing his followers in the rudiments of the Latin
language; for that it was the practice of the first teachers of Chris-
tianity in Ireland to furnish their disciples with the *abecedarium*, or
Roman alphabet, appears quite clear from Nennius, and the most
ancient Lives of St. Patrick, as may be seen by reference to Harris's
Ware, Irish Writers, Book II. c. 1. And I may add as a further con-
jecture, that this pillar-stone may have been originally a pagan monu-
ment, consecrated to the service of Christianity by inscribing on it in
the first instance the name of the Lord, before it received its second
inscription, as it appears from Evin's Life of St. Patrick that it was
not unusual for the Irish apostle thus to dedicate pagan monuments
to the honour of the true God. In this work it is stated that St. Pa-
trick, coming to the plain of Magh Selga, near Elphin, found three
pillar-stones, which had been raised there by the pagans, either as
memorials of events, or for the celebration of pagan rites, on one of
which he inscribed the name JESUS, on another SOTER, and on the
third SALVATOR. And, though it is not expressly stated, we may
conclude that he also marked each of those pillars with a cross, such
as is seen on the pillar-stone at Kilmalkedar, and on every other an-
cient Christian monument in Ireland. The passage, as translated from
the original Irish by Colgan, is as follows :

"Rebus Ecclesiæ ibi dispositis Patricius se contulit ad locum qui & *Mag-selga* legitur appellari, vbi sex Briani Principis offendit filios, Bognam, cognomento Rubrum, Derthractum, Echenum, Crimthannum, Coelcharnum, & Eochadium. Ibi in loco amœno, vbi circumfusa regio latè conspicitur, vir Dei cum aliquot comitantibus Episcopis moram contraxit inter tres colossos siue edita saxa ; quæ gentilitas ibi in memoriam aliquorum facinorum, vel gentilitiorum rituum posuit. In his autem lapidibus, lapidis angularis, qui fecit vtraque vnum, Christi Domini tria nomina tribus linguis expressa curauit incidi ; in vno *Iesus*, in altero *Sòter*, in tertio *Saluator* nomen impressum legitur."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 136.

As an example of the monumental pillar-stones, inscribed in the Ogham character, which are found in connection with some of the uncemented stone oratories in Kerry, to which I have alluded, I annex a cut of the pillar-stone which marks the grave of St. Monachan, and which is situated at the south-west end of his oratory, called Temple Geal, about three miles to the north-west of Dingle :
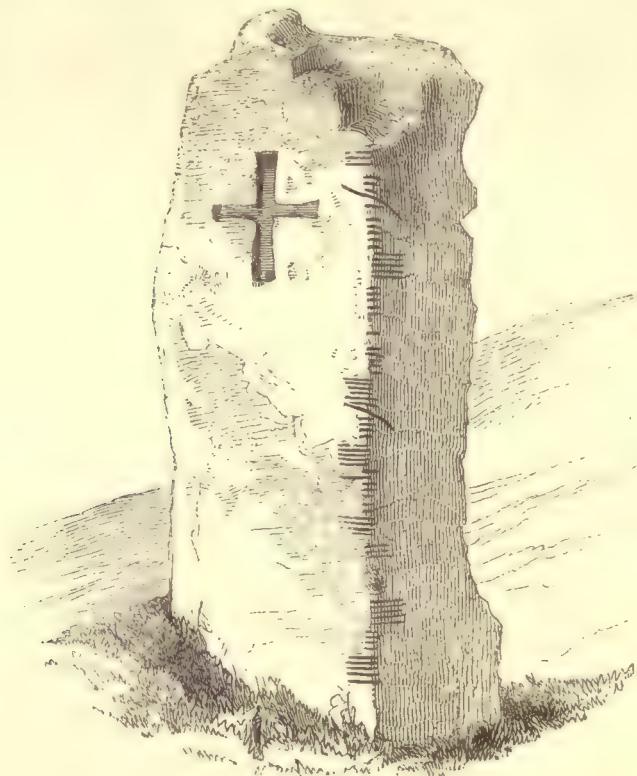
Having now, as I trust, sufficiently shown that the Irish erected churches and cells of stone, without cement, at the very earliest period after the introduction of Christianity into the country,—and, if it had

been necessary, I might have adduced a vastly greater body of evidence to substantiate the fact,—I may, I think, fairly ask :—Is it probable that they would remain much longer ignorant of the use of lime cement in their religious edifices, a knowledge of which must necessarily have been imparted to them by the crowds of foreign ecclesiastics, Egyptian, Roman, Italian, French, British, and Saxon, who flocked to Ireland as a place of refuge in the fifth and sixth centuries ? Of such immigration there cannot possibly exist a doubt ; for, not to speak of the great number of foreigners who were disciples of St. Patrick, and of whom the names are preserved in the most ancient Lives of that saint, nor of the evidences of the same nature so abundantly supplied in the Lives of many other saints of the primitive Irish Church, it will be sufficient to refer to that most curious ancient document, written in the year 799, the Litany of St. Aengus the Culdee, in which are invoked such a vast number of foreign saints buried in Ireland. Copies of this ancient Litany are found in the Book of Leinster, a MS. undoubtedly of the twelfth century, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin,—class H. 2, 18 ; and in the *LeabharBreac*, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy : and the passages in it, relative to the foreign ecclesiastics, have been extracted, translated into Latin, and published by Ward in his Life of St. Rumold, p. 206, and by Colgan in his Acta Sanctorum, p. 539 [535], which latter extract I here insert, with the observations of Colgan upon the interesting facts of which it furnishes evidence.

" *In ea namque naui deferebantur* 50 *Monachi patria Romani, quos &c.* c. 20. Hic benigne Lector legis argumentum aliquod magnæ istius opinionis, quam de sanctitate & doctrina huius sacræ insulæ olim conceperunt Romani, & aliæ Europæ nationes, Habebatur enim in aureis illis seminatæ fidei primordiis, & aliquot sequentibus sæculis, non solum vt officina conuersionis gentium, sed etiam ad asceticæ vitæ fouēda exercitia, vt Tebais altera, communisque ad sapientiæ, sacrarum-scripturarum vacandum studiis Occidentis ludus litterarius : vt vix sciam an gloriæ plus promeruerit, ex eo quod Doctores & Apostolos genuerit, & emiserit propè infinitos, quam ex eo quod ex continuo Italorum, Gallorum, Germanorum, Britonum, Pictorum, Saxonum seu Anglorum, aliarumque nationum arctioris vitæ, & doctrinæ desiderio aduolantium accursu, incolatu & sepultura merito appellari queat, communis Europæ bonarum litterarum officina, communeque ascetarū sacrarium. Plurima & admiranda de his reperiuntur in nostris hystoriis, maximè in vitis SS. Patricij, Kierani, Declani, Albei, Endei, Maidoci, Senani, Brendani &c. testimonia. Ego ex solo libro littaniarum Sancti Ængussij adduco sufficientia ; in quo author istius libri inter innumeros alios domesticos sanctos, inuocat etiam sequentes sanctorum aduenarum in Hibernia sepultorum turmas.

T

" *Sanctos Romanos, qui iacent in Achadh Galma in Ybh-Echia, inuoco in auxilium meum per Iesum Christum &c.*

" *SS. Romanos de Lettir erca, inuoco in auxilium meum &c.*

" *SS. Romanos, qui cum Cursecha filia Brochani iacent in Achadh-Dalrach, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Romanos de Cluain-chuinne, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Peregrinos de Cluain-mhoir, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Romanos, qui cum S. Aido iacent in Cluain Dartadha, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. duodecim Conchennacios, qui cum vtroque Sinchello iacent in Kill-achuidh, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Conchennacios, qui cum S. Manchano iacent in Lethmor, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. septē Monachos Aegyptios, qui iacēt in Disert Vlidh, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Peregrinos, qui cum S. Mochua filio Luscan iacent in Domnach Resen, inuoco. &c.*

" *SS. Peregrinos de Belach forchedail, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Peregrinos de Cuil-ochtair, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. septem peregrinos de Imleach-mor, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. duodecim Peregrinos, socios S. Sinchelli, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Peregrinos Romanos, qui in centum quinquaginta cymbis, siue scaphis aduecti, comitati sunt SS. Eliam, Natalem, Nemanum, & Corcnutanum, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. centū quinquaginta Peregrinos Romanos & Italos qui comitati sunt S. Abbanum in Hiberniam, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Gallos de Saliduic, inuoco, &c.*

" *SS. Gallos de Mag-salach, inuoco, &c.*

" *SS. Saxones (.ı. Anglos) de Rigair, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Saxones de Cluain-mhuicedha, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. Peregrinos de Inis-Puinc, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. duodecim Peregrinos de Lethglais-moir, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. cētū quinquaginta Peregrinos in Gair mic-Magla, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. quinquaginta Monachos de Britannia, socios filij Mainani in Glenloire, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. quinque peregrinos de Suidhe Coeil, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. 150 discipulos S. Manchani Magistri, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. 510, qui ex partibus transmarinis veneruntcum S. Boethio Episcopo, decemq; Virgines eos comitantes, inuoco &c.*

" *SS. duodecim socios S. Riochi transmarinos, inuoco &c.*

" Hæc & multa alia alibi dicenda, quæ de exteris Monachis & sāctis in nostris hystoriis & Menologiis legūtur & breuitatis causa omitto, non solum omnem dubitationem tollunt de numero quinquaginta Monachorum, quos in præsenti vita in Hiberniam abstractioris vitæ, vel doctrinæ causâ, legimus venisse: sed & abundè indicant, & conceptam à priscis de sanctitate & doctrina huius insulæ opinionem, & appellationem illam, quâ passim *Insula sanctorum & insula sacra*, dicebatur, non falso aut leui niti fundamento. An autem ex præsentibus Romanis turmis sint aliqui, qui in superioribus littaniis sancti Romani vocentur vel inuocentur, ego non affirmauerim.   Vide de sanctis Barreo 25. Aug. Finneno 23. Febr. Brendano 16. Maij, & Kierano 9 Sept."

In addition to the preceding evidence, I may add also that we are

not without monumental inscriptions testifying to the same fact, of which I annex, as an example, one which marks the grave of seven Romans interred near the church of St. Brecan on the Great Island of Aran, and which reads as follows:

<div align="center">uɩɩ ʀomɑnɪ.</div>

That this inscription is of very great antiquity the form of the letters sufficiently indicates, and we can very nearly determine their exact age by a comparison of their forms, as well as the style of cross carved on the stone, with the letters and cross sculptured on the grave-stone of St. Brecan himself, the founder of that monastery, of which an accurate copy will be seen on the next page.

The inscription to which I allude, is, as will be seen, put into a Latin form, like the preceding one, and was, probably, cut by one of the very seven Romans whose grave in Aran was so marked: it reads as follows:

<div align="center">cı̄ ƀʀecɑnɪ,</div>

which, when written in full, would obviously be

<div align="center">CAPITI BRECANI.</div>

It must interest not only the antiquary, but in an especial degree the numerous progeny of the Dalcassian tribe, to find so curious a monument as this existing of the first and most distinguished ecclesiastic of that race; for it appears certain from our historical documents that this St. Brecan, who was the founder of Ardbraccan, now the seat of the bishops of Meath, was the grandson of Carthen Finn, the first Christian prince of Thomond, and the son of Eochaidh Balldearg, also prince of Thomond, who was baptized by St. Patrick at Saingel, now Singland, near Limerick. The year of St. Brecan's death I have not been able to ascertain, but it must have been in the early part of the sixth century. This head-stone, as it may properly be called, of St. Brecan was originally of an irregular square form, about four feet two inches diagonally, but was broken in opening the
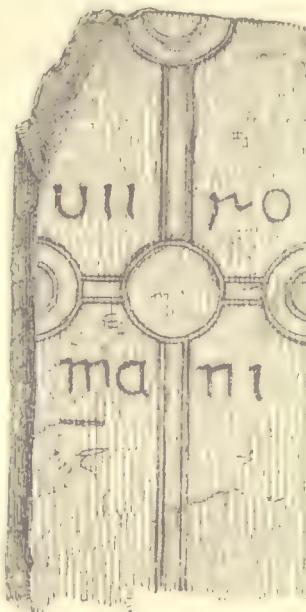
tomb, as is indicated in the engraving by the dotted lines, which mark the portion now detached, and perhaps lost, though remaining in fragments when I sketched it.
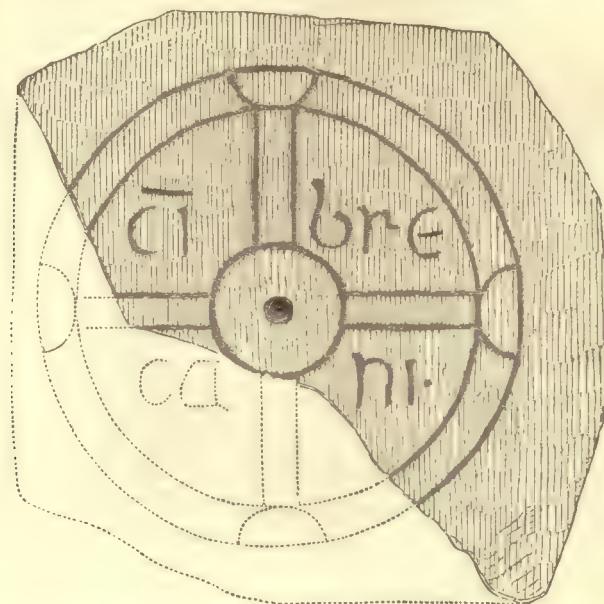
This monumental stone was discovered about forty years ago within a circular enclosure known as St. Brecan's tomb, at a depth of about six feet from the surface, on the occasion of its being first opened to receive the body of a distinguished and popular Roman Catholic ecclesiastic of the county of Galway, who made a dying request to be buried in this grave. Under the stone within the sepulchre there was also found on this occasion a small water-worn stone, of black calp or lime-stone, now in my possession. It is of a round form, but nearly flat on the under side, and is three inches in diameter, and one inch and a half in thickness. On the upper side is carved a plain cross, thus +, and around this, in a circle, the following simple inscription :

This inscription, when written in full, would be as follows :

OROIT AR bRECAN NAILITheR.

A PRAYER FOR BRECAN THE PILGRIM.

That the Saxons at a very early period, through the instruction
of foreign missionaries, acquired the art of building with stone and
lime cement, and also that in the erection of their most distinguished
churches they even employed foreign architects and workmen, is a
fact now so fully established that it is unnecessary for me to quote
any of the evidences from which it can be proved. But it may be
worthy of remark, that the first church built of lime and stone in the
Roman style,—" insolito Britonibus more," as Bede expresses it,—in
Scotland, that of Candida Casa, now Withern, erected by Ninian, the
apostle of the Picts, about the year 412, being on the shore of Gallo-
way, immediately opposite Ireland, and within sight of it, must have
been an object familiar to at least the northern Irish ; and, what is
more to the point, it appears from an ancient Irish Life of St. Ninian,
as quoted by Ussher, *Primordia*, pp. 1058, 1059, that this saint after-
wards deserted Candida Casa, at the request of his mother and re-
lations, and passed over to Ireland, where, at a beautiful place called
Cluain-Coner, granted him by the king, he built a large monastery, in
which he died many years afterwards :

" Extat & apud Hibernos nostros ejusdem Niniani Vita: in quâ, ob importunam tùm
à matre tùm à consanguineis frequentatam visitationem, desertâ *Candidâ Casâ*, ut sibi
& suæ quieti cum discipulis vacaret, Hiberniam petijsse atque ibi impetrato à Rege
loco apto & amœno **Cluapn=Coner** dicto, cœnobium magnum constituisse, ibidemq;
post multos in Hiberniâ transactos annos obijsse, traditur."

Independently of the preceding considerations,—which, however,
must be deemed of great weight in this inquiry,—a variety of histo-
rical evidences can be adduced, from the Lives of the Irish Saints and
other ancient documents, to prove that the Irish were in the habit of
building their churches of lime and stone, though it is most probable
that, in their monastic houses and oratories, they generally continued
the Scotic mode of building with wood, in most parts of Ireland, till
the twelfth or thirteenth century. A few examples from those autho-
rities will be sufficient in this place.

1. In the ancient poem written by Flann of the Monastery, early
in the eleventh century, enumerating the various persons who consti-
tuted the household of St. Patrick, the names of his three stone-masons
are given, with the remark, that they were the first builders of
damhliags, or stone churches, in Ireland.

The poem of Flann, in which this curious evidence occurs, is

preserved in the Book of Lecan, fol. 44, b, b; and the passage is as
follows :

> " Ⲁ ⲉ́ⲣⲓ ⲣⲁⲓ́ⲣ, ⲩⲁ ⲙⲁⲓⲧ⳽ ⲁ ⲥⲟⲛⲟ,
> Ⲥⲁⲉⲙⲁⲛ, Ⲥⲣⲩⲓⲧ⳽ⲛⲉⲥ́, Ⲗⲩⲥ⳽ⲣⲁⲓⲟ ⲗⲟⲛⲟ ;
> ⲓⲁⲟ ⲟⲟ ⲣⲓ⳽ⲛⲓ ⲟⲁⲙⲗⲓⲁ⳽ ⲁⲣ ⲧⲩ́ⲣ
> Ⲁ ⲛ-Ⲉⲣⲓⲛⲟ; ⲁⲣⲟ ⲁ ⲛ-ⲓⲙⲧ⳽ⲩ́ⲣ."

> " His three masons, good was their intelligence,
> Caeman, Cruithnech, Luchraid strong ;
> They made *damliags* first
> In Erin ; eminent their history."

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the word ⲟⲁⲙⲗⲓⲁ⳽, so ge-
nerally applied by the Irish annalists and ecclesiastical writers to their
larger churches, will bear no other translation than *stone house:* it is
so explained in two ancient Glossaries in the library of Trinity Col-
lege, Dublin, Class H, 2, 16, p. 101, and H. 3, 18, p. 69. Thus in the
former : " Ⲟⲁⲓⲙⲗⲓⲁⲥⲥ .ⲓ. ⲧⲉ⳽ⲟⲩⲓⲣ ⲥⲗⲟⲥ́,"—" Damliag, i. e. an edifice of
stones ;" and in the latter, " Ⲟⲟⲓⲙⲗⲓⲁ⳽, .ⲓ. ⲧⲉ⳽ⲁⲓⲣ ⲥⲗⲁⲥ́,"—" Doimliag,
i. e. an edifice of stones."

And it is also thus explained in the Office of St. Cianan, or Kienan,
the founder of the church of Daimhliag, now Duleek, in Meath, which
is extant in MS. in the public library at Cambridge, as quoted by
Ware, Harris's edition, p. 137, viz. : " That St. Kenan built a Church
of Stone in this Place ; and that from thence it took the name of *Dam-
leagh:* for that before this Time the Churches of *Ireland* were built
of Wattles and Boards."—See also *Colgan, Trias Thaum.* p. 217,
col. 2.

That this church was one of the first buildings of stone and lime
cement erected in Ireland is, I think, highly probable, if not certain,
though it may be doubted that it was the very first; for in the oldest
of the authorities extant relative to the life of St. Patrick,—the An-
notations of Tirechan, preserved in the Book of Armagh,—it would
appear to have been the eighth church erected by St. Patrick in the
plain of Bregia, in which he first preached the gospel and built
churches.   The passage in Tirechan is as follows :

" De æclesiis quas fundavit in Campo Breg, primum in Culmine ; ii, æclesiæ Cerne,
in qua sepultus est Hercus qui portavit mortalitatem magnam ; iii. in cacuminibus
Aisse ; iiii. in Blaitiniu ; v. in Collumbos, in qua ordinavit Eugenium Sanctum episco-
pum ; vi. aeclesia filio Laithphi ; vii. im Bridam in qua fuit sanctus dulcis frater Car-
thaci ; viii. super Argetbor in qua Kannanus episcopus quem ordinavit Patricius in
primo Pasca."—Fol. 10.

It is very probable, however, that in this enumeration Tirechan may have had no idea of arranging the churches in the order of time, as regarded their erection; and if so, the assertion in the Office of St. Cianan, that the church of Daimhliag, or Duleek, was the first stone church erected in Ireland, may be quite true. The question is, however, of no importance either way in this argument; it is enough that the fact is ascertained of a stone church having been erected by St. Patrick, or in his time, in the district of his first labours. From the Annotations of Tirechan we also learn that St. Cianan, or, as his name is latinized, Kanannanus, or Kenannanus, was consecrated bishop by St. Patrick; and we have the unexceptionable authority of the annalist Tighernach, that he died in the year 490, three years before the apostle himself, with whom he must have been an especial favourite, as Patrick bestowed upon him a copy of the Gospels, a gift of inestimable value at that time. The passage in the Annals of Tighernach is as follows:

"A. D. 490. K. v. *Quies S. Cianani* Ꝺaımhliaᵹ. Iꞃ ꝺo ꞇuᵹ Paꞇꞃaıc a Soıꞃcella."

"A. D. 490. K. v. The rest of St. Cianan of Duleek. It is to him Patrick gave his Gospels."[a]

2. That the art of building churches of stone and lime cement, introduced into Ireland at this early period, was generally adopted throughout the island,—at least in the larger churches connected with the abbacies and bishoprics,—would appear certain from the fact, that the term *damhliag* became the Scotic or Gaelic name by which the Irish writers designated a cathedral or abbey church, though they also used the terms *tempull, eclais, regles*, and in one or two instances *baslic*,—words obviously adopted from the Latin language: and hence, their ecclesiastical writers, when writing in that language, always render the *damhliag* of the Irish either by the word *ecclesia* or *basilica*, though, on noticing the same buildings when writing in the Irish language, they apply the terms *damhliag, eclais*, and *tempull*, indifferently. This is a fact which I shall clearly prove, and which should necessarily be borne in mind, because,—as by far the greater number of notices

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[a] It may interest the reader to be informed, that it appears from a topographical account of the County of Meath written in 1682—3, that the copy of the Gospels here alluded to, was then preserved in the neighbourhood of Duleek, and that it is probably one of those venerable monuments of the Scriptures at present in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

of ancient Irish churches are contained in the Lives of the Saints, which are usually written in Latin,—it might otherwise be supposed that the words *templum*, *ecclesia*, and *basilica*, used by those writers, may have been applied to wooden churches, which appears never to have been the case, those writers usually designating such buildings by the term *oratorium*; and hence it is not uncommon, when the oratory was not of wood, to designate it by the term *oratorium lapideum*, as in the often quoted passage in Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, relative to the stone oratory at Bangor, and of which I may also quote as an example the following notice in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 788 :

" A. D. 788. Contencio in *Ardmacae* in qua jugulatur vir in hostio [ostio] ORATORII LAPIDEI."

To prove this interchange, first in the terms *damhliag* and *tempull*, among the Irish writers themselves, before the English invasion, I insert the following passage relating to the *damhliag* of Mayo, usually called *Tempull Gerailt* by the Irish, from an ancient Irish MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 17, p. 399 :

" Ro eobaippio Sacpain Maiʒi eo oechmao a cachpach oo Dia 7 oo Micel, 7 oo ponpao oamliacc inci oo oeopaoaib De co bpach. Ocup po ʒabpac Muincip Mailpinneoin a papach, 7 oo pochaip in oamliacc pin popp in muincip ʒup mapb oaeinib, innilib. Iap pin co canic an penoip, .i. Cachapach, ʒop acnúiʒio an cempul pain, a piʒi Ruaiopi 7 a mic, .i. Coipoelbaiʒ, 7 po h-aic-oilpiʒeo o pin amac oo oeopaoaib co bpac; 7 cucao cop ino eapcoip I Dunan, 7 muincipi Cilli Dalua, 7 in c-penopa, .i. Cacapac, 7 Coipoelbaiʒ, piʒ Connachc, 7 ano epcoip I Cnaill, 7 ano epcoip I Dubchaiʒ, ina bicoilpi co bpach. Ocup ʒepe ci caipip pein po ʒacup a ouchaio pein a calmain aip, 7 pob ooraio an pueoul oo."

" The Saxons of Mayo granted the tythes of their city to God and St. Michael, and they made a *damhliag* in it (i. e. in their city) for the pilgrims of God for ever. And the family of Mailfinneoin proceeded to destroy it, and that *damhliag* fell on the people and killed men *and* cattle. After this came the senior i. e. Cathasach, and he renewed [re-built] that *tempul* [church], in the reign of Ruaidhri and his son, i. e. Toirdelbhach, and it was re-confirmed from that out for pilgrims for ever ; and the guarantee of the bishop O'Dunan, and of the family of Killaloe, and of the senior, i. e. Cathasach, and of Toirdelbhach, king of Connaught, and of the bishop O'Cnaill, and of the bishop O'Dubhthaigh, was given for its possession for ever. And whoever comes beyond [i. e. violates] this he shall be deprived of his own country on earth, and this life shall be miserable to him."

As the preceding passage, hitherto unnoticed, removes to a great degree the obscurity in which the history of the church of Mayo has

been hitherto involved, I may observe that the edifice to which it refers must not be confounded with the great abbey church of Mayo,—which was erected for the Saxons by St. Colman, about the middle of the seventh century,—but to that called *Tempull Gerailt*, i. e. Church of Gerald, and *Cill na n-Ailither*, i. e. Church of the Pilgrims, which must have been originally erected by the Saxon Saint Gerald at the same place, some time in the beginning of the eighth century, as St. Gerald's death is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach at the year 732, and of Ulster at the year 731.

The date of the re-edification of this church, by the senior Cathasach, may be determined from the fact stated in the document, that it occurred during the reign of Ruaidhri, king of Connaught, and his son Toirdhelbhach, or Turlogh, by which must be understood the period between the loss of Ruaidhri's eyes, in 1097, and that of his death, which occurred in the year 1118. This is also corroborated by the dates of the deaths of the other persons who witnessed the grant; for Bishop O'Dunan died in 1118, Bishop O'Cnaill in 1117 or 1118, and Bishop O'Dubhthaigh in 1136.

As examples of the substitution by the Irish writers of the Latin words *templum, ecclesia, basilica*, for the Irish *damhliag*, and of the Irish words *cill, eclais, tempull, regles*, for the same term, it will be sufficient to refer to the notices of the ecclesiastical edifices at Armagh, the erection of which is, in most instances, ascribed to St. Patrick himself. Of these buildings the first Irish notice, that I have found, occurs in the Annals of Ulster at the year 839, in which it will be seen that the great church was called a *damhliag*, or stone church.

" A. D. 839. Ϲορϲαꝺ Ϲⱜρομαϲⱶα co n-α ꝺepꝛⱵⱜⱪⱨ, 7 α ꝺⱥⱨⱨⱨⱨⱨαϲϲ."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor:

" A. D. 839. Combustio Ardmachæ cum Nosocomiis [*correctly* Oratoriis], et Ecclesiis lapideis suis."

This event is recorded in nearly the same words in the Annals of the Four Masters, and is freely translated by Colgan:

" A. D. 839. Ϲορϲϲαꝺ Ϲⱜρομααϲⱶα co n-α ꝺepⱺⱨⱪⱨⱨ, 7 co n-α ꝺⱥⱨⱨⱨⱨⱨαϲϲ lⱥⱨ na Ꝝⱥlⱥⱨⱨ pⱥⱨⱥⱨⱨϲⱥ."

" A. D. 839. *Ardmacha cum suâ Basilicâ, aliisq; sacris ædibus, incenditur per Nortmannos.*"—Trias Thaum. p. 295.

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Should it be asked,—If the great church at Armagh were a stone building, why is there no earlier mention of it in those Annals ?— the answer is, that the Irish annals seldom, if ever, make any mention of buildings except in recording their burning or destruction, and that this was the first time the ecclesiastical edifices of Armagh were burned by the incendiary hands of the Northmen, though they had plundered and occupied the place for the first time nine years before, as is thus stated in the Annals of the Four Masters :

" A. D. 830.   Céona opʒain Cloamacha. Cloamacha oo opʒain po épi i n-aoin ṁí la ʒal-laiƀ, 7 ni po h-oipʒeo la h-eaċtap-ċenéla piaṁ ʒo pin."

Thus translated by Colgan :

" A. D. 830. *Ardmacha spatio vnius mensis fuit tertio occupata & expilata per Nort- mannos seu Danos.   Et nunquam ante fuit per exteros occupata.—Trias Thaum.* p. 295.

In the next entry relative to these churches in the Irish annals, the *damhliag*, or great stone church, is noticed, under the name of *ecclais*. The notice occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 890, and is as follows :

" A. D. 890.   Cloamacha oo opccain la ʒluniapn, 7 la ʒallaiƀ Ctha cliath, co pucpat oeiċneaƀap 7 peaċt ʒ-céo i m-bpoio leo, iap n-oipcaoileo apaill oo'n ecclaip, 7 iap m-bpipeo an oeapċaiʒe, conio oo ip pubpao :

Tpuaʒ, a naeṁ Paopaicc, náp anacht t' epnaiʒe,
Cn ʒaill co n-a o-tuaʒaiƀ aʒ bualao oo oepcaiʒe."

The following is the literal translation :

" A. D. 890.   Armagh was plundered by Gluniarn, and by the Danes of Dublin, and they carried off seven hundred and ten persons into captivity with them, after having pulled down a part of the *church*, and after having broken the *derthach*, [or ora- tory], on which was said :

" Pity, O saint Patrick, that thy prayers did not save,
When the Danes with their axes were striking thy *derthach*."

The substance of this passage is given by Colgan as follows :

" A. D. 890. *Ardmacha occupata & expilata per Gluniarnum, & Nortmannos Dub- linienses ; qui ipsa summa Basilica ex parte diruta, & diuersis sacris ædificijs solo æquatis, decem suprà septingentos abduxerunt captiuos.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 296.

In the next notice of the sacred edifices of Armagh, which occurs in the same Annals, the principal church is designated by the word *cill*.   It occurs at the year 907, and is as follows :

" A. D. 907.   Sapuċċao Cloamacha la Cepnachan mac Ouilʒen, .i. cimbio oo ƀpeit ap in cill, 7 a ƀaoao h-i Loch Cuip ppi h-Cloamacha aniap."

Thus translated by Colgan, who renders *cill* by *ecclesia* and *basilica* :

" A. D. 907. *Basilica Ardmachana Sacrilegam vim passa per Kernachanum filium Dulgeni ; qui quendam captiuum eo refugij causa effugientem, ex* Ecclesia sacrilego ausu *extraxit, & in lacu de Loch kirr, vrbi versus Occidentem adiacenti, suffocauit.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 296.

The Annals of the Four Masters next record the burning of Armagh at the year 914, without any reference to its buildings; but the Annals of Ulster record the same event in detail at the year 915. I quote the original of the latter notice, as printed by Dr. O'Conor, and I also give his translation of it, though incorrect in many respects :

" A. D. 915. *Ardmacha do loscadh di ait i.* q. nt Kl. Maii. *i a leith deiscertach cosintoi* 7 *cosintshaboll* 7 *cosincucin* 7 *cusindlius ab. huile.*"

" A. D. 915. Ardmacha combusta partim, quinto Kalendarum Maii, i. e. dimidium ejus australe, cum stramine, et granario, et tecto, et domicilio munito Abbatiæ totius."

It might be supposed from the preceding translation that this record could have no reference to the burning of the churches of Armagh, and that it could not be used in any way to prove that they were of stone; but I shall presently show (p. 152) that the contrary is the fact, and that the words of the annalist which Dr. O'Conor understood to mean *stramen*, i. e. straw, *granarium*, a barn, and *tectum*, a roof, were actually not only churches, but even stone churches. The original passage is thus given in the vellum copy of the Annals of Ulster, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin :

" A. D. 915. Ϲⲣⲟⲙⲁⲥⲁ ⲇⲟ ⲗⲟⲣⲥⲁⲇ ⲇⲟ ⲥⲉⲛⲉ ⲇⲓⲁⲓⲥ ⲓ ⲑⲩⲓⲛⲧⲟ Kⲁⲗⲉⲛⲇⲁⲣⲩⲙ Ⲙⲁⲓ, .ⲓ. ⲁ ⲗⲉⲓⲥⲏ ⲇⲉⲓⲣⲥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲥⲏ, ⲥⲟⲣ ⲓⲛ Ⲧⲟⲓ, 7 ⲥⲟⲣ ⲓⲛ ⲥ-Sⲁⲃⲁⲗⲗ, 7 ⲥⲩⲣ ⲓⲛ Ⲥⲏⲩⲥⲓⲛ, 7 ⲥⲟⲣ ⲓⲛⲟ Ⲍⲓⲩⲣ Ϲⲃⲃⲁⲓⲟ ⲏ-ⲩⲓⲗⲉ."

The correct translation of the passage is undoubtedly this :

" A. D. 915. Armagh was burned by lightning on the fifth of the Kalends of May, i. e. its southern half, together with the [*church of*] *Toi*, and with [*the church of*] *Sabhall*, and with the *Cucin* [or kitchen], and with the entire of the *Lis Abbaidh*, [or the fortified enclosure of the abbots]."

In the next entry the churches of Armagh are noticed under the name of *ceall*. It occurs in the Annals of Ulster under the year 920, and is as follows, as in the College MS. copy :

" A. D. 920. Ⲓⲛⲟⲣⲉⲟ Ϲⲓⲣⲟⲙⲁⲥⲏⲁ ⲏ-ⲓ ⲓⲓⲓ. ⲗⲟ. Ⲏⲟⲩⲉⲙⲃⲣⲓⲣ ⲟ́ Ⳝⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲃ Ϲⲥⲏⲁ ⲥⲗⲓⲁⲥⲏ, .ⲓ. ⲟ Ⳝⲟⲥⲃⲣⲓⲥ Ⲟⲁ Ⲓⲙⲁⲓⲣ, cum ⲣⲩⲟ ⲉⲭⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥⲩ, .ⲓ. ⲓⲣ ⲓⲛ ⲥ-Sⲁⲥⲩⲣⲛ ⲣⲓⲁ Ƒⲉⲓⲗ Ⲙⲁⲣⲥⲁⲓⲛ; 7 ⲛⲁ ⲥⲁⲓⳟⲓ ⲁⲉⲣⲛⲁⲓⳟⲉⲓ ⲟⲟ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁⲗ ⲗⲁⲓⲣ ⲥⲟ ⲛ-ⲁ ⲗⲩⲥⲥ ⲟⲟ ⲥⲉⲓⲗⲓⲃ ⲟⲉ, 7 ⲟⲓ ⲗⲟⲃⲣⲁⲓⲃ, 7 ⲓⲛ ⲥⲉⲗⲗ ⲟⲗⲥⲉⲛⲁ, ⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲣⲁⲩⲥⲓⲣ ⲓⲛ ⲉⲁ ⲥⲉⲥⲥⲓⲣ ⲉⲭⲁⲩⲣⲥⲓⲣ ⲣⲉⲣⲓ ⲓⲛⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁⲙ."

Thus correctly translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 920.   Ardmacha vastata iv. Id. Novembris per Alienigenas Dublinienses, i. e. per Goffredum nepotem Imari, cum suo exercitu, i. e. die Sabbati ante festivitatem S. Martini, et protexit domos orationis, cum suis Colideis, et Leprosis, et Ecclesiam similiter, nisi paucis in ea tectis exustis per incuriam."

In the next entry, which occurs at the year 995, and records the conflagration of the churches and other buildings of Armagh by light-ning, the churches are called *damhliags,* or stone buildings, by all the annalists.—See the whole of the original authorities, and old transla-tions of them, given in the preceding part of this work, pp. 52 to 54.

At the year 1010 the great church of Armagh is mentioned by the Four Masters under the name of *Domhliacc mhor,* or great stone-church, in the following passage, to which I add Colgan's translation :

" A. D. 1010.   Muıɼeöach, mac Cɼíocháın, coṁaɼba Colaım cılle, 7 Clöam-naın, ɼaoı, 7 eɼpcop, 7 mac oıcche, ɼepleıʒınc Cɼvamacha, 7 aöbaɼ coṁaɼba Pacɼaıcc, v'écc ıaɼɼ an ceéɼaṁaö blıaöaın ɼeaccmoöac a aoıɼe, a u. Kl. lanuaɼı, aıöche Sachaıɼn vo ɼonnɼaö, 7 ɼo h-aönaıceö co n-onóıɼ, 7 ʒo n-aıɼṁıcın ıɼ ın Oomlıacc ṁoɼ ı n-Cɼomacha, aɼ bélaıb na h-alcoıɼa."

" A. D. 1010.   *Sanctus Muredacius filius Crichani, Comorbanus Sancti Columbæ, & Sancti Adamnani, Doctor eximius, Episcopus, Virgo, seu vir castissimus, Lector Theologiæ Ardmachanus, & futurus Comorbanus S. Patricij,* (id est Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus) *anno ætatis septuagesimo quarto, quinto Calendas Ianuarij, ipsa nocte sabbatina, quieuit in Domino: & Ardmachæ in maiori Ecclesia ante summum altare, cum magno honore & solemnitate sepultus est.*"—*Trias Thaum.* pp. 297, 298.

The record which next follows is of greater value than any hitherto cited, as the annalists present us with the names of the dif-ferent churches which were burned, and call them all *damhliags,* or stone churches.   It occurs in all the Annals at the year 1020; and, as it is of great importance to this Inquiry, inasmuch as it refers to stone churches,—which, as I shall hereafter show, were founded in St. Pa-trick's time,—I shall give the various readings found in the different Annals, and also the translations hitherto made of them.   The most ancient authority in which it occurs is the Annals of Tighernach, in which it runs as follows :

" A. D. 1020.   Cɼomaéa vo loɼcav a c. Kl. Maı, co n-a veɼcıʒıb uıle cenmoéa ın ceach ɼcɼepcɼa nama, 7 ɼo loıɼc ıllcıʒe ıɼ na cɼenaıb, 7 ın Oamlıaʒ moɼ, 7 ın cloıcccech co n-a cloʒaıb, 7 Oamlıaʒ na Coʒa, 7 Oamlıaʒ ın c-Sabuıll, 7 ın cachaıɼ pɼoıcepca, 7 ımav oıɼ 7 aɼʒaıc, 7 ɼec aɼcena."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1020.   Ardmacha combusta tertio Kal. Maii, cum Nosocomiis suis omnibus, non excepta domo Scripturarum sanctarum, et combustæ sunt plurimæ domus in ter-

nariis regionibus Civitatis, et Cathedralis Ecclesia magna lapidea, et campanile cum suis Campanis, et lapidea Ecclesia Electionum, et Ecclesia lapidea Saballi, (i. e. horrei, sive granarii S. Patricii,) et Cathedra Doctrinalis Prædicatorum (i. e. suggestum) et copia ingens auri et argenti, et res pretiosæ similiter."

It should be observed, that in the preceding translation, Dr. O'Conor correctly renders the words Ꝺamliaᵹ na Ꞇoᵹa, by *lapidea Ecclesia Electionum*; and yet in his translation, already cited, of the entry in the Annals of Ulster relating to the same churches, at the year 915, he renders the word *toe*,—which is the name of this church, given without the preceding word ᐅamliaᵹ,—by *stramen*: and again in the record of the burning of this same church, now to be cited from the Annals of Ulster, it will appear that he gives a different and equally erroneous translation of the same word, thus :

" A. D. 1020. Ꝺꞃomacha uile ᐅo leiꞃ ᐅo loꞃcaᐅ, .i. in Ꝺaimliaᵹ Ɱoꞃ co n-a ꞇuiᵹi ᐅo luaiᐅe, ⁊ in cloiꞇꞇeé co n-a cloccaiꞇ, ⁊ in Saꞇall, ⁊ in Ꞇoai, ⁊ caꞃꞇaᐅ na n-aꞇꞇaᐅ, ⁊ in ꞇ-ꞃen-éaꞇaiꞃ Pꞃociuꞃꞇa, i ᐅ-ꞇeiꞃꞇ Kl. Iuin, 1 Ꞓluan ꞃe Cinᵹcei-ᵹiꞃ."

This passage, the text of which is here given from the copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1020. Ardmacha tota penitus combusta, i. e. Ecclesia Saxea magna, cum suo tegmento plumbeo, et Campanili, et Campanis, et Ecclesia *Sabhalensis*, i. e. Granarii, et *Toamensis*, i. e. Cimitærii, et Esseda Abbatis, et vetusta Cathedra doctrinalis, tertio Kalendarum Junii, et die Lunæ ante Pentecosten."

Here Dr. O'Conor has added an *m* to *Toa*, which is not to be found in the Dublin copy nor in any of the other annals, and it is scarcely necessary to remark here that it must be an error of his own in deciphering the MS. With respect to his present conjectural translation of the word, it is worth nothing, as he renders it otherwise elsewhere, and indeed correctly in the Annals of Tighernach ; and it is strange that so laborious a writer did not take the trouble of comparing the different Annals, before he gave such contradictory translations of the passages recording the same events. This passage is thus correctly translated, but without anglicizing the words *Sabhall* and *Toa*, in the old manuscript translation of the Annals of Ulster, preserved in the British Museum, (MS. add. 4795, fol. 47.)

" A. D. 1020. " All Ardmach burnt wholly, viz. yᵉ Damliag with its howses [housing] or cover of lead, yᵉ STEEPLE WITH Yᴱ BELLS, yᵉ Saval and Toay, & chariott of yᵉ abbotts, with yᵉ old chaire of precepts, in yᵉ 3 Kal. of June, Monday before Whitsonday."

The same record is given by the Four Masters as follows :

" A. D. 1020. Apomacha oo loṛccaḃ ᵹuṛ an Raiṫ uile, ᵹan ceṛaṛccain aoin cicche innce cenmocha an ceach ṛcṛeaṛcṛa nama, 7 ṛo loiṛcccṫi iol-caiᵹhe iṛ na cṛeanaiḃ, 7 ṛo loiṛcceḃ in Ooṁliacc Moṛ, 7 in cloiccheach co n-a cloccaiḃ, 7 Ooṁliacc na Coe, 7 Ooṁliacc an c-Saḃaill, 7 an c-ṛen-ċaṫhaoiṛ ṛṛoiceṛca, 7 caṛṛac na n-Aḃḃaḃ, 7 a liuḃaiṛ i o-caiᵹiḃ na mac leiᵹinn, co n-ioniac oiṛ 7 aiṛ-ᵹicc, 7 ᵹach ṛeoic aṛchena."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1020. Ardmacha combusta quoad Arcem totam, absque ulla domo ibi salvata præter Domum Scripturarum, et combustæ sunt plurimæ domus in vicis, et combusta est Ecclesia lapidea magna, et campanile cum suis campanis, et Ecclesia lapidea Toensis, et Ecclesia lapidea Sabhalliæ, et antiqua Cathedra doctrinalis, et currus abbatialis, et libri ejus in domibus Prælectorum, cum ingenti copia auri et argenti, et omnibus rebus pretiosis similiter."

An abstract from this passage is given by Colgan in his Annals of Armagh, but he has unfortunately omitted some important objects, and mistaken the meaning of a phrase, which has led others into great error. The passage is as follows :

" A. D. 1020. *Ardmacha tota incendio vastata vsq; ad arcem maiorem, in qua nulla domus fuit combusta præter Bibliothecam solam : sed plurimæ ædes sunt flammis absumptæ in tribus alijs partibus ciuitatis, & inter alia ipsum summum templum, Basilica Toensis, Basilica Sabhallensis, Basilica vetus concionatoria ; libri omnes studiosorum in suis domiciliis, & ingens copia auri & argenti cum alijs plurimis bonis.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 298.

That this translation of Colgan's is in part incorrect, as well as defective, will be obvious to every Irish scholar, as well as to the English reader, who will take the trouble of comparing it with the other translations, one of which, already given, is older than Colgan's time, and made by a native Irishman living in Ireland.

I shall next present the reader with the translation made of this passage in the year 1627 by Connell Mageoghegan, from the Book or Annals of Clonmacnoise, and the original Irish of it given in the Chronicon Scotorum, which was abstracted from the same work :

" A. D. 1021. Apomacha oo loṛcaḃ ᵹuṛ an ṛaiṫ ᵹenmoṫa an ceċ ṛcṛeḃcṛa, 7 loiṛcceḃ an Oamliaᵹ Moṛ, 7 an claiᵹceaċ co n-a cloccaiḃ, 7 Oamliaᵹ na Coᵹa, 7 Oamliaᵹ an c-Saḃaill 7 an caṫaiṛ ṛṛoiceṛca, 7 imaḃ oiṛ 7 aiṛᵹio, 7 ṛeo aṛ-ċeana."

Thus translated by Mageoghegan :

" A. D. 1013, [correctly 1021]. Ardmach, the third of the Kallends of June, was burnt from the one end to the other, save only the Library ; all the houses were burnt,

the Great Church, the Steeple, the Church of the Sabhall, the pulpitt or chair of preaching, with much gold, silver and books, were burnt by the Danes."

In the next entry, relating to Armagh, in the Annals of the Four Masters, the churches are noticed under the name of *tempuill:*

" A. D. 1074. Apomacha vo lopccav oia Maipc iap m-bealcaine, co n-a uilib cemploib, 7 cloccaib, eiccip paie 7 cpiain."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1074. Ardmacha combusta die Martis post Baalis ignem, (i. e. post Kalendas Maias,) cum omnibus suis Ecclesiis et Campanilibus, tam Arx quam ternariæ divisiones Civitatis."

And thus by Colgan :

" A. D. 1074. *Ardmacha tota cum omnibus Ecclesiis & campanis, cum arce & reliqua vrbis parte incendio vastata, die Martis post festum SS. Philippi & Iacobi."—Trias Thaum.* p. 298.

At the year 1085 mention is made in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters of the church of St. Bridget, at Armagh, usually called *Cill Bhrighide* and *Tempull Bhrighde*,—which, according to Colgan, was erected in Patrick's time,—under the name of *Regles Bhrighde;* and at the years 1092 and 1093 the churches of Armagh are again mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the name of *tempuill.*

At the year 1101 the great church of Armagh is called *damhliac* in the Annals of Ulster, and *doimliag* in those of the Four Masters.

" A. D. 1101. Donnchav h-Ua Eochava, pi Ulav, vo puaplucav a cuibpich la Domnall mac Lochlainn la pig n-Ailig vap cenn a mic 7 a comalcai, .i. i n-Damliac Apoamacha, ępe impive comapba Pacpaic, 7 pamea Pacpaic apcena, &c."—*Annal. Ulton.*

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1101. Donnchad O'Eochada Rex Ultoniæ liberatus e catenis a Donaldo filio Lochlinii Rege Alichiæ, propter filium ejus, et colactaneum ejus, (obsides) i. e. in Ecclesia Cathedrali lapidea Ardmachana, per intercessionem Vicarii Patricii, et congregationis cleri Patricii similiter."

" A.D. 1101. Donnchav Ua h-Eochava, pi Ulav, vo puapluccav á cuibpeachaib la Domnall mac Mic Lochlainn, la pi n-Ailig, cap cenc a meic, 7 a comalca, i n-Doimliacc Apoamacha, ępe impive comapba Pacpaic, 7 a pamea apcena, iap g-comluccha vóib po bacall Iopa, 7 po miono na h-eccailpi an x. Kl. Ianuapi."
—*Ann. Quat. Mag.*

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1101. Donnchadus O'Eochada Rex Ultoniæ liberatus e catenis per Donaldum filium filii Lochlanni Regem Alichiæ, propter suum filium, et suum collactaneum,

in Ecclesia lapidea Ardmachana, per intercessionem Vicarii Patricii et ejus Congregationis similiter, postquam convenirent sub obligatione jurisjurandi Baculi Jesu et reliquiarum Ecclesiæ, xi Kal. Januarii."

And thus by Colgan :

" A. D. 1101. *De consilio & intercessione Archiepiscopi & Cleri Ardmachani Domnaldus Hua Lochluinn Rex Aleachensis è vinculis liberatum dimisit Donatum Hua Heochadha, Regem Vlidiæ in Basilica Ardmachana, acceptis filio & aliis ab eo obsidibus: & iureiurando per Baculum, aliasque sacri loci Reliquias præstito fœdus ibi inierunt XI. Calendas Ianuarij."—Trias Thaum.* p. 299.

In the next notice, which occurs at the year 1112, of the burning of the churches of Armagh, they are called *tempuill* in the Annals of the Four Masters and in other Annals, as thus :

" A. D. 1112. Raich Apoamacha co n-a temploib do loptcab, in x. Kl. Cppil, 7 da ppeich do Cpiun Mapan, 7 an tpeap ppech do Cpiun mop."—*Ann. Quat. Mag.*

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1112. Arx Ardmachana cum sua Ecclesia combusta x Kal. April. et duo vici ternariæ regionis civitatis, dictæ *Masan*, et tertius vicus ternariæ (dictæ) *Magnæ.*"

And thus, more correctly, by Colgan :

" A. D. 1112. *Arx Ardmachana* cum templis, *duæ plateæ in Trian-Massain, & tertiani Trianmor incendio deuastantur."—Trias Thaum.* p. 300.

The next record in the Irish Annals relating to Armagh is one of great importance, as it not only calls the great church a stone structure, but also shows that it was partly without a roof for one hundred and thirty years preceding,—that is, since the great conflagration of the churches by lightning in 995,—so that it must have been a church of considerable magnitude. The passage occurs in the Annals of Ulster, and of the Four Masters, at the year 1125, as follows :

" A. D. 1125. Ir innti cuapgbad a buinde dioen pop in Damliac Mop Apomacha, iap n-a lan-ecop do plinnciuch la Cellach, comapba Pacpaic, ir in chichaomad bliadain ap ceo ó ná pabai plinnciuch paip co comlán."—*Ann. Ultonien.*

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1125... operimentum factum, et optimum tectum, et istud tectum integre, supra Ecclesiam Cathedralem lapideam magnam Ardmachanam, postea totum tegulis coopertum a Celso Vicario Patricii, in trigesimo anno supra centesimum a quo non fuit tegulis contectum totum."

" A. D. 1125. h-i quint Io. Enaip pop Cloinde ; ir inote cuapccbad a buinne dioin pop in Damliacc Mop Apoamacha, iap n-a lain-eagap do plinoib la Ceallach, comapba Pacpaic, ir in cpichacmad bliadain ap ceo o n-a paibe plinn comlán paip co pin."—*Ann. Quat. Mag.*

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

"A. D. 1125. Quinto Id. Januarii operimentum factum et tectum integrum factum supra Ecclesiam Cathedralem lapideam magnam Ardmachanam, postea totum tegulis coopertum a Celso Vicario Patricii, in trigesimo anno supra centesimum ex quo non fuit tegulis opertum totum usque ad id."

And thus by Colgan :

"A. D. 1125. *Quinto Idus Ianuarij tegulis integrè contecta & restaurata est Ecclesia Cathedralis Ardmachana per Sanctum Celsum Archiepiscopum ; postquam per annos centum triginta non nisi ex parte fuisset contecta.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 300.

The last notice of the *ancient* churches of Armagh in the Annals of the Four Masters occurs at the year 1179, which I here give with Colgan's translation :

"A. D. 1179. Ꝺꞃomaċa ꝺo loꞃccaꝺ eꞇꞇ⁊ꞃ ꞇemplaⅰƀ 7 ꞃecleꞃaⅰƀ, aċꞇ Recleꞃ Ꝺꞃⅰccꝺe 7 Ꞇempull ꞃⅰa ƀ-Ƒeaꞃꞇa ꞃama."

"A. D. 1178 [1179]. Armacha cum Ecclesijs & Sanctuarijs incendio exusta, præter sanctuarium Sancti [Sanctæ] Brigidæ & *templum na ferta* (id est, miraculorum) appellatum."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 310.

From the preceding notices the following conclusions may, I think, be considered as now established. First, that the Irish, when writing in their own language, applied to their stone churches not only the term *damhliag*, which expresses the material of which they were formed, but also the terms *cill*, *tempull*, *regles*, and *eclais*, words obviously derived from the Latin; and that when noticing these churches in the Latin language they designate them by the terms *ecclesia*, *templum*, and *basilica*: and hence, that no inference can be fairly drawn, that the churches designated by any other appellation than *damhliag* were not stone buildings. This, I must repeat, is an important conclusion to bear in mind, because, as I have already stated, almost the entire of our ancient ecclesiastical history, being written in Latin, affords us but incidental evidences as to the materials used in the construction of the churches; and the Irish annalists who furnish evidence as to their material by the use of the term *damhliag*, or stone church, only, as I have shown, commence their notices of these structures when they were subjected to the devastations of the Northmen in the ninth century.

Secondly, that it is quite certain that the churches at Armagh were stone buildings in the ninth century. This is sufficiently shown not only from the notices of these churches as stone edifices already given as early as the year 838, but also from the following important

notice in Colgan's annals of Armagh at the year 1145, relative to the erection of a lime-kiln of enormous size by Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, for the purpose of repairing the churches, as authority for which he quotes the Life of Gelasius (cap. xiv. in *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 775), and the Annals of the Four Masters:

" A. D. 1145. *Priorum* [*Piorum*] *laborum indefessus exantlator Gelasius cogitans de Ardmachana Basilica, aliisq; sacris œdibus adhœrentibus reparandis, extruxit pro calce & cœmento in hunc finem excoquendo, ingentis molis fornacem, cuius latitudo ab omni parte erat sexaginta pedes protensa.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 305.

It may indeed be objected that the authorities to which Colgan refers are insufficient, inasmuch as the Life of St. Gelasius, in which this passage is found, appears to have been compiled by Colgan himself from various authorities, and the record in the Annals of the Four Masters does not state the purpose for which the lime-kiln was erected: but it is not likely that so very accurate a compiler as Colgan would insert such a passage without sufficient authority; and, even if the purpose assigned for the erection of this lime-kiln were only an inference of Colgan's own, it would be a perfectly legitimate one,—for if it had been erected not to *repair*, but to build the churches, the annalists, as was their habit, would not have failed to state an object so honourable to the fame of a distinguished ecclesiastic, as will appear from several examples connected with Armagh itself. Thus at the year 1126 the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters record the *erection* of a *damhliag*, or stone church, called *Regles Poil agus Pedair*, or the Abbey Church of SS. Paul and Peter—a church, the original erection of which is erroneously ascribed by Ware and all the subsequent writers to St. Patrick,—and its consecration by the archbishop Celsus. It is thus given in the Annals of Ulster:

" A. D. 1126. Ḋaṁliuc ṗeʒleṗa Poil 7 Peṍaiṗ, ṍo ṗonaṍ la h-Imaṗ h-Ua n-Ǎeṍacaṅ, ṍo ċoiṗecṗaṍ ṍo Ceallaċ, coṁaṗba Paṭṗaic, iṅ ᚲᚲ. Kal. Ḣouem-bṗiṗ."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor, who misunderstood the meaning of the word ṗeʒleṗ, which signifies an abbey church:

" A. D. 1126. Ecclesia lapidea Cathedralis Cœmeterii Pauli et Petri, quam ædificavit Imar O'Aedhacan, consecrata a Celso Vicario Patricii, xii Kalend. Novemb."

Thus in the Annals of the Four Masters:

" A. D. 1126. Ḋaimliacc ṗeʒleṗa Poil 7 Peṍaiṗ i n-Aṗomacha, ṍo ṗonnaṍ la

h-Imap Ua n-Cleóacain oo coippeccaó la Ceallach, comapba Pacpaicc, an xíj. Kal. oo Nouembep."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1126. Ecclesia lapidea Cœmeterii Pauli et Petri in Ardmacha, quæ ædificata est per Imarum O'Edacan, consecrata per Celsum Vicarium Patricii, xii Kal. Novembris."

And thus by Colgan :

" A. D. 1126. *Basilica SS. Petri & Pauli Ardmachœ extructa per B. Imarum Hua Hoedhagain, consecrata est per S. Celsum Archiepiscopum Ardmachanum 12. Calend. Nouemb.*"—*Trias Thaum.* p. 300.

Thus again in the record of the death of Malachy O'Morgair, the predecessor of Gelasius, in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1148, it is particularly stated, not only that he founded and consecrated churches, churchyards, and monasteries, but also that he repaired many churches that had been for a long period in a state of ruin and desolation.

" A. D. 1148. Malachiap, .1. Maolmaeóocc Ua Mopgaip, aipo-eppcop cachaoipe Paopaicc, aipo-cenn iapchaip Eoppa, legaice comapba Pecaip, aoin ceanc po piapuigpec Gaoóil 7 Goill, aipo-paoi i n-eaccna 7 a g-cpabaió, locpan polupca no poillpigeó cuacha 7 eccalpa cpia popceacal 7 caoin-gnioma, aogaipe caipipi na h-Eccailpi co coicceno, iap n-oiponeó oo eppcoip 7 pacaipc, 7 aop gacha gpaió apchena, iap g-coippeaccaó ceampoll 7 pelgeaó n-iomaó, iap n-oenam gacha lubpa ecclapcaóa pecnón Epeann, iap o-ciobnacal peoo 7 bíó oo epenaib 7 cpuagaib, iap b-pocugaó ceall 7 mainipcpeach; áp ap leipiom po h-aénuaóaigée i n-Epinn iap n-a b-pailliugaó o céin máip, gach ecclup po lécchi i paill 7 i n-eiplip, iap b-pagbail gach piagla 7 gach poibépa i n-Eacclaip Epeann apchena, ip in oapa pecht a leccaioechca, iap beic ceicpe bliaóna oécc ina Phpiomáio, 7 iapp an ceépamaó bliaóain caeccac a aoip, po paió a ppipac oo cum nime an oapa la oo Nouembep, 7 ap ann celeabpaicc an Eacclaip lich 7 pollamain Naoim Mhalachiap ap an cpep la, ap n-a claocluó lup na ppuiéib o la pheile na mapb, ap an la na óiaió, ap comb upaioe a epoach 7 a onoip; 7 po h-aónaéc i mainipcip S. Bepnaipo h-i Claipualip h-i b-Ppancoib, go n-onóip 7 co n-aipmiccin."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor, who has mistaken the meaning of the most important part of the passage, as marked in Italics :

" A. D. 1148. Malachias, i. e. Maolmaedogus O'Morgar, Archiepiscopus Cathedræ Patricii, supremus Pastor Occidentalis Europæ, Legatus Vicarii Petri, Unicus cui parebant Hiberni et Alienigenæ, supremus sapiens doctrina et devotione, Lucerna Lucis illuminans Sæcularia et Ecclesiastica propter pietatem et clara gesta, Pastor solicitus Ecclesiæ generaliter, postquam ordinasset Episcopos et Sacerdotes, et cujusvis ordinis Clericos similiter, postquam consecrasset Ecclesias et Cœmeteria plurima, postquam perfecisset omnia munera Ecclesiastica ubique in Hibernia, post oblatas res pretiosas et cibaria potentibus et pauperibus, post tecta imposita Ecclesiis et Monasteriis, nam

per ipsum renovatæ sunt in Hibernia, *post ejus reditum e locis transmarinis*, omnes Ecclesiæ quæ derelictæ erant in ruinam et in desolationem, postquam statuisset omnes regulas et omnes leges morum in Ecclesia Hibernica similiter, secunda fungens Legatione, postquam fuisset quatuordecim annis in Primatu, post quinquagesimum quartum annum ætatis suæ, reddidit spiritum cœlo, 2da die Novembris, et eo die celebrat Ecclesia ejus felicem migrationem, et Solemnitas S. Malachiæ tertio die celebratur, nam transfertur a Religiosis a die festo omnium Defunctorum ad diem sequentem, ut possit celebrari more solemni et honorifico, et sepultus est in Monasterio S. Bernardi Clarevallæ in Francia, cum honore et reverentia."

And thus more correctly by Colgan, as marked in small capitals :

" A. D. 1148. *S. Malachias Hua Morgair, Archiepiscopus olim Ardmachanus, Occidentalis Europœ Legatus Apostolicus, cuius arbitrio & monitis Hiberni & Nortmanni acquiescebant, vir nulli sapientiâ & religione secundus, lucerna lucens, & Clerum populumq; sacris operibus & concionibus illuminans ; Pastor fidelis Ecclesiœ Dei ; post Episcopos, Prœsbyteros, aliosq; diuersorum graduum & ordinum Clericos, ordinatos ; post Ecclesias multas, Sanctuaria, & Monasteria consecrata ; post multos labores & diuersa munia Ecclesiastica per vniuersam Hiberniam piè exercita ; post multas eleemosynas, & pias elargitiones in vsus pauperum & egenorum impensas ; post diuersas Ecclesias & Monasteria partim erecta, partim restaurata (in more enim habuit Ecclesias,* DIU ANTE NEGLECTAS & DIRUTAS *denuò reparare & rœdificare;) post multas Canonicas constitutiones Ecclesiasticœ disciplinœ reformationem, & Cleri mores in melius commutandos, concernentes, piè sancitas, anno decimo quarto sui Primatus, œtatis quinquagesimo quarto secunda iam vice Legati Apostolici munere functus, spiritum cœlo reddidit die secunda Nouembris in Monasterio Clareuallensi in Francia; ibidem cum magna solemnitate, & honore sepultus. Quia tamen commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum eo die celebratur ; festum eius quo commodius & solemnius celebrari posset translatum est in diem sequentem."—Trias Thaum.* p. 305.

Having now, as I trust, satisfied the reader that the churches at Armagh were built of stone and lime cement as early as the middle of the ninth century, I proceed to my next and final conclusion.

Thirdly, that there is every reason to believe that the stone churches already shown to have existed in the ninth century, were the very churches erected in St. Patrick's time, or shortly after. This, I think, will sufficiently appear from the following evidences,—and first, with respect to the Cathedral, or *Damhliag Mor*. The erection of a cathedral church at Armagh is recorded by all the Irish annalists, as well as by the most ancient authors of the Lives of St. Patrick, at the year 444, or 445, and its measurement in length is thus given in the Tripartite Life of the saint, said to have been originally written by St. Evin in the sixth century :

" Istis namque diebus sanctissimus Antistes metatus est locum, & jecit fundamenta Ecclesiæ Ardmachanæ juxta formam, & modum ab Angelo præscriptum. Dum

autem fieret hæc fundatio, & metatio formæ, & quantitatis Ecclesiæ ædificandæ, collecta synodus Antistitum, Abbatum, aliorumque vniuersi regni Prælatorum : & facta processione ad metas designandas processerunt, Patricio cum baculo Iesu in manu totum Clerum, et Angelo Dei, tanquàm ductore & directore Patricium præcedenti. Statuit autem Patricius juxta Angeli præscriptum quod murus Ecclesiæ in longitudine contineret centum quadraginta pedes (fortè passus) ; ædificium, siue aula maior triginta ; culina septem & decem ; Argyrotheca, seu vasarium, vbi supellex reponebatur, septem pedes. Et hæ sacræ ædes omnes iuxta has mensuras sunt postea erectæ."— Part iii. c. lxxviii. *Trias Thaum.* p. 164.

It may be objected that the work in which the preceding authority is found is not of the age ascribed to it by Colgan ; but this objection is of little consequence to my present argument,—as, even allowing the passages it contains, which could not be of this antiquity, and which Colgan considers interpolations, to be, as Dr. Lanigan thinks, a portion of the original text,—we have still the acknowledgment of this sceptical critic himself, that the work cannot, by any possibility, be later than the tenth century, and that it is in very great part derived from much older memoirs, and often with such a scrupulous fidelity, that, instead of giving the mere substance of them, the very words are retained.

Seeing then that a great cathedral church was built by St. Patrick at this early period, we have every reason to believe that it must have been of *stone*, inasmuch as it is spoken of as such by the Irish annalists at the year 838, and that there is no intimation in the whole body of our historical authorities that it was ever rebuilt, though it was undoubtedly often repaired, and had transepts added to it in the twelfth century. And I may remark, as an interesting fact, that, after all the calamities to which this venerable edifice has been subjected, it still retains, in its present splendid re-edification, nearly the same longitudinal measurement as in the time of its original foundation.

That the stone-church, called *Damhliag an t-Sabhaill*, was also erected in St. Patrick's time, appears from the Tripartite Life of that saint, as in the following passage :

"Sanctus Patricius igitur cum suis sanctis comitibus ab vna parte, & Darius cum vxore, &, regionis suæ quæ vulgò *Oirthir*, id est Orientalis appellatur, proceribus, simul prodeunt ad agrum illum videndum, & locum Basilicæ in eo erigendæ considerandum, & designandum. Cùm loci considerarent opportunitatem, & terminos, ceruam cum hinnulo procumbentem conspiciunt in loco, in quo hodiè est *Sabhall*, quam cum comitantes vellent occidere, sanctus id inhibuit, quod sibi postea multa præstaret obsequia."—Part iii. c. lxxi. *Trias Thaum.* p. 162.

The situation of this church, as being to the left or north side of the cathedral or great church, is pointed out in the Life of St. Patrick by Maccuthenius, in the Book of Armagh, fol. 7, col. 2.

The church called *Tempull na Ferta* is not mentioned by the annalists earlier than at the year 1179, when it is noticed in the Annals of the Four Masters, as already quoted, and also in the Annals of Kilronan. But there is a distinct evidence both in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, and in the Life of that saint by Maccuthenius,—an authority undoubtedly of the seventh century,—that this church was originally built by the Irish apostle even previously to the erection of the great church, or cathedral, on the hill : the passage in the Tripartite Life is as follows :

" Perrexit igitur vir sanctus, prout in mandatis acceperat, ad fines Machanos, vbi in loco, *Rathdaire* dicto, reperit virum Principem & potentem, nomine *Darium* cognomento *Dearg*, Finchadij filium : Finchadio autem huic pater erat *Eoganius*, & *auus Niellanus*, à quo familia de *Hi Niellain* nomen, & originem sumpsit. Petiit humiliter vir Apostolicus à principe Dario locum, in quo Deo domum in terra, sacramque excitaret ædem. Darioqჳ percontanti, in quo ipse eam loco mallet erigere, respondit, quod in amœno & eminentiori loco, in qua hodie Ardmacha Ciuitas jacet. Ista autem vice noluit Darius permittere, vt in isto altiori loco ædificaret ; sed concessit ipsi alium locum humiliorem : in quo vir beatus excitauit Ecclesiam *De-Fearta* vocatam, in qua multis ipse postea habitauit diebus."— Part iii. c. lxviii. *Trias Thaum.* p. 162.

Thus in the Life by Maccuthenius, in the Book of Armagh :

" Dixitque diues ad sanctum quem locum petis : Peto inquit sanctus ut illam altitudinem terræ quæ nominatur *Dorsum Salicis* dones mihi et construam ibi locum. At ille noluit sancto terram illam dare altam, sed dedit illi locum alium in inferiori terra ubi nunc est *Fertæ* Martyrum juxta *Ardd mache*, et habitauit ibi Sanctus Patricius cum suis."—Fol. 6, b, b.

Respecting the origin of the church called by the annalists *Damhliag na Toi*, or *na Togha*, I have found nothing in the ancient Lives of St. Patrick ; but that this church also, if not a foundation of Patrick's time, was of a date not long subsequent to it, may fairly be inferred from the early notice of its existence found in the Annals of Ulster. It appears also that this was the original parish church of Armagh ; and hence its name *Damhliag na Togha*, as accurately written by Tighernach, which clearly means the stone-church of the election. Of this church some remains existed down to the restoration of the present cathedral, which are marked in Harris's plate of the latter as " Part of the ruin of the Old Parish Church where the

Rector of Armagh is always inducted, for want of which Church Divine service is now performed in the Nave of the Cathedral." And in like manner Dr. Stuart, the historian of Armagh, states, that at the fragment of this church, " since the destruction of the building, the rectors of Armagh have (generally speaking) been inducted, on their respective promotions." Dr. Stuart indeed supposes that this church was called *Basilica Vetus Concionatoria*, a mistake growing out of Colgan's error in giving this as the translation of ꝑenċaċaoıꝑ na ꝑꝓcepꞇa, which, as already proved from the best authorities, meant, merely, the old preaching-chair or pulpit.

Of the other edifices, stated in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick to have been erected in that saint's time, I shall for the present only remark, that the *Cucin*, *Coquina*, or Kitchen, is referred to in the Annals of Ulster as existing in the year 995.

I trust I have now adduced sufficient historical evidence to satisfy the reader, not only that the churches of Armagh were stone buildings as far back as the early part of the ninth century, but that there is every reason to believe that these stone churches were the very buildings erected by St. Patrick and his immediate successors : and that the abbey and cathedral churches throughout Ireland were generally,—if not, as I firmly believe, *always*,—of stone also, I shall prove by abundant historical and other evidences, drawn from the monuments themselves, in the succeeding sections of this Inquiry. In concluding this section I shall therefore only adduce, in support of these facts, one additional authority, which, though occurring in a mere legend, very satisfactorily proves that the Irish generally were so accustomed to the existence of churches and other buildings of stone, anterior to the tenth century, that they had a remarkable ancient proverb amongst them, which they applied to stones not adapted to the purposes of building. It occurs in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which, as I have already stated, no writer, however sceptical, has ever ventured to assign to a later period than the tenth century.

" Alia quadam vice vir sanctus Temoriâ profectus est ad montem Vsneach animo Ecclesiam ibi extruendi : sed ei opposuerunt se duo filij Nielli fratresque Laogarij Regis, Fiachus & Enda : quos vir Dei primò benignè allocutus promittebat si permitterent Ecclesiam in Dei honorem in eo amœno loco excitari, ejusdem Ecclesiæ moderatores & rectores ex ipsorum progenie fore desumendos. Sed cum illi non solùm eius prædicationi, & beneuolæ propositioni non acquiescerent ; sed etiam per manus attractuin eum violenter expelli curarent ; tunc vir Dei in tantæ injuriæ justam vltionem

cœpit jaculum maledictionis in ipsos, eorumque posteros inijcere. Et cum os in .hunc
finem aperiens, diceret ; *maledictio;* tunc S. Secundinus ejus discipulus inchoatam sen-
tentiam ex ore eius eripiens, & complens, subjunxit ; *Super lapides montis Vsneach.*
Placuit viro Dei discipuli pia miseratio, & intercessio & sententiam ab eo prolatam ra-
tam habuit.   Mira res ! ab isto in hunc vsq; diem lapides isti quasi illius maledictionis
succumbentes plagæ, nulli structuræ aptæ reperiuntur, alteriùe humano deseruiunt
vsui. Vnde abinde in prouerbium abiit, vt siquando lapis, aliaùe materia destinato non
deseruiat vsui, ex montis Vsneach lapidibus esse vulgò dicatur.''—Part ii. c. xvii. *Trias
Thaum.* p. 131.

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SECTION III.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ANCIENT IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS.

HAVING shown, as I trust satisfactorily, in the preceding section,
that the Irish were not unacquainted with the art of building with
stone and lime cement, and that they applied this art to the erection
of at least their churches immediately after their conversion to Chris-
tianity, I have now to treat of the varieties of ecclesiastical structures
in use amongst them, their size, their general forms and details, and
the materials of which they were constructed.   As this is a subject
not hitherto treated of by any of our writers, and is, moreover, one
of extreme difficulty, from the slender historical materials that can
be brought to illustrate it, I must throw myself on the kind indul-
gence of the reader, if I should fail to treat the subject, in all its
bearings, with that certainty of proof which it would be so desirable
to attain.   The structures of which I am about to treat, as noticed
in our historical documents, may be classed in the following order :

　　　　　　　　1. Churches.
　　　　　　　　2. Oratories.
　　　　　　　　3. Belfries.
　　　　　　　　4. Houses.
　　　　　　　　5. Erdamhs.
　　　　　　　　6. Kitchens.
　　　　　　　　7. Cashels.

I shall treat of each of these classes of buildings in a separate sub-
section.

SUBSECTION I.

CHURCHES.

WHATEVER difficulty I may have had to encounter in proving from historical evidences that the most ancient Irish churches were usually, if not always, of stone and lime cement, I shall, I think, have none in establishing this fact from the characteristic features of the existing remains of the churches themselves,—features which, as far as I know, have an antiquity of character rarely to be seen, or, at least, not hitherto noticed, in any of the Christian edifices now remaining in any other country of Europe, and which to the intelligent architectural antiquary will carry a conviction as to their remote age, superior to any written historical evidences relative to them now to be found.

The ancient Irish churches are almost invariably of small size, their greatest length rarely exceeding eighty feet, and being usually not more than sixty. One example only is known of a church of greater length, namely, the great church or cathedral of Armagh, which, according to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, as already quoted, p. 156, was originally erected of the length of one hundred and forty feet. That sixty feet was, however, the usual length, even of the larger churches, appears not only from their existing remains, but also from the accounts preserved in the ancient Lives of St. Patrick, in which that length is given as the measurement of the *Domhnach Mor*, or Great Church of Patrick, near Tailteann, now Teltown, in Meath, as in the following passage in the Annotations of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh :

" Deinde autem uenit ad Conallum filium Neill, ad domum illius qui fundauit in loco in quo est hodie aeclessia Patricii magna, et suscepit eum cum gaudio magno, et babtitzauit illum, et firmauit solium ejus in æternum, et dixit illi, semen fratrum tuorum tuo semini servit in aeternum. Et tu missericordiam debes facere heredibus meis post me in saeculum, et filii tui et filiorum tuorum filiis meis credulis legitimum sempiternum, pensabatque æclesiam Deo Patricii, pedibus ejus lx pedum, et dixit Patricius, si diminuatur aeclesia ista non erit longum regnum tibi et firmum."—Fol. 10, a, b.

In the Tripartite Life also of St. Patrick, ascribed to St. Evin, the measurement of this church is given exactly in the same words, which shows that these ancient Lives of the saint have been derived from a common original :

" Patricius relinquens filium perditionis Carbreum declinauit ad Conallum eius fratrem. Domus Conalli erat tunc in loco in quo Ecclesia de Domnach Patruic extructa

est.   Conallus verò veritatis præconem vt Angelum lucis, cum eâ quâ decuit reuerentiâ & honore, lætus excepit: eiusque doctrinæ aures & animum accomodans, per eum in mysterijs fidei instructus, salutari lauacro regeneratus, & familiæ Christi aggregatus est.   Vir Dei suam ei impertiit benedictionem dicens ; semini tuo semen fratrum tuorum inseruiet : iureque hæreditario obtentum in posteros tuos à patre in filium hoc sanctum transibit patrimonium, vt meos successores venerentur, honorariâ clientelâ respiciant, ac tueantur patrocinio.   In loco isto, vbi erat aula sua, Conallus jecit Deo & S. Patricio Ecclesiæ extruendæ fundamentum, quod *pedibus eius LX. pedum erat:* ipse verò aulam suam ad alium vicinum locum transtulit.   Eique tunc dixit Patricius ; quicumque ex tua posteritate ausu temerario ausus fuerit aliquid contra hanc Ecclesiam attentare, eius regimen neque fælix, neque diuturnum erit."—Part ii. c. v. *Trias Thaum.* pp. 129, 130.

These churches, in their general form, preserve very nearly that of the Roman basilica, and they are even called by this name in the oldest writers ; but they never present the conched semicircular absis at the east end, which is so usual a feature in the Roman churches, and the smaller churches are only simple oblong quadrangles.   In addition to this quadrangle, the larger churches present a second oblong of smaller dimensions, extending to the east, and constituting the chancel or sanctuary, in which the altar was placed, and which is connected with the nave by a triumphal arch of semicircular form. These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end ; and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows splaying inwards, which do not appear to have been ever glazed.   The chancel is always better lighted than the nave, and usually has two and sometimes three windows, of which one is always placed in the centre of the east wall, and another in the south wall ; the windows in the nave are also usually placed in the south wall, and, excepting in the larger churches, rarely exceed two in number.   The windows are frequently triangular-headed, but more usually arched semicircularly, while the doorway, on the contrary, is almost universally covered by a horizontal lintel, consisting of a single stone.   In all cases the sides of the doorways and windows incline, like the doorways in the oldest remains of Cyclopean buildings, to which they bear a singularly striking resemblance.   The doorways seldom present any architectural decorations beyond a mere flat architrave, or band, but are most usually plain ; and the windows still more rarely exhibit ornaments of any kind.   The walls of these churches are always perpendicular, and generally formed of very large polygonal stones carefully adjusted to each other, both on

the inner and outer faces, while their interior is filled up with rubble and grouting. In the smaller churches the roofs were frequently formed of stone, but in the larger ones were always of wood, covered with shingles, straw, reeds, and, perhaps sometimes, with lead.

To the above general description I may add, that no churches appear to have been anciently erected in Ireland, either of the circular, the octagonal, or the cross form, as in Italy and Greece,—though it would appear that churches of the last form were erected in England at a very early period,—and the only exception to the simple forms, already described, is the occasional presence of a small apartment on one side of the chancel, to serve the purpose of a sacristy.

That the reader may have more clearly brought before him the characteristic details of these primitive churches, I shall here annex examples of their several features, beginning with their doorways. Of these the most usual, and, as it would appear, the most ancient form is the quadrangular one, as found in the stone-roofed oratories in Kerry, built without cement, and of which the doorway of the oratory at Gallerus, already described, p. 133, affords the finest example :

This form we also find perpetuated in the churches said to have been founded by St. Patrick and his immediate successors, as will be seen in the annexed engraving, which represents the remains of the west

end of the small church called Templepatrick, situated on the island of *Inis an Ghoill Chraibhthigh,*—or, as O'Flaherty correctly translates it, "the island of the devout foreigner,"—now Inchaguile, in Lough Corrib in the county of Galway, nearly midway between Oughterard and Cong. This little church, though exhibiting the usual form of the larger churches,—having a nave, triumphal arch, and chancel,—is in its greatest external length only thirty-five feet six inches. The interior of the nave is seventeen feet eight inches in length, and thirteen feet six inches in breadth; and the chancel is a square of nine feet. The doorway, which is six feet high, has inclined sides, and is two feet wide at bottom, and one foot nine inches at top :
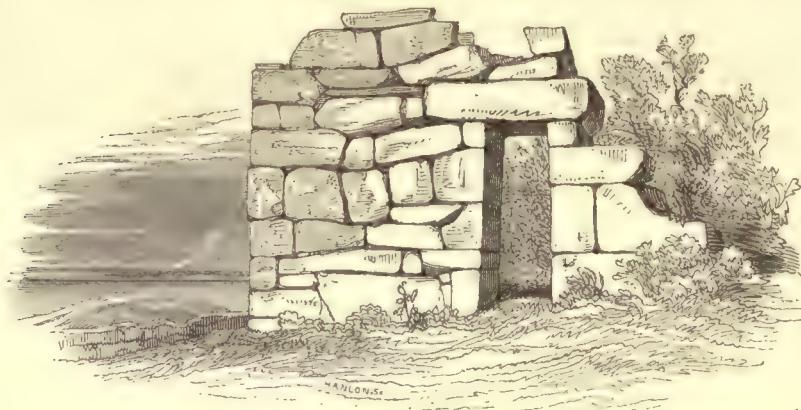
That this church is of the age of St. Patrick, as is believed in the traditions of the country, and as its name would indicate, can, I think, scarcely admit of doubt; for, though there is another church on the island of beautiful architecture, and of similar form and nearly equal dimensions, and undoubtedly of an age considerably anterior to the arrival of the English, it appears, nevertheless, a modern structure as compared with this. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that of the foundation of this, as indeed of many other churches believed to have been erected by St. Patrick, we have no historical account remaining; nor does either history or tradition preserve the name of the devout foreigner for whom it was erected, and to whose memory the second church on the island was dedicated; but I trust that I shall be able to show from an ancient sepulchral inscription,—the

only one on the island,—that this devout foreigner was at least a co-temporary of the Irish apostle, and not improbably even his nephew. This inscription, which is accurately copied in the annexed wood-cut, is found on an upright pillar of dark lime-stone, about four feet high, situated, when I sketched it, at a little distance in front of Templepatrick. The letters, which are very deeply cut, and in perfect preserva-tion, may be read as follows :

LIE LUGNAEDON MACC LMENUEH,

or, in English,

THE STONE OF LUGNAEDON SON OF LIMENUEH.

That this inscription is of the earliest Christian antiquity will be at once ob-vious to the antiquarian scholar : there is probably no other inscription in this cha-racter of equally certain antiquity to be found in Ireland; and it is but rational to assume that the ancient church called Templepatrick is of coeval, or even greater age, unless it be contended that the church was rebuilt,—an assumption altogether unreasonable, as no more ancient style of Christian edifice than it exhibits can pos-sibly be found. As it is therefore neces-sary to my purpose to inquire who this Lugnaedon was, I may in the first place observe, that it is stated in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Part II. c. 50, that when the Irish apostle was at Oran, in Magh Aoi, in this very neigh-bourhood, he was solicited by his Gallic disciples and followers to assign them situations, in which they might lead lives of retirement and contemplation,—a request which was complied with ; but, ex-cepting the church of Baislec, which was given to one of them, the localities to which these individuals were directed are not named. Of these Gauls or Franks, who were fifteen in number, with one sister, the names of only three are given, namely, Bernicius, Hiber-

nicius, and Ernicius; and certainly, of these, the name Hibernicius,
as applied to a Gaul, might well create a doubt of the truth of the
whole statement : but this doubt is removed by the Annotations of
Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, in which these three names are
written Inaepius, Bernicius, and Hernicius, so that Colgan's form of the
name must be either an error of his own, or of the transcriber of the
manuscript which he used.   Respecting these Gauls, or Franks, Col-
gan remarks, that he has found no notice of them elsewhere, unless
they be, as would seem most probable, the holy Gaüls, or Franks, in-
voked in the Litany of Aengus as of Saliduic, Magh Salach, and
Achadh Ginain,—and it is extremely probable that the Gauls distri-
buted by St. Patrick in the western regions of Connaught are here
invoked.   Seeing then that Gauls were left in this district at so early
a period, we have next to inquire whether there was among them one
named Lugnat, or Lugnadan, for the names are the same, the termi-
nation *an*, as Colgan shows, being a diminutive usually added to
proper names, and particularly to those of ecclesiastics. It is remark-
able then, that throughout the whole of our ecclesiastical histories only
one saint of this name is found mentioned ; and that this saint is stated,
not only to have been a cotemporary of St. Patrick, but, by several
ancient authorities, to have been also his nephew.   It should be fur-
ther observed, that the locality, in which the church of St. Lugnat
was placed, is Lough Mask, 'in the immediate neighbourhood of the
island of Inchaguile, and that on the shore of this lake the most
ancient church of the district still remains.   In an ancient list of
the household or followers of St. Patrick, preserved in the Book of
Lecan, fol. 43, *a*, and in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 117, *b*, as also in
Evin's Life of St. Patrick, and in a poem of Flann of the Monastery,
St. Lugna, or Lugnath, is set down as the *luamaire*, or *pilot*, of St.
Patrick, as in the following lines of the poem :

> " bnoȝán ꞃcꞃibnibe a ꞃcoile,
> Cꞃuimcheꞃ Luȝna a luamaiꞃe."

> " Brogan the scribe of his school,
> Cruimther Lugna his pilot."

I have next to remark that the most ancient authorities, which make
mention of Lugnat, concur in stating that he was one of the seven
sons of the Bard, or Lombard,—as in Duald Mac Firbis's Compilation
of Ancient Genealogies,—and that most of those authorities state that

these seven sons of the Lombard were St. Patrick's nephews, as in the following passage in the Leabhar Breac, fol. 9, *a.*

"Cnuimchep Luᵹnai (.1. oalca Pacpaiᵹ 7 mac a pechap) in pechcmaó mac in ōaipo, oc Fepcaib Cipe Feic, pop Loch Mepccha."

"Cruimther Lugnai (i. e. the foster-son of Patrick and son of his sister) *was* the seventh son of the Bard, and *located* at Ferta of Tir Feic, on Lough Mask."

And all the ancient martyrologies and genealogies of the Irish saints name these seven sons of the Lombard in the following order: 1. Sechnall, or Secundinus, a bishop; 2. Nechtan, a bishop; 3. Dabonna, a saint; 4. Mogornan, a saint; 5. Darioc, a saint; 6. Auxilius, a bishop; 7. Lugnat, a saint.

In like manner the ancient Martyrologies state that the mother of these sons of the Lombard was Liemania, the daughter of Calphurnius, and sister of St. Patrick. Thus St. Aengus, in his Calendar, as translated by Colgan, in noting the festival of St. Nechtan at the second of May, writes:

"Liemania filia Calphurni, soror S. Patricii, fuit mater S. Nectani de Kill-vnche; qui & dicitur Mac-lemhna, id est, filius Liemaniæ; estque qui jacet in Finnauair-abha, ad ripam Boandi."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 227, col. 1.

The Calendar of Cashel and that of Marian Gorman record the festival of Nechtan in nearly the same words; and also, in recording the festival of St. Sechnall, or Secundinus, at the 27th of November, call him the son of Liemania, the sister of St. Patrick, as thus translated by Colgan:

"S. Secundinus filius Liemaniæ sororis S. Patricij, & Restitutus pater eius. Colitur in Domnach-Sechnaill: estque de Longobardis, & Finus nomen eius ibi. *Marianus Gormanus ad eundem diem;* Sechnaldus Magnus filius Huabaird, de Domnach-Sechnaild in Australi regione Bregiorum, est de Longobardis oriundus; & Secundinus nomen eius (*nempe Latinum*) eiusque mater fuit Liemania soror S. Patricij eratque Primas Ardmachanus. *Martyrologium Dungallense eodem die.* S. Sechnaldus, id est Secundinus Primas Ardmachanus, filius Liemaniæ Sororis S. Patricij: & in Domnach-Sechnaild in regione Bregarum est eius Ecclesia: & ipse de Longobardis oriundus est."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 226, col. 2.

To the preceding authorities I may add that of the Annals of Connaught at the year 466, as quoted by Ussher, *Primordia,* p. 825, that the wife of Restitutus, the Lombard, is called the sister of St. Patrick, and named Culmana. But this form of the name, as Colgan observes, is evidently an error for Lieman, and, he might have added, an error easily committed, by joining the final *c* in *macc* to Liemain, in the passage which records the death of her son Sechnall.

These evidences will, I trust, be considered sufficient,—without adducing, as I might, many others of the same kind,—to show that the Irish, from the most remote times believed as a fact that the seven ecclesiastics, enumerated in the preceding authorities, were the sons of a Lombard father and of Liemania, the sister of St. Patrick; and I cannot help thinking that the very ancient inscription, which I have copied at the church of Templepatrick, on Inchaguile, or the Island of the Gaul, will be considered by the learned and unprejudiced as a very singular and interesting evidence of the truth of those authorities. It is true that our ancient manuscripts also speak of other individuals called sisters of St. Patrick, who appear to have been religious persons in Ireland, as well as of their sons, who are called his nephews,—and moreover that some of those individuals, called his nephews, are spoken of not as the sons of Liemania, but of Lupita, and also of Darerca, a name which Colgan, in consequence, believed to be only an Irish cognomen of Liemania, signifying *constant love;* and hence Tillemont, and even Lanigan, unable to unravel the truth from materials apparently so discordant, have given up the whole accounts of the recorded relations of St. Patrick in Ireland as of no authority, though Lanigan acknowledges that there is no doubt that such persons existed in St. Patrick's time. But ancient authorities should not be thus discarded with flippant scepticism, and, however suspicious may be the authorities for the relationship of the other individuals named as sisters and nephews of St. Patrick,—through the errors of ancient transcribers, in writing, for example, the name Lupita, who was always called *virgo,* an obvious mistake for Liemania,—there seems to be no just reason to question the authorities as far as Liemania and her sons are concerned: and I may add, that a fabrication in this instance would have been without an object, as some of these ecclesiastics, Lugnat for example, occupy no distinguished place in Irish ecclesiastical history or the traditions of the country, and it is nowhere stated that either Restitutus or Liemania was ever in Ireland.

In the doorway of the church of Templepatrick, which I consider as a specimen of the earliest style of structure of its kind in Ireland, it has been seen that no ornament whatever is used, and this was, as I shall hereafter show, the most usual mode of construction also in the sixth and seventh centuries, and perhaps even later; but the doorways were not always plain in those ages, for in many instances

they present a flat projecting architrave,—as in the doorways of the oldest Greek and Etruscan buildings, as well as in those of the earliest Roman churches,—of which the annexed engraving of the doorway of the ancient church at Ratass, near Tralee, in Kerry, will present a very characteristic example:
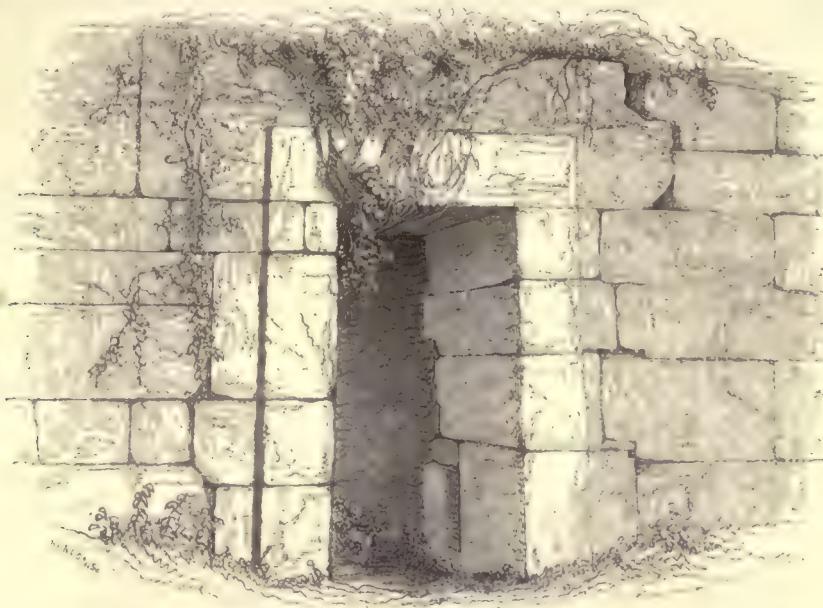
This doorway, which, like the whole of the church, is built in a style of masonry perfectly Cyclopean, except in the use of lime cement, is five feet six inches in height from the present level of the ground,— which seems considerably raised, and would be evidently not less than six feet in height from the threshold or base to the lintel,—and in width three feet one inch at the base, and two feet eight inches at the top. The stones which, as will be seen, are all of great size, in most instances extend through the entire thickness of the jambs, which is three feet one inch; and the lintel-stone is seven feet six inches in length, and two feet in height, and extends through the whole thickness of the wall. As further illustrations of this very ancient church will be found in the succeeding pages of this work, it is only necessary here to observe, that it is wholly built of old red sandstone, " brought," as Dr. Smith remarks, " at a great distance, from the mountains; although there were fine quarries of limestone to be had on the spot."—*Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, p. 167.

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Respecting the founder's name, or the date of the erection of this church, I regret to be obliged to state that I have discovered no historical notice, and I can only offer a conjecture, grounded on the etymology of its name,—which appears to have been anciently written Ráċ muiᵹe ᴅeiрⱪiⱪⱪ, i. e. *the rath or fort of the southern plain*, to distinguish it from Ráċ muiᵹe ⱪuaiрⱪiⱪⱪ, *the rath of the northern plain*, now shortened to Rattoo, the seat of an ancient bishopric about ten miles distant to the north,—that it was probably of cotemporaneous origin with the latter, which was erected by Bishop Lughach, one of the earliest propagators of Christianity in Kerry, but of whose history nothing more is preserved than his name and festival day, the 6th of October, as set down in the Martyrology of Aengus, and in all the later calendars.

The next example which I have to present to the reader is obviously of cotemporaneous age with the doorway of Ratass, and has even a more striking resemblance to ancient Greek architecture.
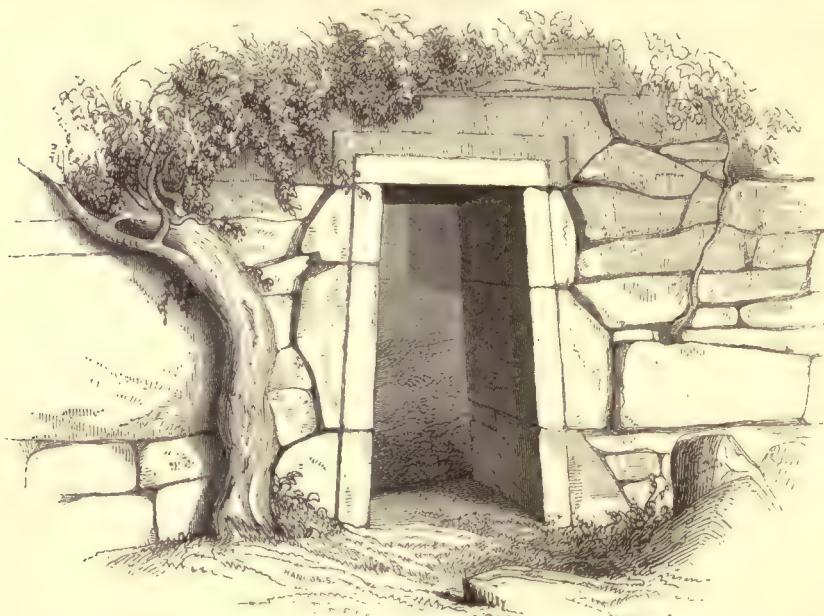
It is the doorway of the church at Glendalough, popularly called Our Lady's Church, and which, according to the tradition of the old natives of the place, as communicated to me many years since, was the first church erected in the lower part of the valley or city of Glenda-

lough by St. Kevin, and that in which he was afterwards interred, so that its erection may be fairly referred to the middle of the sixth century. This doorway is six feet in height, two feet six inches in width at the top, and three feet at the bottom; and the stones of which it is formed, which, including the lintel, are only seven in number, are all of the thickness of the wall, which is three feet. These stones are all of granite, and admirably well chiselled; and the lintel, which is five feet six inches long, and one foot three inches high, is carved with a double moulding in the architrave, and is also orna-

mented on its soffit with a cross, saltier-wise, of which I annex a representation, —with a second example of this primitive custom of placing the cross on the soffit of the lintel, which occurs in the doorway of the cotemporaneous church of Killiney in the county of Dublin, but differing from the other in being carved in relief, and of the usual form.
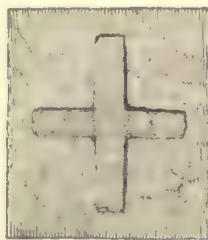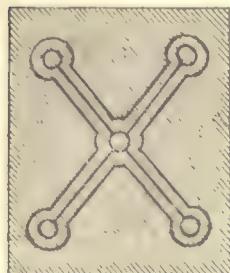
It may interest some of my readers to be informed, that Sir Walter Scott, on his visit, in 1825, to " the inestimably singular scene of Irish antiquities," as he designates the seven churches at Glendalough (*Quarterly Review*, vol. xli. p. 148), sat for a considerable time before this ancient doorway, and expressed his admiration of, and wonder at, its ancient character, in terms which, to the friends who accompanied him, and who were less enthusiastic antiquaries, seemed unaccountable.

That the tradition of the place, respecting the antiquity of the Lady's Church, is not an erroneous one, would appear from a passage which I shall presently adduce from the Life of St. Kevin, published by the Bollandists in the Acta Sanctorum at the 3rd of June, and which was evidently compiled by one intimately acquainted with the localities of Glendalough, and, in the opinion of the editors, previously to the twelfth century, when this city,—as stated in the letter of the archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans, written about the year 1214,—had been so waste and desolate for nearly forty years previously, that instead of a church it had become a den of thieves and a nest of robbers.

" *Pretereâ illa sancta ecclesia, quœ est in Montanis, licet in magnâ reverentiâ habere- tur ob antiquis propter Sanctum* Keywinum, *qui ibi duxit vitam eremeticam; nunc tamen ita deserta est* et desolata per *quadraginta ferè annos, quod de ecclesiâ facta est spelunca latronum, fovea furum; ita quod Omicidia committuntur in illâ Valle, quam in alio loco* Hiberniæ *propter desertum et vastam solitudinem.*"—*Harris's Ware, Bishops*, p. 376.

From this ancient Life of St. Kevin we gather that in the earlier years of the saint's ecclesiastical life, having dwelt in solitude for four years in various places in the upper part of the valley, between the mountain and the lake, his monks erected for him a beautiful church, called Disert-Cavghin, on the south side of the upper lake, and between it and the mountain, and drawing him from his retire- ment, prevailed on him to live with them at that church, which, as the writer states, continued to be a celebrated monastic church even to his own time; and he adds, that here St. Kevin wished to remain and die :

" . . . & exivit ipse ab eis solus ad superiorem ipsius vallis partem, quasi per unum milliarium à monasterio ; & constituit mansiunculam ibi in loco angusto, inter mon- tem & stagnum sibi, ubi erant densæ arbores & clari rivuli : & præcepit Monachis suis, ut nullum ciborum sibi genus darent ; & nemo ad eum veniret, nisi pro maxima causa. Et ita solus, in superiore vallis plaga, inter montem & stagnum, in diversis locis, per quatuor annos Eremita fuit, in jejuniis & vigiliis continuis, sine igne & sine tecto ; & habetur incertum, utrum radicibus herbarum, an fructibus lignorum, sive cælesti pastu, suam sustentavit vitam : quia ipse nemini indicavit hanc quæstionem : sed sui Monachi claram cellam, in eremo ubi S. Coemgenus habitabat, inter superius stagnum & montem, in Australi parte, construxerunt ; ubi modo est clarum monasterium, in quo semper viri religiosissimi habitant ; & illud vocatur Scoticè Disert-Caughin ; quod sonat Latinè, Eremus Coemgeni ; Et ibi plures habitaverunt ; & feræ montium & sil- varum, feritate posita, mites comitabantur S. Coemgenum, & aquam de manibus ejus domestice bibebant. Et post prædictum tempus, multi Sancti convenientes, duxerunt S. Coemgenum de desertis locis invitum ; & fecerunt eum habitare cum suis Monachis in prædicta cella ; ibique S. Coemgenus semper voluit habitare, & ad Christum mi- grare ; adhuc jam illic inter Fratres satis strictè vixit."—*Vita S. Coemgeni*, Die tertia Iunii, c. iii. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. p. 315.

After remaining here, however, for a few years, he was induced by an angel,—the usual agents introduced in those legendary Lives of saints on such occasions,—to remove his monastery to the east of the smaller lake, near the confluence of the two rivers, where his own resurrection should take place, and where a great city gradually rose up in his honour.

" Et in ipso loco clara & religiosa civitas in honore Sancti Coemgeni crevit, quæ nomine prædictæ vallis, in qua ipsa est, id est Gleam-daelach [*Glean daloch*, in the Kilkenny MS.] vocatur : ipsaque civitas est in oriente Laginensium, in regione quæ dicitur Fortuatha."—*Ib.* cap. iv. p. 318.

That the first church erected by St. Kevin, within the precincts
of the city in the lower part of the valley, was that now popularly
called the Lady's Church, in which his tomb remained within the last
century, will scarcely admit of doubt: nor is this conclusion at all
weakened by the 'fact, that it no longer bears his name, but that of
the Blessed Virgin; for, as I shall hereafter show, none of the ancient
Irish churches were dedicated to the Virgin, or to any of the foreign
saints, previously to the twelfth century,—and there is not a word
in the ancient Lives of St. Kevin, which would indicate that any of
the churches of Glendalough were so dedicated at the period when
they were written.

In selecting my next characteristic example of the primitive Irish
doorways, I can hardly, therefore, take one more likely to interest
the reader than that of St. Kevin's earlier church, near the upper
lake, and now called the Reefert Church, which is the "*claram cel-
lam*" of the quotation above given from the Latin Life of St. Kevin,
and which, it will be remembered, continued to be a monastic church
to the time of the writer:

This doorway, which is formed of chiselled blocks of granite, is six
feet in height, two feet six inches in width at the top, and two feet

nine inches at the bottom; and most of the stones of which it is formed extend through the entire thickness of the wall, which is three feet. The lintel is three feet nine inches in length, and one foot three inches in height, and extends the entire thickness of the wall. Some chiselling on the left side of this doorway seems to indicate the intention of adding an architrave, like that seen in the Lady's Church, but which was never completed.

The next example, which I have to submit to the reader, is of somewhat later date, being the doorway of the church of St. Fechin, at Fore, in the county of Westmeath, erected, as we may conclude, within the first half of the seventh century, as the saint died of the memorable plague, which raged in Ireland in the year 664.

This magnificent doorway, which the late eminent antiquarian traveller, Mr. Edward Dodwell, declared to me, was as perfectly Cyclopean in its character, as any specimen he had seen in Greece, is constructed altogether of six stones, including the lintel, which is about six feet in length, and two in height, the stones being all of the

thickness of the wall, which is three feet.   This doorway, like that
of the Lady's Church at Glendalough, has a plain architrave over it,
which is, however, not continued along its sides; and, above this,
there is a projecting tablet, in the centre of which is sculptured in
relief a plain cross within a circle.   This cross is thus alluded to in
the ancient Life of St. Fechin, translated from the Irish, and pub-
lished by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum*, at the 22nd January, cap.
23, p. 135.

"Dum S. Fechinus rediret Fouariam, ibique consisteret, venit ad eum ante FORES
ECCLESIÆ, VBI CRUX POSITA EST, quidam à talo vsque ad verticem lepra percussus."

Though this doorway, like hundreds of the same kind in Ireland,
has attracted no attention in modern times, the singularity of its
massive structure was a matter of surprise to an intelligent writer of
the seventeenth century, Sir Henry Piers, who in his Chorographical
Description of the County of Westmeath, written in 1682, thus de-
scribes it, and preserves the tradition relative to its erection by St.
Fechin :

"One of these churches before mentioned is called St. Fechin's, one of our Irish
saints.   The chief entrance into this church is at the west-end, by a door about three
feet broad, and six feet high.   This wall is hard upon, if not altogether, three feet
thick ; the lintel that traverseth the head of the door is of one entire stone of the full
thickness, or near it, of the wall, and to the best of my remembrance, about six foot
long, or perhaps more, and in height about two foot or more ; having taken notice
of it, as the largest entire stone, I had at any time observed, especially so high in
any building, and discoursing of it with an antient dweller in the town, I observed to
him, that of old time they wanted not their engines, even in this country, for their
structures ; the gentleman, smiling as at my mistake, told me that the saint himself
alone without either engine or any help placed the stone there, and thereon he pro-
ceeds in this formal story of the manner and occasion of it; he said the workmen having
hewen and fitted the stone in its dimensions, and made a shift with much ado to tumble
it to the foot of the wall, they assayed with their joint forces to raise it, but after much
toil and loss of time, they could not get it done, at last they resolved to go and refresh
themselves and after breakfast to make another attempt at it ; the saint also, for as
the story goes he was then living and present, advised them so to do, and tells them
he would tarry 'till their return ; when they returned, behold they find the stone
placed exactly as to this day it remains over the door ; this was done, as the tradition
goes, by the saint alone ; a work for my part, I believe impossible to be done by the
strength of so many hands only as can immediately apply their force unto it."—*Col-
lectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. i. pp. 65, 66.

The next specimen of doorway in this style which I shall present
to the reader is one nearly cotemporaneous with the last, namely, the

doorway of the cathedral church of Kilmacduagh, erected for St. Colman Mac Duach by his kinsman Guaire Aidhne, king of Connaught, about the year 610.

This doorway is six feet six inches in height, and in width two feet six inches at the top, and three feet two inches at the bottom. The lintel stone, which extends the entire thickness of the wall, is five feet eight inches long, one foot nine inches high, and three feet wide. This doorway was closed up with rubble masonry, as represented in the sketch, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, when the church was rebuilt and considerably enlarged, and a new doorway, in the pointed style, placed, as was usual in that age, in the south wall.

Of the foundation of the original church or cathedral of Kilmacduagh, which, for the time, was one of considerable size, the following notice is given by Colgan from the additions of the Scholiast to the Festilogy of Aengus:

" *Statuit tunc piissimus Rex viro Dei Ecclesiam inibi extruere; quarè manè sequentis diei misit ad eum sexaginta vaccas effœtas cum seruis & ancillis ad fabricœ opus perficiendum. Postridiè igitur eius diei Ecclesia Cathedralis de Kill-mhicduach cœpta est œdificari; cui exindè procerũ regionis Aidhne, & stirpis Guarinœ sepultura cõsecrata est.*"—*Acta Sanctorum,* p. 245, col. 1.

Of this description of doorway I shall only here insert another example from a church which was erected by the same St. Colman

Mac Duach, within the great cyclopean fort, or cashel, at Kilmurvy, on the Great Island of Aran, and which is still in good preservation. This doorway is five feet six inches in height, two feet in width at

the top, and two feet three inches at the bottom. The lintel is of granite, and measures five feet six inches in length, one foot six inches in height, and extends the entire thickness of the wall, which is two feet six inches. The other stones are limestone, and are also of great size, as are the stones of the building generally. A similar doorway is found in a church adjacent.

Such then is the form of doorway found almost universally in the primitive churches of Ireland,—a form not found in any of the doorways of the Saxon churches, which were usually erected "*more Romano*," or after the Roman manner. But, though the form of which I have given so many examples is that most characteristic of the primitive Irish churches, we are not without examples of doorways which would seem to be of cotemporaneous age, constructed in what may be called the Roman manner, namely, with a semicircular arch springing from square imposts, and exactly resembling the ancient Saxon doorways, excepting in this one particular, that the sides are usually more or less inclined : and, indeed, it would be strange, if, where the semicircular arch was generally used in the construction of the windows, and also in the triumphal arches between the naves and the chancels, it should not be occasionally employed in the construction of the doorways also. As an example of such doorway in a church, which, there is every reason to believe, cannot be later than the seventh century, I here annex an outline of the doorway of the ancient stone-roofed church on the island of Ireland's Eye, anciently called *Inis mac Nessain*, or, the Island of the Sons of Nessan, off Howth, in the county of Dublin. This doorway,—which was unfortunately destroyed some years since, that the stones might be used in the erection of a Roman Catholic chapel at Howth,—was, as usual, placed in the west front of the church, and was six feet six inches in height, two feet eight inches

<center>2 A</center>

in width below the impost, and three feet at the base; and the wall was two feet eight inches in thickness.   As a description of this cu-

rious church, with its Round Tower belfry, will be given in the third part of this work, together with an inquiry into its true history, which has hitherto been very erroneously investigated, I need only state here, that its erection may, with every appearance of cer-tainty, be referred to the middle of the seventh century, when the three sons of Nessan,—Dichuill, Munissa, and Neslug,— flourished, and gave name to the island.

Very similar to this doorway,—but of better architecture, and presenting a torus or bead moulding along its external edges,—is the

doorway of the ancient church in the townland called Sheeps-town, in the parish and barony of Knocktopher, and county of Kilkenny, of which I annex a drawing. This doorway,—which, as usual, is placed in the centre of the west wall,—is composed of sandstone, well chiselled, and measures seven feet in height, or five feet six inches to the top of the impost, and one foot six inches thence to the vertex of the arch; in width it is three feet immediately below the imposts, and three feet three inches at the bottom; and the jambs are three feet in thickness.   As the ancient name of the church is wholly forgotten in the locality, as well as the name of its patron or founder, it is out of my power to trace its ancient history.

As another example of similar form I may instance the doorway of the ancient church of Cluain Claidheach, now Clooncagh, in the barony of Conillo and county of Limerick, erected by the celebrated

St. Maidoc, patron of the See of Ferns, about the close of the sixth century.

The doorway of the very ancient church of Killaspugbrone, or the church of Bishop Bronus, near Knocknarea, in the county of Sligo, furnishes another example of a semicircular arch, but without the imposts, and the jambs not, as usual, inclined. Contrary to the usual custom also, this doorway is placed not in the west, but in the south wall,—a deviation from custom, rendered necessary from the situation of the church on the seashore, and its consequent exposure to the prevailing westerly winds. This doorway is six feet high, and three feet six inches wide, and its jambs have a reveal of six inches in width, on each side.

The church of Killaspugbrone, which is of small dimensions, and, with the exception of the doorway, of rude construction, appears to be of great antiquity, and may be well supposed to be the original structure erected for Bishop Bronus by St. Patrick, in the fifth century. The Saint Bronus, for whom this church was erected,—as appears from the Annotations of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, fol. 15, and also from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Part II. c. 117, —was bishop of *Caisel-Irra*, situated in the district of *Cuil-Irra*, a peninsula situated to the south-west of the town of Sligo.

A doorway very similar to this of Killaspugbrone, but placed in the west wall, occurs in a very ancient church at Oughtmama, near the abbey of Corcumroe in the barony of Burren and county of Clare, and which is obviously of cotemporaneous age with a second and larger church at the same place, in which the doorway has the usual horizontal lintel. The memory of St. Colman is venerated here as the founder of these churches, but I have discovered nothing relative to his history as connected with them. The antiquity of their foundation is, however, sufficiently indicated by the Litany of Aengus, in which the seven holy bishops of *Ochtmama* in Corcumruadh are invoked.

The old church of Aghannagh, near the shore of Lough Arrow, in the barony of Tir Oililla, or, as it is now corruptly anglicised, Tirer-

rill, in the county of Sligo, affords a richer specimen of the arched doorway, but I shall not venture to pronounce so confidently on its antiquity, as I have on the previously adduced examples. That it is of very early date, however, there can be no doubt, and its original foundation by St. Patrick is thus recorded in the Annotations of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh :

" Et exiit trans montem filiorum Ailello, et fundavit æclesiam ibi, i. e. Tamnach et Ehenach, et Cell Angle, et Cell Senchuæ."—Fol. 15, a, a.

From the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Part II. c. 102, we learn that St. Patrick left his disciple Bishop Manius at *Each-ainech*, in the territory of Tir-Oililla ; and the memory of this saint, as I have ascertained on the spot,—where a holy well called Tobar Mainè bears his name,—is still venerated at this church.   As in the preceding

instance, the jambs of this doorway are not inclined, and the arches, of which there are two, one recessed within the other, do not rest on imposts.   The outer arch is four feet ten inches in width, and seven feet nine inches in height; and the breadth of the jambs is eight inches : the inner arch is three feet four inches in width, and seven feet in height; and the entire thickness of the wall, at the doorway, is three feet nine inches. Both the arches are ornamented with a plain torus moulding, which is carried down the angles of the jambs.

There is another class of doorway found in some of the earliest of our churches, also of a quadrangular form, but in which the weight on the lintel is taken off by a semicircular arch, placed immediately above it, and having the space within the curve filled up with masonry. A doorway of this description is found in the cathedral church at Glendalough, and also in the curious structure in the same interesting locality, called St. Kevin's House, both which shall be noticed hereafter. It is also found as a side entrance in the beautiful abbey church of Inishmaan, in Lough Mask, county of Mayo, originally built in the fifth century by St. Cormac, and remodelled and enlarged in the twelfth. The finest specimen, however, of this class of doorway, now remaining, is probably that of the ancient parish

church of Britway, in the barony of Barrymore, and county of Cork, one of the most interesting remains in the county :

In this doorway, which is composed of sandstone, it will be seen that the flat architrave, which occurs in so many of the quadrangular doorways, is carried along the sweep of the arch, till it terminates in a curious figure in the key-stone. This doorway is six feet in height to the lintel, and in width two feet seven inches at the top, and two feet ten inches at the bottom ; and the jambs are two feet seven inches in thickness. Of the origin of this church I have discovered no historical mention, but its style throughout would indicate that it is of the time of St. Bridget, to whom it is dedicated.

Of triangular-headed doorways, such as are found in some of the Saxon churches in England, I have discovered no examples in the Irish churches, except in two instances, namely, in the south doorway of the church of Killadreena, near Newtown-Mountkennedy, in the county of Wicklow, and in that of Oranmore, near Galway; but neither of these churches appears to me to be anterior to the twelfth century, and the latter is probably not so old.

I have next to speak of the windows. In these features, which are always of a single light, the same simple forms are found, which

characterize the doorways, namely, the inclined sides, and the horizontal and semicircular heads; the horizontal head, however, so common in the doorways, is but of comparatively rare occurrence in the windows; while, on the other hand, the pointed head formed by the meeting of two right lines, which is so rare, if not unknown, in the

most ancient doorways, is of very frequent occurrence. I may observe also, that the horizontal-headed window and the triangular-headed one, are usually found in the south wall of the chancel, and very rarely in the east wall, which usually contains a semicircular-headed window, the arch of which is often cut out of a single stone,
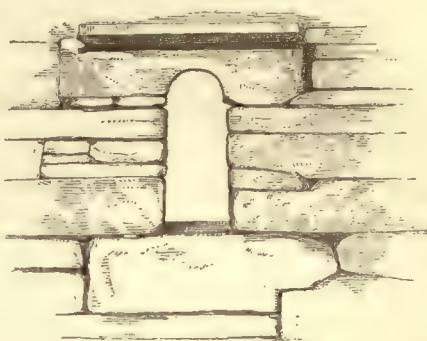
as in the annexed example in the church of the Trinity, at Glendalough. In many instances the head is also formed of two stones, as in the following example in the east window of the oratory at Gallerus, built without cement :

In some of the most ancient churches examples may also be found of windows in which the arch is formed externally, as in the doorways, of

several stones, particularly when the window, being of more than the usual contracted breadth, required it,—as in the annexed example

from the very ancient church of Mungret, in the county of Limerick, said to have been founded by St. Nessan in St. Patrick's time: similar examples occur in the south side of the great church, or cathedral, at Glendalough.

In the triangular-headed windows the pyramidal head is almost universally formed, both externally and internally, of two stones, laid in such a manner as to form two sides of an equilateral triangle: these stones, like the lintels of the doorways, most usually extend through the entire thickness of the wall. The usual external construction of these windows will be seen in the annexed wood-cuts, the first of which represents the window in the south wall of the chancel of Trinity Church at Glendalough; and the second, the window in the south wall of the equally ancient church of Kiltiernan, in the barony of Dunkellin, and county of Galway:
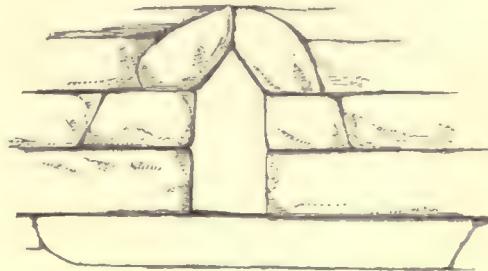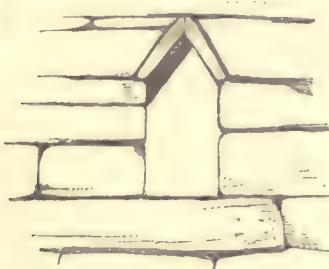
In none of these windows, of whatsoever form they may be, does there appear to be any provision for the reception of sashes or glass; and I may observe that no notice of the use of glass in the windows of the ancient churches is to be found in any of the old Lives of saints, or other Irish historical documents, although it would appear certain from Irish historical tales of an age anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, that the Irish were not ignorant of the application of glass to such purposes. They seem, however, to have been unacquainted with the art of manufacturing it for windows; and it would appear from traditions preserved in many places, that as

a substitute for glass, parchment was used, and, as we may conjecture, other transparent substances, such as horn, which, no doubt, would admit sufficient light for the performance of religious ceremonies in which candles were necessary.   Hence, while it was requisite to have the windows externally of small size, it was equally

necessary that their jambs should be splayed internally, to admit as much as possible of the quantity of light required; and such we find to be the construction of the ancient windows invariably, as in the examples which I have now to adduce. Of these, the first represents a triangular-headed window in the east wall of the church of Kilcananagh, on the Middle Island of Aran; the second, a semicircular-headed window in the east end of St. Mac Dara's church, on the island called Cruach Mic Dara, off the coast of Connamara; and the third, a semicircular-headed window, quadrangular on the inside, in the east end of St. Cronan's church, at Termoncronan, in the parish of Carron, barony of Burren, and county of Clare.
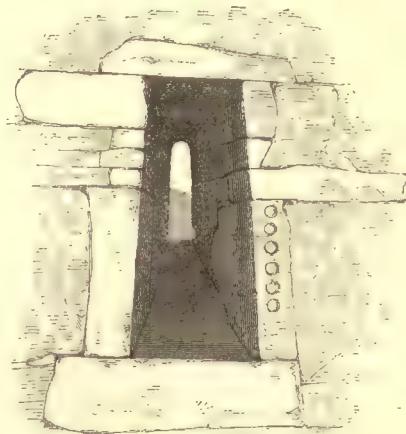
The same mode of construction is observable in the windows of the ancient oratories, which are built without cement, in the neigh-

bourhood of Dingle, in the county of Kerry, as in the east and only
window in the oratory at Gallerus, of which an external view has
been already given.

Of ancient windows exhibiting a dou-
ble, or external and internal, splay, as found
in many of the Saxon churches and towers
in England, I do not recollect having met
with more than a single example, and in
this the splay is only in the jambs.   This
window is found in the stone oratory, built
without cement, situated near the old church
of Kilmalkedar, about a mile to the east of
Gallerus, and which is unquestionably one
of the earliest ecclesiastical structures in
Ireland.   I may observe, however, that windows of this character
are by no means uncommon in Ireland, in churches of less ancient date.

In these primitive structures the
windows, like the doorways, are
most generally without an archi-
trave or ornament of any kind;
but when the doorways present an
architrave, or a bead moulding at
their angles, the windows are ge-
nerally decorated with a similar
ornament, as in the annexed ex-
ample, which represents the east
window of the very ancient and
interesting church of Ratass, near
Tralee, in the county of Kerry, of

the doorway of which I have already given a drawing at p. 169.
This window, hich is much injured, is of greater size than is usual
in Irish churches of the earliest age, the height, externally, being
three feet six inches, and the breadth at the base ten inches, and
at the top eight inches : the external measurement is above eight feet
in height, and four feet three inches in breadth.

I have next to speak of the triumphal or chancel arches, which, in
the larger churches, stand in the division between the nave and the
chancel. These, in the primitive churches of undoubted antiquity, are

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also of an equally unornamented construction, but the arches are usually formed with great skill, and of blocks of stone nearly all of equal size. These arches are invariably semicircular, and generally spring from jambs which have an inclination corresponding with those of the doorways and windows, and which usually are without imposts. As a characteristic example of such chancel arches, it will be sufficient to give a view of the interior of Trinity Church at Glendalough :

This arch is nine feet wide, and ten feet six inches from the present level of the floor, which seems considerably raised, to the key-stone of the arch, and the jambs are six feet high to the spring of the arch.

I have next to speak of the materials, mode, and style of construction, of the roofs of the primitive Irish churches.

In the smaller churches of oblong form, without chancels, the roofs appear to have been generally constructed of stone, their sides forming at the ridge a very acute angle; and this mode of construction was continued, in the construction of churches, down to the period of the introduction of the pointed or Gothic style into Ireland, as in the beautiful church called Cormac's Chapel, at Cashel, which was finished in the year 1134, and St. Doulagh's Church, near Dublin, which is obviously of even later date. In the larger churches, however, the roof appears to have been constructed generally of

wood, and covered with reeds, straw, or oak shingles ; and hence the notices, in the Annals, of the frequent burnings of the same church, by which we are to understand not the destruction of the walls, for they could not be destroyed by fire, but of the roofs, doors, and other combustible materials, in the interior. There are also instances of the chancel being roofed with stone, while the nave was roofed with lighter materials.

Of the style of masonry of those buildings I have already spoken generally, and characteristic examples of it have been given in the preceding illustrations. I should add, however, that the stones are most usually laid in horizontal courses, with more or less irregularity, but with their joints not always vertical; and that, except in the doorways and lower courses, the stones rarely extend as bonds through the thickness of the wall, but are placed perpendicularly on their edges both in the inner and outer faces of the walls,—the space between them being filled with rubble, or small stones, and thin grouting, while little or no mortar was used in the joints externally, which are admirably fitted to each other. It should be stated, also, that the stones used in three or four of the lower courses, from the
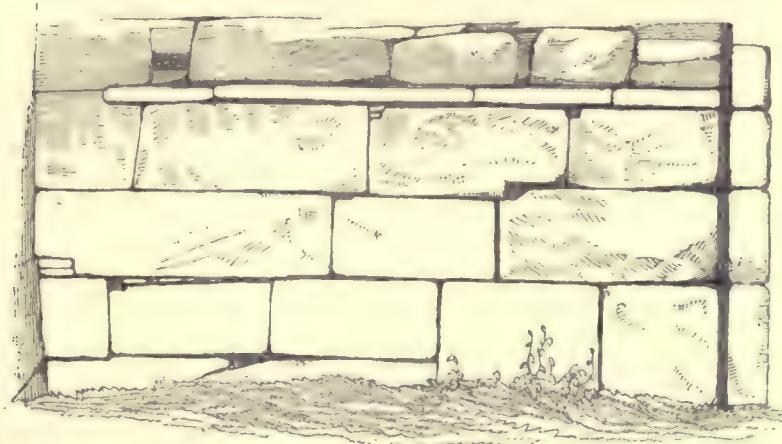
foundation upwards, are often of considerably greater size than those above them, as in the preceding example, exhibiting a portion of the masonry of the inner face of the west end of the cathedral church of Glendalough, twelve feet six inches in breadth : and I should also observe, that the stones forming the chancel, or choir, are usually

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smaller than those in the nave.   Of the masonry called " *opus reti-culatum*," I have met with no example in Ireland, nor have I seen any examples of herringbone masonry, except in one church—that of Killadreenan, in the county of Wicklow : but, as this church was obviously re-edified in the twelfth century, it would be hazardous to pronounce on the earlier antiquity of any portion of it.   Of herringbone ashlar there is indeed a good example, which I shall produce hereafter, in the roof of the Round Tower belfry of the church of Tempull Finghin at Clonmacnoise; but this is obviously not of an earlier date than the tenth century, and possibly later.   Of brickwork I have met with no examples, excépt in the ruins of the chapel and

baptistery of Mellifont, in the county of Louth, erected in 1165; and in these in-stances the bricks only occur intermixed with stone in rubble masonry. I have only to add, that the style of masonry, now known among architectural antiquaries by the ap-pellation of " long and short," and which Mr. Rickman was the first to discover to be a characteristic feature of the Anglo-Saxon churches, is also very generally found in the ancient churches of Ireland.   This masonry, which consists of alternate long and short blocks of ashlar, or hewn stone, bonding into the wall, is generally used, in England, in forming a sort of quoins at the angles of churches ; but in Irish ecclesiasti-cal buildings it is rarely found except in the sides of the doorways and windows, though a few well-marked examples of it occur as quoins in the external angles of churches of undoubted antiquity, as in the annexed example from the older of the two churches of Monaster-boice, in the county of Louth, which, there is every reason to believe, is the original church of the place.

As an example of the general appearance of these primitive struc-tures, when of inferior size, I annex an engraving of the very ancient church called Tempull Ceannanach, on Inis Meadhoin, or the Middle Island, of Aran, in the Bay of Galway.   This little church,—which would be in perfect preservation if its stone roof remained,—mea-

sures on the inside but sixteen feet six inches in length, and twelve feet six inches in breadth; and its walls, which are three feet in thickness, are built in a style quite Cyclopean, the stones being throughout of great size, and one of them not less than eighteen feet in length,—which is the entire external breadth of the church,—and three feet in thickness.
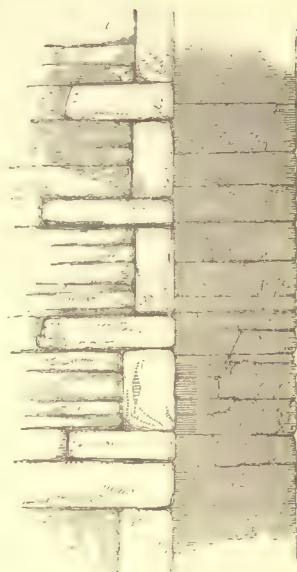
The history of this ancient church is not preserved, and the only notice that I have found of the saint, whose name it bears, is given by O'Flaherty in his MS. Account of the territory of West Connaught, namely, that " tradition goes that St. Kenanach was a king of Leinster's son ;" and elsewhere, in the same work, that he was the patron saint of the parish church of Ballynakill, in the barony of Ballynahinch, or Connamara, where his memory was celebrated on the . . . . . of March. It is therefore not improbable that he is the same as the St. Ceanannan whose festival is marked in the Irish calendars at the 26th of March.

The ancient churches are not, however, always so wholly unadorned : in many instances they present flat rectangular projections, or pilasters, of plain masonry at all their angles; and these projections are, in some instances, carried up from the perpendicular angles along the faces of the gables to the very apex, as appears in the

annexed engraving of St. Mac Dara's church, on the island of
Cruach Mhic Dara, off the coast of Connamara :

This little church is, in its internal measurement, but fifteen feet in
length, and eleven feet in breadth ; and its walls, which are two feet
eight inches in thickness, are built, like those of the church of St.
Ceannanach already described, of stones of great size, and its roof of
the same material. The circular stone house of this saint, built in
the same style but without cement, still remains, but greatly dilapi-
dated : it is an oval of twenty-four feet by eighteen, and the walls
are seven feet in thickness.

Of the history of St. Mac Dara, whose festival is noted in the Irish
Calendar at the 28th of September, but little or nothing is preserved,
though his memory is venerated as the principal saint of the western
coast, and his bronze cross, which was preserved in his church, still
exists, and is supposed to possess miraculous powers. Of this little
church and its founder, O'Flaherty, in his MS. Account of the ter-
ritory of West Connaught, gives the following notice, which I am
tempted to transcribe, as characteristic of the writer and his times :

" Over against Mason head in the same country lies Cruach Mic Dara, a small
island and harbour for ships. This island is an inviolable sanctuary, dedicated to
Mac Dara, a miraculous saint whose chappell is within it, where his statue of wood for
many ages stood, till Malachias Quæleus, archbishop of Tuam, caused it to be buried
under ground for special weighty reasons. On the shore of this island is the Captive's
Stone, where women on [at] low water used to gather *Duleasg* for a friend's sake in
captivity, whereby they believe he will soon get succour by [through] the inter-

cession of the saint. *Duleasg*, or Salt-leaf, is a weed growing on sea-rocks, and preserved by drying it on stones in fair weather, and soon after when occasion serves, for eating. There is scarce any sea-shore [whereon] it grows not. The boats that pass between Mason head and this island, have a custom to bow down their sails three times in reverence to the Saint. A certain captain of the garrison of Galway, *anno* 1672, passing this way and neglecting that custom, was so tossed with sea and storm, that he vowed he would never pass there again, without paying his obeisance to the saint. But he never returned home till he was cast away by Ship-wreck soon after. Few years after, one Gill, a fisherman of Galway, who would not strike sail in contempt of the saint, went not a mile beyond that road, when sitting on the Pup of the boat, the mast by contrary blast of wind broke and struck him on the Pate, dead, the day being fair weather both before and after.

" This saint's proper name was Sinach, and Patronimically called Mac Dara, from his father Dara. The Parish church of Moyrus by the sea-shore just opposite to the island in the continent of Irrosainhagh is dedicated to his name, where is kept his altar stone by the name of Leac Sinach. His festival day is kept as patron of Moyrus parish the 16 of July."

I have now described the various features which characterize the hitherto little noticed and unappreciated primitive churches of Ireland. That, as I have already stated, they have little in them to interest the mind, or attract regard as works of art, it would be childish to deny; yet, in their symmetrical simplicity,—their dimly-lighted nave, entered by its central west doorway and terminated on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view of that brighter sanctuary, in which were celebrated the divine mysteries which afforded him consolation in this life and hope in the next,—in the total absence of every thing which could distract his attention,—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose, too often wanting in modern temples of the highest pretensions; as the artless strains sung to the Creator, which, we may believe, were daily hymned in these unadorned temples, were calculated, from their very simplicity and artlessness, to awaken feelings of deep devotion, which the gorgeous artificial music of the modern cathedral but too rarely excites, even in minds most predisposed to feel its influences, and appreciate its refinement. In short, these ancient temples are just such humble, unadorned structures, as we might expect them to have been; but, even if they were found to exhibit less of that expression of congruity and fitness, and more of that humbleness so characteristic of a religion not made for the rich, but for the poor and lowly, that mind is but little to be envied, which

could look with apathy on the remains of national structures so ve-
nerable for their antiquity, and so interesting as being raised in
honour of the Creator in the simplest, if not the purest, ages of Chris-
tianity.

That the unadorned simplicity and contracted dimensions of the
earliest Irish churches were not, at least, altogether the result of po-
verty and ignorance of the arts in their founders, appears to me ex-
tremely probable.   Poor those honoured individuals unquestionably
were, but that poverty generally, if not in all instances, appears to
have been voluntary, as became men walking in the footsteps of the
Redeemer, and who obtained their simple food by the labour of their
hands : but that they were ignorant of the arts, or insensible to
their influence, could scarcely have been possible in men, very many
of whom,—Romans, Gauls, and Britons,—were educated where those
arts, though they had become debased, were still cultivated ; and we
have not only abundant historical evidence to show, that many of the
ecclesiastics in those early times obtained celebrity, as artificers and
makers of the sacred implements necessary for the church, and as
illuminators of books, but we have also still remaining the most indis-
putable evidences of their skill in those arts, in ancient croziers, bells,
shrines, &c., and in manuscripts not inferior in splendour to any ex-
tant in Europe.   It is, indeed, by no means improbable, that the
severe simplicity, as well as the uniformity of plan and size, which
usually characterizes our early churches, was less the result of the
poverty or ignorance of their founders than of choice, originating in
the spirit of their faith, or a veneration for some model given to them
by their first teachers ; for, that the earliest Christian churches on
the continent before the time of Constantine were, like these, small
and unadorned, there is no reason to doubt ; and the oldest churches
still remaining in Greece are, as I shall hereafter show, exactly similar
to those I have described in Ireland. And even the churches erected
in the time of Constantine, as Mr. Hope shows, must have been small,
and of little architectural pretension.   " And when," says this writer,
" Theodosius, after proclaiming Christianity the ruling, the sole legi-
timate religion of the empire, not only pulled down the churches of
Constantine, already become ruinous, but the heathen temples, too
small to be converted to sacred uses, in order to employ the materials
of many such, however ill-assorted, for each of his larger new churches

singly, he still retained in them the shape and the name of the basilica."—*Hist. Essay on Architecture*, vol. i. p. 90.

Be this, however, as it may, it seems certain from our most ancient historical documents, that St. Patrick not only introduced a form of church into Ireland which, from veneration to his memory, became a model generally followed for ages after, but that he even prescribed the very dimensions of which the *basilicæ*, or more important churches, should consist. This appears from the passages, which I have already quoted,—first, from the Tripartite Life of this saint, in which it is stated, that in the plan and measurements of the sacred edifices, which he founded at Armagh, he was guided by an angel,—and, secondly, from a passage in the same Life, and likewise from one in the Annotations of Tirechan, which I have also cited at p. 161, in which he prescribes sixty feet as the length of the church of Donaghpatrick, near Tailteann, in Meath, which the prince Conall, the brother of the monarch Laoghaire, was to erect for him, and pronounces a malediction on his race if they should ever diminish it. Thus also, in the notices of the foundations of churches, given in those ancient Lives of the saint, we find it constantly stated that he prescribed the dimensions of which they were to consist, as well as consecrated their foundations, as an example or two will show. Thus, respecting the church of Seincheall, in the present county of Roscommon, it is stated :

" S. Patricius designauit locū & mēsuram Ecclesiæ extruendæ, quæ vulgò *Seincheall* .i. vetus cella, appellatur."—*Vita Tripart. S. Patricii*, part ii. c. lviii. *Trias Thaum.* p. 137.

And again in the account of the foundation of St. Fiech's church at Sletty, near Carlow :

" Mansit autem sanctissimus Episcopus & Abbas Fiecus in illa Ecclesia de *Domnach-Fiec*, donec ante se ad cœlum sexaginta sanctos ex discipulis præmiserit. Postea autem venit ad eum Angelus Domini dicens quod non ibi esset locus resurrectionis eius, sed trans flumen ad occidentem : mandatque quod ibi in loco *Cuil-muige* dicto, monasterium erigat, singulis officinis locum propriū, & congruum assignans. Monuit enim vt refectorium extruat, vbi aprum ; & Ecclesiam vbi ceruam repererit. Respondit Angelo vir sanctus, & obedientiæ specimen, se non audere Ecclesiam extruēdam inchoare, nisi prius eius pater & Magister Patricius eius locum, & mensuram metaretur & cōsecraret. Patricius ergò monitus, & rogatus venit ad illum locum ; qui *Slepte* vulgò .i. montes appellatur, & iuxta Angeli præscriptum ibi basilicæ & monasterij jecit & consecrauit fundamenta."—*Vita Tripart. S. Patricii*, part iii. c. xxiii. *Trias Thaum.* p. 155.

Indeed that the Irish, who have been ever remarkable for a tenacious adherence to their ancient customs, should preserve with religious veneration that form and size of the primitive church, introduced by the first teachers of Christianity, is only what might be naturally expected, and what we find to have been the fact. We see the result of this feeling exhibited very remarkably in the conservation, down to a late period, of the humblest and rudest oratories of the first ecclesiastics in all those localities where Irish manners and customs remained, and where such edifices, too small for the services of religion, would not have been deemed worthy of conservation but from such feeling. And of this tenacity of ancient customs, as well as of the repugnance of the Irish to innovation, we have a striking evidence in the fact to which I have already alluded, and shall have occasion again to notice, that previously to the twelfth century, or, as I might say, to the time of St. Malachy, the Irish never appear to have named churches after any but their own saints, who were, in most instances, the original founders. But of this aversion to innovation, we have a still stronger evidence in the reply which, according to St. Bernard, the Irishman at Bangor made to that great innovator St. Malachy, when he was about to erect a church there, not, as is usually supposed, different in material from the churches with which the Irish were already acquainted, but, as we may well believe, in an ornate fashion, such as he had seen on the continent, and with the style of which the Irish had not been familiarized. I have already alluded to this passage, and given its purport in a translated form, as cited by Harris at p. 123, but it so strongly illustrates the point, which I am now arguing, that I cannot resist the temptation of presenting it to the reader in St. Bernard's own words :

" .... visum est Malachiæ debere construi in *Benchor*, oratorium lapideum, instar illorum qui [*quæ*] in alijs regionibus extructa conspexerat. Et cum cœpisset iacere fundamenta, indigenæ quidam mirati sunt, quod in terra illa necdum eiusmodi ædificia inuenirētur. Verùm ille nequam : sicut erat præsumptuosus & insolens, non modo miratus est, sed & indignatus. Ex qua indignatione concepit dolorē, & peperit iniquitatem. Et factum susurro in populis, nunc secreto detrahere, nunc blasphemare palam, notare leuitatem, nouitatē horrere, sumptus exaggerare. Istiusmodi venenatus sermonibus sollicitans & inducens multos ad prohibendum. Sequimini me, inquit, & quod non nisi per nos fieri debet contra nos fieri non sinamus. Itaque cum pluribus, quibus suadere valuit, descendit ad locum, repertum conuenit hominem Dei, primus ipse dux verbi, qui erat principium mali. O bone vir, quid tibi visum est nostris

hanc inducere regionibus nouitatē ? Scoti sumus, nō Galli. Quænam leuitas hæc ? quid opus erat opere tam superfluo, tam superbo ? vnde tibi pauperi & inopi sumptus ad perficiendum ? quis perfectum videbit ? Quid istud præsumptionis, inchoare quod non queas, non dico perficere, sed nec videre perfectum ? quanquam amentis magis est quā prudentis conari quod modum excedit, vincit vires, superat facultates ; Cessa, cessa, desine à vesania hac : alioqui nos nō sinimus, non sustinemus. Hoc dixit prodens quid vellet, non quid posset considerans. Nam de quibus præsumebat, & secum adduxerat, viso viro mutati sunt, & iam non ibant cum eo. Ad quem vir sanctus tota libertate vtens : Miser, inquit, opus quod inchoatum vides, & inuides sine dubio perficietur, perfectum videbunt multi. Tu verò quia non vis, non videbis, & quod non vis, morieris : attēdito tibi ne in peccato tuo moriaris. Ita est, ille mortuus est, & opus completum est, sed ille non vidit, qui vt præfati sumus, anno eodem mortuus est."— *Vita Maluchiæ*, cap. ix. *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*, p. 371. [*recté* 373.]

Though this church is called an oratory by St. Bernard,—an appellation not to be wondered at, as applied by one accustomed to the ample and magnificent abbey churches then common on the continent,—that it was nevertheless a church of much greater size, as well as greater architectural splendour, than those generally erected in Ireland up to this period, can scarcely admit of doubt, as the remains of the abbey church of Bangor, extant in the last century, which, there is every reason to believe, was erected in St. Malachy's time, sufficiently indicated. Indeed, with the exception of the great church of the primatial see of Armagh, which,—if Colgan's translation of the Irish Tripartite Life of St. Patrick can be relied on (which, however, in this instance I doubt),—was originally built of the length of one hundred and forty feet, the cathedral and abbey churches of Ireland, anterior to the twelfth century, appear to have rarely or never exceeded the length of sixty feet. This was the measurement prescribed by St. Patrick for the church of *Domhnach mor*, now Donaghpatrick, near Tailteann, in Meath, and which, there is every reason to believe, was also the measurement of the other distinguished churches erected by him throughout Ireland, and imitated, as a model, by his successors. Such also, there is reason to believe, was the usual size of the earliest churches erected by the Britons and Saxons, for it is a curious fact that the first Christian church erected in Britain, and which was traditionally ascribed to the apostolic age, was exactly of the size generally adopted in Ireland after its conversion to Christianity, namely, sixty feet in length, and twenty-six in breadth. This fact appears from the following inscription on a brass plate, which, previously to the Reformation, was affixed to a pillar in the more mo-

dern church at Glastonbury, and published by Sir Henry Spelman in his *Concilia* (vol. i. p. 9).

Anno post passionem domini xxxj°. duodecim sancti ex quibus Joseph ab arimathia primus erat, huc uenerunt. qui ecclesiam huius regni primam in hoc loco construxerunt. qui christi [quam christus] in honorem sue matris & locum pro eorum sepultura presencialiter dedicauit. sancto dauid meneuencium archiepiscopo hoc testante. Cui dominus ecclesiam illam dedicare disponenti in sompnis apparuit & eum a proposito reuocauit. necnon in signum quod ipse dominus ecclesiam ipsam prius cum cimiterio dedicarat: manum episcopi digito perforauit. & sic perforata multis uidentibus in crastino apparuit. postea uero idem episcopus, domino reuelante ac sanctorum numero in eadem crescente: quendam cancellum in orientali parte huic ecclesie adiecit & in honore beate uirginis consecrauit. Cuius altare inestimabili saphiro in perpetuam huius rei memoriam insigniuit. Et ne locus aut quantitas prorsus [prioris] ecclesie per tales augmentaciones obliuioni traderetur: erigitur hec columpna in linea per duos orientales angulos eiusdem ecclesie uersus meridiem protracta & predictum cancellum ab ea abscindente. Et erat eius longitudo ab illa linea uersus occidentem. lx. pedum. latitudo uero eius. xxbi. pedum, distancia centri istius columpne a puncto medio inter predictos angulos. xlbiij. pedum.

It is scarcely necessary to state, that it is no part of my purpose to express an opinion respecting the degree of credibility, due to the account thus given of the origin of the church of Glastonbury. I may, however, remark, that the legend is at least of great antiquity; and that, in less sceptical times than the present, it was undoubtingly received, is sufficiently shown by Ussher in the second chapter of his *Primordia*. I do not, however, see any reason to doubt the tradition, as far as regards the size of the church, its material, or its early antiquity; nor will it perhaps be deemed wholly idle to suppose, that the general adoption of this size originated either in reverence of this model, or of some similar one, derived from the primitive Christians before Christianity was adopted by the emperors, and made the state religion in Greece and Rome. Be this, however, as it may, it is an interesting fact, that the earliest Christian church in Britain, the erection of which was ascribed, in the legendary traditions of the middle ages, to the very time of the apostles, should agree so exactly with those first erected in Ireland; and, moreover, that this church,

which appears from the whole current of the ecclesiastical history of the British Islands, to have been the first erected in Britain, should have been at a place recognized as an Irish ecclesiastical establishment, and in which, according not only to the Saxon and English authorities, but to many Irish ones also, one of the first teachers of Christianity in Ireland,—a Saint Patrick,—lies interred, and where his memory was honoured as the patron of the place.

Having now treated, as fully as seemed necessary, of the various characteristics of the early churches, whose styles indicate, with certainty, the antiquity ascribed to them by history and tradition, I have next to treat of those of less certain date, and in which ornament has been employed. This is, however, a portion of my subject, which I confess myself unable to illustrate as satisfactorily as I could wish, because the historical evidences are too generally wanting, which would give certainty to the investigation. In the absence of such evidences, I can only draw conjectural conclusions from a comparison of characteristic architectural ornaments, found in them, with those found in churches in England and elsewhere, the ages of which have been determined ; and even such conclusions must be drawn with timidity, till the question is finally settled, whether the ornaments, generally supposed to be characteristics of Anglo-Norman architecture, had not been used in England and other countries in times anterior to the Norman conquest. One point, at least, of great importance I trust I can determine with certainty, namely, that the Irish, anterior to the eleventh century, not only built decorated churches, but also used some of the ornaments, now generally supposed to be characteristic features of the churches erected in England by the Anglo-Normans ; and, indeed, if we put faith in some of our ancient documents,—and I cannot conceive why we should not,—it would appear that, occasionally at least, they erected ornamented churches at a much earlier period. Thus in the Life of St. Bridget, by Cogitosus, the following description of the church of Kildare shows that, in the time of that ancient writer, it was not only decorated in its interior, but had at least one ornamented entrance doorway. The original is as follows :

" Nec de miraculo in reparatione Ecclesiæ tacendum est, in qua gloriosa amborum hoc est Episcopi Conlaeth & huius Virginis Sanctæ Brigidæ corpora à dextris, & à sinistris altaris decorati in monumentis posita ornatis, vario cultu auri & argenti, & gem-

marum, & pretiosi lapidis atque coronis aureis & argenteis desuper pendentibus, requi-
escunt.   Ecclesia namque crescente numero fidelium, & vtroque sexu, solo spatiosa
& in altum minaci proceritate porrecta, ac decorata pictis tabulis, tria intrinsecus
habens oratoria ampla, & divisa parietibus tabulatis, sub vno culmine maioris domus,
in qua vnus paries decoratus, & imaginibus depictus, ac linteaminibus tectus, per lati-
tudinem in orientali Ecclesiæ parte, à pariete ad alterum parietem Ecclesiæ se tetendit ;
qui in suis extremitatibus duo habet ostia ; & per vnum ostiū in dextra parte positum
intrant in Sanctuarium ad altare summus Pontifex cum sua regulari schola, & his
qui sacris sunt deputati ministeriis sacra & Dominica immolare sacrificia : & per alte-
rum ostium in sinistra parte parietis supradicti & transversi positum Abbatissa cum
suis puellis & viduis fidelibus tantum intrant vt convivio corporis & sanguinis fruantur
Iesu Christi.   Alius verò paries pavimentum domus in duas æquales dividēs partes à
parte Orientali vsque ad transversum in latitudine parietem extensus est.   Et hæc
tenet Ecclesia in se multas fenestras & vnam in latere dextro ornatam portam, per
quam sacerdotes & populus fidelis masculini generis sexus intrat Ecclesiam ; & alteram
portam in sinistro latere, per quam virginum & fidelium foeminarum congregatio in-
trare solet.   Et sic in vna Basilica maxima populus grandis in ordine, & gradibus, &
sexu, & locis diuersis, interiectis inter se parietibus, diverso ordine, & vno animo Do-
minum omnipotentem orant.   Et cum ostium antiquum portæ sinistralis, per quod
solebat S. Brigida Ecclesiam intrare, ab artificibus in suis esset cardinibus situm, totam
concludere portam instauratam & nouam non potuit.   Quarta enim portæ pars aperta
sine cōclusione & patefacta apparebat.   Et si addita & iuncta ad altitudinem ostij
quarta pars fuisset, tunc totam concludere portam posset altam & instauratam.   Et
cum artifices alterum maius nouum facere ostium deliberarent, quod totam conclu-
deret portam ; aut tabulam facere iunctam in vetus ostium, vt postea sufficere posset ;
prædictus doctor, & omnium præuius artifex Hibernensium, prudenti locutus est
consilio : In hac superuentura nocte orare Dominum iuxta S. Brigidam fideliter de-
bemus, vt ipsa nobis de mane quid in opere hoc acturi sumus provideat.   Et sic orans
iuxta monumentum S. Brigidæ totam noctē transegit.   Et mane surgens oratione præ-
missa ostium antiquū trudens ac ponens in suo cardine, ianuam conclusit totam, nec
aliquid defuit de ipsius plenitudine, nec vlla in eius magnitudine superflua pars re-
perta est.   Et sic S. Brigida illud ostium extendit in altitudinem, vt tota porta illa ab
eo sit conclusa, nec in ea vllus locus patefactus videatur, nisi cum ostium retruditur
vt Ecclesia intretur.   Et hoc virtutis Dominicæ, oculis omnium videntium, miraculum,
illam ianuam & valuam manifestè patet."—*Florilegium*, p. 199 ; and *Trias Thaum.*
pp. 523, 524.

As portions of the above description have been variously under-
stood by learned writers, I consider it necessary, before I offer any
observation upon it, to give a translation of it as literal as possible :

" Nor is the miracle, that occurred in repairing the church, to be passed over in si-
lence, in which repose the bodies of both, that is, Bishop Conlaeth and this holy virgin
St. Bridget, on the right and left of the decorated altar, deposited in monuments adorned
with various embellishments of gold and silver and gems and precious stones, with
crowns of gold and silver depending from above. For the number of the faithful of both

sexes increasing, the church, occupying a spacious area, and elevated to a menacing height, and adorned with painted pictures, having within three oratories large and separated by partitions of planks under one roof of the greater house, wherein one partition—decorated and painted with figures, and covered with linen hangings—extended along the breadth in the eastern part of the church, from the one to the other party wall of the church, which [*partition*] has at its extremities two doors,—and through the one door, placed in the right side, the chief prelate enters the sanctuary accompanied by his regular school, and those who are deputed to the sacred ministry of offering sacred and dominical sacrifices : through the other door, placed in the left part of the partition above-mentioned, and lying transversely, none enter but the abbess with her virgins and widows among the faithful, when going to participate in the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. But another partition dividing the pavement of the house into two equal parts, extends from the eastern [rectè *western*] side to the transverse partition lying across the breadth. Moreover this church has in it many windows, and one adorned doorway on the right side, through which the priests and the faithful of the male sex enter the church, and another doorway on the left side, through which the congregation of virgins and women among the faithful are used to enter. And thus in one very great temple a multitude of people, in different order and ranks, and sex, and situation, separated by partitions, in different order, and [*but*] with one mind worship the Omnipotent Lord. And when the ancient door of the left passage, through which St. Bridget used to enter the church, was placed on its own hinges by the workmen, it could not fill up the passage when altered and new ; for the fourth part of the passage appeared open and exposed without any thing to fill it up. And if a fourth more were added and joined to the height of the gate, then it could fill up the entire height of the passage now lofty and altered. And when the workmen were deliberating about making another new and larger door to fill up the passage, or to prepare a board to be added to the old door, so as to render it sufficiently large, the before-mentioned principal and leading artisan of all those in Ireland spake a prudent counsel : ' We ought this night to implore the Lord faithfully beside St. Bridget, that she may provide for us against morning what measures we ought to pursue in this business.' And praying thus he passed the whole night beside the monument of St. Bridget. And rising early and prayers being said, on pushing and settling the ancient door on its hinge he filled the whole aperture ; nor was there any thing wanting to fill it, nor any superfluous portion in its height. And thus St. Bridget extended that door in height, so that the whole passage was filled up, nor does any part appear open, except when the door is pushed back in entering the church. And this miracle of the divine excellence is quite plain to the eyes of all beholders who look upon the passage and door."

It is but fair to acknowledge that not only the antiquity of this Life of St. Bridget has been doubted by some learned men, but even its authenticity denied by others, in consequence chiefly, if not altogether, of the very details given in the preceding description of the church of Kildare, and which in the opinion of the learned Basnage, the editor of Canisius, " smelt of a later age." But, though I not only freely acknowledge that there is great reason to doubt that the work of

Cogitosus was, as Colgan, Vossius, Dr. O'Conor, and others,—even the judicious Ware,—supposed, of the sixth century, but shall even prove that its real age is the early part of the ninth, I by no means concur in the sweeping scepticism of Dr. Ledwich as to the truth of the description of the church, which he regards as altogether fanciful, and posterior to the twelfth century; nor can I acknowledge that the reasons assigned by him for this opinion have any force whatever. Dr. Ledwich writes, that "what evinces this work of Cogitosus to be supposititious, is his Description of the Monuments of St. Bridget and Conlœth on the right and left of the altar at Kildare. They were not only highly finished with gold and silver ornaments, with gems and precious stones, suspended gold and silver crowns, but the wall of the chancel was painted with portraits. These latter, says Basnage, the editor of Canisius, smell strongly of later ages. The architecture of the church is the work of fancy, and could not exist earlier than the twelfth century, for the Irish, as I have already shown, had no stone edifice in the sixth."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, second edition, pp. 352, 353.

These objections however, which betray a great want of antiquarian research, are, as I shall show, of very little weight; and Dr. Lanigan, who considered the work of Cogitosus as anterior, at least, to the ninth century, had no need, in arguing in support of its antiquity, to have supposed that the church of Kildare was altogether a wooden structure,—a supposition which the text will by no means authorize, and which the evidences I have already adduced, relative to the antiquity of stone churches in Ireland, will show to be an assumption wholly improbable. It will also be seen from the same evidences, that the plan and general form of this church, which consisted of a nave and chancel, was exactly that commonly adopted in the abbey and cathedral churches in Ireland, and that the deviation from the usual custom in having two lateral doorways, instead of a single western one, is pointed out as a peculiarity necessary from the circumstance of the church having been designed for the use of two religious communities of different sexes, who had distinct and separate places assigned them, according to the almost universal practice of ancient times. See *Bingham's Origines*, &c. Book viii. c. 5, sect. 6.—The necessity for this separation of the sexes also led to the division of the nave, by a wooden partition, into two equal

portions, which were entered by the lateral doorways already mentioned; and it led again to the piercing of the wall, or partition, which separated the nave from the chancel, with a doorway on each side of the chancel arch, in order to admit the entrance, into the chancel, of the bishop with his chapter on the right or south side, and of the abbess with her nuns on the left or north side. Another peculiar feature, noticed in the description of this church, is its having a number of windows, whereas, as I have already shown, the Irish churches were remarkable for the fewness of such apertures; but, in the notice of such a peculiarity, there is as little to excite a suspicion of the truth of the general description, as in the others I have already commented upon, inasmuch as the very arrangement of the church into a double nave necessarily required a double number of windows to light it.

If, indeed, as Dr. O'Conor well remarks, he had described these windows as having been glazed, it might have afforded a historical argument against the supposition that he lived in the sixth or seventh century, inasmuch as glass was not usual in the windows of churches in England till the close of the latter; but even that would be no evidence to prove that he did not flourish previously to the twelfth, as the use of glass might have been introduced into Ireland long before that age through the intercourse of the Irish with Italy and Gaul, or the constant influx of English and other illustrious foreigners, who visited Ireland for education. But, as Cogitosus makes no mention of glass in the windows of the church of Kildare, it is to me an evidence not only of the truth of his description, but also of its antiquity, though as I have already stated, and as I shall presently prove, that antiquity is not so great as many have imagined. It is evident, at all events, that if he had been, as Dr. Ledwich asserts, fabricating a fanciful description of this church, while glazed windows were still of rare occurrence, he would not have neglected so important a feature of splendour.

But, according to Dr. Ledwich, what evinces the work of Cogitosus to be supposititious is his description of the monuments of St. Bridget and Conlaeth on the right and left of the altar at Kildare : " They were not only highly finished with gold and silver ornaments, with gems and precious stones, suspended gold and silver crowns, but the wall of the chancel was painted with portraits." If,

however, Dr. Ledwich had been better acquainted with the antiquities
of Ireland, which he undertook to illustrate, he would not have seen
in any of these particulars features inconsistent with the truth of his-
tory.   The custom of adorning the shrines of saints, in the manner
described by Cogitosus, is of higher antiquity than the time of St.
Bridget, and was derived from the primitive Christians, who thus
decorated the tombs of the martyrs.   See *Buonarotti, Osservazioni
sopra alcuni Frammenti di Vetro*, pp. 133, 134.—And that the Irish
ecclesiastics, from the first introduction of Christianity into the coun-
try, not only possessed the art of manufacturing all the sacred utensils
belonging to the altar, in an equal degree of excellence with the co-
temporaneous ecclesiastics abroad, can be proved by an abundance
of historical evidence.   The three artificers of St. Patrick, named
Asicus, Biteus, and Tassach, who fabricated such utensils with ad-
mirable art, are noticed by Flann of the Monastery, and in the most
ancient Lives of St. Patrick; and it is not improbable that specimens
of their works may still remain.   Thus also in an ancient Life of the
celebrated artificer St. Dageus, who flourished in the early part of the
sixth century, as quoted by Colgan, it is stated that he fabricated not
only bells, croziers, crosses, &c., but also *shrines;* and that, though
some of those implements were without ornament, others were co-
vered with gold, silver, and precious stones, in an ingenious and
admirable manner.   This interesting passage is as follows:

" Idem enim Episcopus, Abbatibus, alijsque Hiberniæ Sanctis, campanas, cymbala,
baculos, cruces, scrinia, capsas, pixides, calices, discos, altariola, chrismalia, librorum-
que coopertoria ; quædam horum nuda, quædam vero alia auro, atque argento, gem-
misque pretiosis circumtecta, pro amore Dei, & Sanctorum honore, sine vllo terreno
pretio, ingeniosè, ac mirabiliter cōposuit."—*Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 374 and 733.

In like manner, the memory of Conla, a celebrated artificer in
brass of the fifth or sixth century, is preserved in the Life of St. Co-
lumbkille, by O'Donnell, as the manufacturer of a shrine remarkable
for its beauty, which was preserved at Dun Cruthen in Ardmagilligan,
near the eastern shore of Lough Foyle, in the present county of Lon-
donderry, about the commencement of the sixteenth century; and
Colgan tells us, that so great was the fame of this artificer, that it
had given origin to several popular sayings.   His words are as
follows:

" Præstantia illius artificis fecit locum diuersis prouerbiis Hibernis familiaribus.

Quando enim volunt quempiam tanquam bonum aurificem seu ærarium artificem lau-
dare, dicunt ; *Nec ipse Conla, est eo præstantior artifex.* Item quando volunt ostendere
aliquid esse irreparabile, vel inemendabile ; *Nec hoc emendaret ærarius Artifex Conla.*"
—*Trias Thaum.* p. 451, col. 2, n. 82.

It would, indeed, appear from the number of references to shrines
in the authentic Irish Annals, that previously to the irruptions of
the Northmen in the eighth and ninth centuries, there were few, if
any, of the distinguished churches in Ireland, which had not costly
shrines, containing the relics of their founders and other celebrated
saints. Thus the Annals of Ulster, at the year 794, and of the Four
Masters, at the year 790, record that Rachrainn was burned by
plunderers, and its shrines opened and stripped ; and again, at the
year 793, that Inispatrick was burned by foreigners, who carried away
the shrine of St. Dachonna ; and again, at the year 804, that Ulidia
was devastated by the king, Aodh Oirdnighe, "against Duncan," in
revenge for the violation of the shrine of St. Patrick. Thus also the
Annals of Inisfallen record that in the year 810 Benchor was de-
vastated, and the shrine of St. Comgall broken, by the Gentiles
[Danes] ; and that in the year 830 the shrine of St. Patrick was
broken, and carried away by the Danes.

Many other passages to the same effect might be adduced, if it
were necessary. The same annalists also record about this period
the making of several shrines : in the Annals of the Four Masters,
for example, at the year 796, it is stated that the relics of St. Ronan,
son of Berach, were put into an ark or shrine, which was ornamented
with gold and silver. And, to come more immediately to the point,
the Annals of Ulster, at the year 799, mention the placing of the
relics of St. Conlaeth, bishop of Kildare, in a shrine of gold and sil-
ver, as described by Cogitosus :

" A. D. 799. *Positio Reliquiarum* Conlaıo h-ı Scpín oıp 7 aıpȝıc."

" A. D. 799. The placing of the relics of Conladh in a shrine of gold and silver."
—See also Ware's Bishops, at Kildare.

Thus we have the most indisputable historical evidence not only
of the existence of one of the two shrines noticed by Cogitosus as
preserved at Kildare in his own time, but also of the costliness of its
materials ; and it will surely not be doubted that the religious com-
munity of Kildare, who paid this reverence to the relics of their first
bishop, would have had a similar, if not a still more splendid shrine,

to preserve the relics of the great founder and patroness of their establishment.

The preceding record enables us also to determine with great exactness the period at which Cogitosus wrote, which, it will be seen, could not have been earlier than the ninth century, as so many learned persons have thought ; while, on the other hand, it is equally certain that it must have been before the year 835, in which the Annals of Ulster, and others of equal authority, record that Kildare was plundered by the Gentiles [Danes],—on which occasion, if we believe O'Halloran—and it is at least a fair inference—the shrines of St. Brigid and St. Conlaeth were carried away.   Thus :

" A. D. 835.   Ⲥⲉⲁⲗⲟⲟⲁⲣⲁ ⲟⲟ ⲟⲣ⳽⳽ⲁⲓⲛ ⲟⲟ ⵣⲉⲛⲛⲧⲓ⳱ ⲟ Ⲓⲛⲃⲓⲣ Ⲟⲉⲁⲁⲉ, ⁊ ⲣⲟ ⲗⲟⲣⲥⲁⲟⲁⲣ ⲗⲉⲓⳅ ⲛⲁ ⲥⲓⲗⲗⲉ."

" A. D. 835.   Kildare was plundered by the Gentiles of Inbhir Deae, and they burned half the church."

Indeed, as Dr. Lanigan well observes, Cogitosus could not have written in the manner he has, even after the year 831, when Kildare was plundered by Cellach, son of Bran, as recorded in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters, inasmuch as he (Cogitosus) states that the city of Kildare and its suburbs were an inviolable asylum, in which there could not be the least apprehension of any hostile attack:

" . . . . Maxima hæc Ciuitas & Metropolitana est; in cuius suburbanis, quæ Sancta certo limite designauit Brigida; nullus carnalis adversarius, nec concursus timetur hostium."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 524, col. i.

Having now, as I trust, satisfactorily proved the fact that shrines, such as Cogitosus describes, were really in existence at Kildare in the early part of the ninth century, when it is certain that writer must have flourished, I shall only observe, in connexion with this part of his description, that in the shrine of St. Aidan, first bishop of Ferns, now in my possession,—and which some of the most skilful antiquaries in Great Britain have assigned to a period not later than the ninth century, but which is probably of a much earlier date,—we have still remaining sufficient monumental evidence that the description of the shrines at Kildare, furnished by Cogitosus, was in no degree imaginary or exaggerated.

The other particulars to which Dr. Ledwich objects, as being altogether fanciful, are as little open to just criticism : we have, indeed, no corroborative evidence of the facts stated as to the crowns,

which were suspended over the shrines, or of the painted figures on
the partition wall, which divided the nave from the chancel, or of
the linen hangings which screened the sanctuary; nor should we
have had even these descriptive notices, so valuable as illustrating
the state of the arts in Ireland at this remote time, but that Cogi-
tosus had found it necessary, in order to give a colouring of truth to
a legendary miracle, to connect with it a circumstantial description
of the church, the accuracy of which could be tested by every one.
We know, however, from foreign authorities, that all such embellish-
ments were in use on the continent long before the ninth century,
and there is no reason to assume that they were unknown to, or un-
used, by the Irish. *Regna*,—called στεφανώματα by the Greeks,—
were commonly suspended in various parts of the early churches,
as will be found noticed in Ciampini's work, *De Coronis*, &c., l. i.
c. 14, and l. ii. p. 90. A singular fact is recorded by Du Cange re-
specting this description of crown:

" . . . . apud Byzantinos à Patriarcha in æde Sophiana, ὅτι δημοτελὴς καὶ μεγάλη ἐτύγ-
χανε δισποτικὴ ἑορτή, coronabantur Imperatores aliqua ex iis corollis, quæ supra sacram
mensam pendebant, quæ peracta solennitate in suum remittebatur locum, ut pluribus
narrat Constantinus Porphyrogenitus . . . . cujus ritus originem Constantino Magno
adscribit."—*Constantinopolis Christiana*, l. iii. 43.

St. Paulinus describes a crown suspended over the tomb of Martin
of Tours, and the same usage is also noticed by St. Gregory of Tours
(l. i. c. 2). We can be at no loss, therefore, to account for the intro-
duction of the custom into Ireland, as the pilgrimages of the Irish to
that tomb are noticed by Jonas, a disciple of Columbanus, and in the
Annals of the Benedictines, by Mabillon (l. i. p. 293). The linen cloths
or veils (*linteamenta*), which screened the sanctuary, &c., form ano-
ther feature in this description, which to me rather indicates its au-
thenticity than the contrary, such veils having been suspended in all
the ancient churches, and this as early as the fourth century.—See
Ciampini, l. ii. pl. 26; see also Anastatius in *Bibliotheca Patrum*,
tom. xii. Durandus writes:

" *Velum*, in ecclesia triplex suspenditur, *primum* quod sacra operit—*alterum* quod
sacrarium a clero dividit—*tertium* quod clerum a populo secernit."—*Durandus*, lib. i.
Ration. c. 3, n. 35.

The Rev. Mr. Gunn, a writer of much learning, while commenting
on the preceding passage of Durandus, writes thus:

" During the office of the ambo, the veil—' quod sacra operit'—and which was suspended across the sanctuary, ' quod clerum a populo secernit,' was closed. This mass being over, the catechumeni retired, and the missa fidelium or the service of the altar succeeded. ' The sacrifice is brought forth ; and when Christ the Lamb of God is offered, when you hear this signal given, let us all join in common prayer ; when you see the veils withdrawn, then think you see Heaven opened, and angels descending from above.' (Chrysostom. Homil. 3. in Ephes. Bingham, b. 8, c. 6, sec. 8.)" —*Inquiry into the Origin and Influence of Gothic Architecture*, p. 141.

Indeed, there is no more reason to doubt that such veils were usual in all the ancient Irish churches of distinction, which consisted of nave and chancel, than that chancelled partitions were used, of the existence of which we have the following evidence in Cormac's Glossary, under the word caıncell, a chancel:

" Caıncell, a cancella, .ı. clıać: cɲann-ċáınɣel, .ı. cɲann-ċlıaċ ınɲın, .ı. clıaċ, ıɲ ın ċɲann ıcıɲ laecһaıb 7 cléıpcıb ɸo ċoɲṁaıleɲ ɲom boı ɸıal cempuıll c-Solá-man; áɲ ıɲ clıaċ a aınm, con ɸoċɲoıb claɲ; unɒe ɒıcıcuɲ cɲoċaınɣel, .ı. cɲo-clıaċ."

" *Caincell, a cancella*, i. e. a latticed partition (a chancel) : *crann-chaingel*, i. e. a wooden partition, i. e. a latticed partition, the division between the laity and clergy after the similitude of the veil of Solomon's temple ; for it, with its partition of boards, is named *cliath; unde dicitur crochaingel*, i. e. a latticed division."

As to the paintings, or painted figures,—which Dr. Ledwich incorrectly calls portraits,—if that learned writer had called to mind the description which his favourite author, Giraldus Cambrensis, gives of the celebrated manuscript of the Four Evangelists, preserved at Kildare, and ascribed to St. Bridget's time, he would have seen nothing remarkable in the circumstance of the wall of the chancel having been adorned with painted representations of the human figure. And though this famous manuscript is not now to be found, the praise bestowed on its caligraphy and illuminations will not appear extravagant to those, who have seen the nearly cotemporaneous manuscript of the Gospels, called the Book of Kells, now, fortunately, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,—a manuscript which, for beauty and splendour, is not surpassed by any of its age known to exist: indeed, in looking at this exquisite piece of penmanship, it is difficult to avoid thinking that it is the very manuscript, so elaborately described by Giraldus in the following words :

" Inter vniuersa Kyldariæ miracula, nil mihi miraculosius occurrit : quam liber ille mirandus, tempore virginis (vt aiunt) Angelo dictante conscriptus. Continet hic liber quatuor Euangelistarum iuxta Hieronymum concordantiam : vbi quot paginæ

fere sunt, tot figuræ diversæ variisque coloribus distinctissimæ. Hic maiestatis vul-
tum videas diuinitus impressum : hinc mysticas Euangelistarum formas : nunc senas,
nunc quaternas, nunc binas alas habentes. hinc aquilam, inde vitulum, hinc hominis
faciem, inde leonis, aliasque figuras pene infinitas : quas si superficialiter & vsuali
more minus acute conspexeris, litura potius videbitur quam ligatura. Nec vllam at-
tendens prorsus subtilitatem : vbi nihil tamen præter subtilitatem. Sin autem ad
perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem inuitaueris : & longe penitius ad artis archana
transpenetraueris : tam delicatas & subtiles, tam actas & arctas, tam nodosas & vincu-
latim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustratas notare poteris intricatu-
ras : vt vere hæc omnia Angelica potius quam humana diligentia iam asseueraueris esse
composita. Hæc equidem quanto frequentius & diligentius intueor : semper quasi
nouis obstupeo, semperque magis ac magis admiranda conspicio."*—*Topog. Hib.* Dist. 2,
c. 38, p. 730. Francofurti. fol. 1603.

I have now examined, at greater length perhaps than many would
deem necessary, this remarkable description of the church of Kildare.
But I felt it a duty to sustain to the utmost of my ability, consistently
with a regard for truth, the authenticity of a document, so valuable,
as showing the state of the arts in Ireland previously to the Danish
devastations : and, moreover, it was essentially necessary to my pur-
pose to do so, before I made any attempt to ascertain the ages of
those architectural remains in Ireland, in which ornament has been
employed.

It will be remembered that in this description Cogitosus tells us,
that at least *one* doorway of the church was ornamented; whether
the other was so or not cannot be clearly ascertained from the context,
but the affirmative is highly probable. It does not indeed necessarily
follow that these doorways were thus ornamented as early as St.
Bridget's time; on the contrary, the probable inference would be,
that the embellishments were added at the time of the enlargement
of the doorway : but this enlargement must have taken place before
the ninth century, which is sufficient for my purpose. It is greatly
to be regretted that we have not this ancient doorway to refer to,
as an example of the style of decoration then in use; but this regret
may possibly be diminished by the consideration, that we have in the
adjacent Round Tower an example of an ornamented doorway, which
may be supposed, with every appearance of truth, to be of cotempo-

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* Dr. O'Conor, quoting this passage, adds : " nec Appelles [Apelles] ipse similia
efficere posset, et manu potius non mortali efformatæ ac depictæ videntur." But this
passage is not to be found in the edition to which he refers.—See *Rer. Hibern. Scrip-
tores*, tom. i. Ep. p. 177.

raneous, or at all events, not later date. It is, of course, by no means
my object in this place to enter on the question of the antiquity or
use of this tower; it will be sufficient for my present purpose to
show, that there is every reason to believe that its erection was not
posterior to that of the church described by Cogitosus, to which it
belonged in the time of Giraldus, and that its ornamented doorway,
if an insertion of later date than the original construction of the
Tower,—which there is no reason to believe,—could not with any
fairness be referred to a later period than the erection of the orna-
mented doorway of the church. That this tower was, in the twelfth
century, considered as of great antiquity, even so great as the time
of St. Bridget, most plainly appears from a story, told by Giraldus,
of a hawk, which was thought to have frequented its summit from
the days of the patroness. The story is as follows:

" De Falcone Kyldariæ quasi domestico & mansueto.

" A tempore Brigidæ falco quidam egregius locum istum frequentabat, qui EC-
CLESIASTICÆ TURRIS summitati insidere consueuerat. Vnde & à populo auis Brigidæ
vocabatur, & in veneratione quadam à cunctis habebatur. Hic ad nutum ciuium seu
militum castrensium tanquam mansueta & ad hoc domestica, anates & alias aues, tam
campestres, quam fluuiales circa planiciem Kyldariæ cum intuentium non modica de-
lectatione persequi solebat: & ad terram ab aere innata velocitate coercere. (Quis
enim locus miseris auiculis relinquebatur, cum homines terram & aquas, auis ini-
mica, grauisque tyrannus aerem obsidebat?) Mirum de hoc alite: quod circa tem-
plum quod frequentabat, parem non admittebat: sed amoris tempore procul inde
secedens, & apud montana de Glindelachan ex consuetudine parem inueniens, naturæ
indulgebat. Quo completo, iterum ad Ecclesiam solus reuertebatur? Viris Ecclesias-
ticis & tunc præcipue cum intra ecclesiarum sinus & septa diuinis deputantur officiis,
signum præferens honestatis. In ipso discessu primo Domini Comitis Ioannis ab Hi-
bernia, auem (quæ per tot durauerat sæcula, & delectabiliter Brigidæ locum illus-
trauerat) demum prædæ, quam ceperat, minus caute insidentem, & humanos accessus
parum euitantem, baculo, quem gestabat, rusticus quidam petiit. Ex quo patet, casum
in secundis fore metuendum, & vitæ diuturnæ delectabili & dilectæ, parum esse confi-
dendum."—*Topog. Hib.* Dist. 2, cap. 37, pp. 729, 730. Francofurti, fol. 1603.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that, from the phrase " *ecclesi-
asticæ turris*" in the preceding story, Cambrensis could have meant
none other than the present Round Tower of Kildare, for it is the
very phrase which he elsewhere employs to designate the Round
Towers in the legend, so often quoted, respecting the submersion
of the city in Lough Neagh: and though this legend is no more
sufficient to prove the tower to be of St. Bridget's time, than the

legend of the towers in Lough Neagh would prove them to be of the first century, still it is sufficient to show, that the tower of Kildare was considered to be of great antiquity in the twelfth century, and thus fix an early period for the style of ornament we find on its doorway,—a period not to be questioned except on the gratuitous assumption of a newer doorway having been inserted at a later period; but the fallacy of such an assumption is easily detected by an examination of the tower itself, which will leave no doubt on the mind that the doorway, as well as the other apertures, which are in a corresponding style, though entirely devoid of ornament, are equally original and integral features of the structure.

For the satisfaction of the reader I annex a drawing of this very interesting doorway, together with an outline of the ornaments on the capitals of its inner columns, and the diagonal pannelling on the
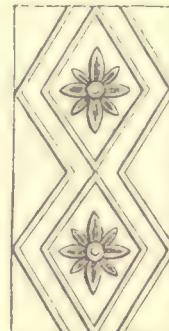
soffit of its inner arch; and it will, I think, be at once seen, that in its general character, as well as in the style of its ornaments, notwithstanding the chevron or ziz-zag moulding on one of the cornices, it presents features not to be found in any decidedly ascertained Anglo-Norman remains.

I am aware, however, that with most architectural antiquaries the presence of the zig-zag moulding will be considered a decisive evidence of its being the work of the Anglo-Norman era; but I am strongly inclined to believe, that the prevalent opinion relative to the period at which this and other ornaments came into use in England, though such opinion cannot be said to have been adopted hastily, is nevertheless an erroneous one; and I think I shall be able to show, that we must come to the conclusion, that the use of such ornaments was, at all events, of earlier age in Ireland, or be forced to throw historical evidences wholly aside as of no consideration. It may, indeed, be assumed that the existing Tower of Kildare is not that to which Cambrensis alludes, but an erection of even later date than his time. But though such an assumption is, I think, still less probable than that which I have already combated, yet I am forced to acknowledge, that a discovery made in this Tower while this sheet is going through the Press,—and which must sooner or later determine the question either way,—may with many appear to give it probability. On a recent examination of its interior area in search of sepulchral interment, undertaken by my friend the Rev. Mr. Browne of Kildare, instead of human bones, as expected, five or six ancient coins were found; and, from their position,—under flags which appeared to form the original floor of the Tower,—there is every reason to believe that they must have been deposited there at the original erection of the Tower. The true age of these coins therefore becomes a question of the highest importance in this Inquiry; but, contrary to what might be expected, it is unfortunately one, not easily determined, like all others connected with the origin of these buildings.

These coins are of that rare and curious class known to numismatists by the name of *Bracteati*,—by which is understood, thin laminar pieces, usually of silver, struck only on one side,—and are
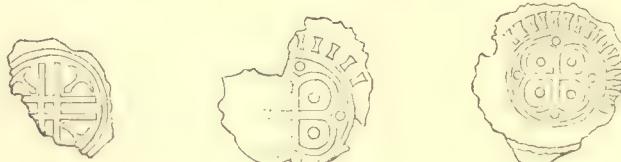
without legends of any kind, as will be seen in the annexed wood-cuts, representing the three which are least defaced.

These coins would appear to be of very impure silver, as they are thickly coated with a deep green rust, formed of the oxide of copper, and are so much corroded that it is almost impossible to touch without breaking them. Through great care, however, three of them have been sufficiently preserved to enable me to present with accuracy their devices, which, it will be seen, are crosses of a simple character placed within a circle, around which are radiating lines instead of letters: the weight of each, when perfect, was about seven grains.

If then we should adopt the opinion respecting the origin of bracteate coins, expressed by the learned Sperlingius in his work, " *De Nummorum Bracteatorum et Cavorum Origine et Progressu,*" namely, that this class of money is not earlier than the close of the twelfth century,—or that of Mr. Lindsay of Cork, in his " *View of the Coinage of Ireland,*" who thinks that none of the bracteate coins found in Ireland are anterior to the time of William the Conqueror,— it would follow, either that the present Round Tower of Kildare cannot be that of which Cambrensis speaks, but an erection subsequent to his time, or, that the floor, under which those coins were found, is not the original one,—a conclusion which I apprehend most persons will be disposed to reject, and which, though the fact is not wholly impossible, it is far from my intention to uphold. Maintaining, as I do, the opinion that this Tower could not have been erected after the time of Cambrensis, and consequently, from his allusion to such a Tower at Kildare, that its age must have been considerable in the twelfth century, I confess it appears to me, that, while the conclusions of the writers to whom I have alluded, respecting the antiquity of the bracteate coins, is open to doubt, the discovery of pieces of that description under the floor of this Tower should rather be taken as an evidence in favour of their earlier antiquity, than that the erection of the Tower should be referred to so late a period as they assign to them. Nor do I think that this inference is at all weakened by what has been written either by Sperlingius or Mr. Lindsay : for the bracteate coins of the northern nations, which the former shows to be of the twelfth and succeeding centuries, and which present legends from which their dates have been ascertained, are very different from those discovered in the Tower of Kildare. And though Pinkerton seems to have adopted the opinion of Sperlingius, as to the age and origin of these coins, he has, on reflection,

deemed it prudent to acknowledge, in a note, that "some are supposed to be of the tenth century."

Pinkerton might well make such an acknowledgment, for there are not wanting learned writers, who place the origin of this description of coin in the seventh century, and one, M. Tillemann Frize,—*Müntz-Spiegel*, l. iii.,—who assigns them an antiquity anterior even to the Christian era. Others, however, as Olearius, Ludwig, and Doederlin, have come to the conclusion that this kind of money originated in Germany, after the discovery of the silver mines in that country in the tenth century; and this opinion derives some support from the fact, that bracteates of the Emperor Conrad II., who died in 1024, and of Werner, bishop of Strasburgh, who died in 1029, have been found in a small earthen urn in the abbey of Gengenbach in 1736. These, I believe, are the earliest German bracteates known; but it is the opinion of M. Schoepflin, that, though no earlier bracteates of the bishops of Strasburgh have been discovered, the right of coining money, which had been granted to them in 870 by Lothaire le Jeune, the son of Louis le Debonnaire, had been exercised by them uninterruptedly from that period. M. Schoepflin is, however, of opinion, that the bracteate money had an earlier origin, and a different birth-place from what has been assigned to them by the German writers; and as bracteates have been found, coined by the first two propagators of Christianity in Denmark and Sweden,—namely, Harold, king of Denmark, who lived in the tenth century, and Biorno, king of Sweden, who lived at the close of the eighth and commencement of the ninth, —he considers that the origin of this description of money should be assigned to Sweden, and that it thence passed into Denmark, and lastly into Germany; and he attributes the lightness and thinness of this description of money to the scarcity of silver in the north at the period of its origin. In these conclusions of M. Schoepflin, the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres appear to concur, as will be seen in the following extract from their report on his paper, given in the twenty-third volume of the History of the Academy, pp. 215–6 :

"Il résulte de cet exposé, fait d'après M. Schœpflin, que les monnoies bractéates sont originairement Suédoises, & que l'époque en doit être fixée à la fin du VIIIᵉ. siècle ; & qu'ainsi on se trompoit à la fois sur le lieu & sur le temps de leur origine, placée par les uns trop haut, & trop bas par les autres."

As the antiquity of this species of money on the continent seems thus clearly traced to the eighth century, it now remains to determine, if possible, its antiquity in Ireland.

The opinion relative to the origin of minted money in Ireland, which has been hitherto, as I may say, universally adopted by numismatists, is, that it originated with the Danes in the tenth, or possibly in the ninth century ; and in this opinion, I confess, that I myself concurred, till my attention was more particularly drawn to the subject, by the discovery of the pieces of bracteate money in the Round Tower of Kildare. I now, however, see considerable reason to doubt the correctness of this opinion, and to believe that the Danes, far from being the introducers of minted money into this country, may, with greater probability, have themselves derived the art from the Irish, and not from the Anglo-Saxons, as generally supposed. In the first place, it should be borne in mind that the type usually found on the Danish coins is a peculiar one, and that, though it is also found on some of the coins of the Saxon king, Ethelred II., A. D. 979, many of which appear to have been minted in Ireland, it does not occur on earlier coins of the Saxon princes, and hence these coins of Ethelred are usually designated as of the Irish type. On the other hand, coins of this type, both bi-lateral and uni-lateral, of the rudest manufacture, and without letters, are found abundantly in Ireland, and obviously claim a higher antiquity. With respect to these rude coins, we must therefore come to either of the two following conclusions :— first, that they were imitations by the Irish princes of the better minted money of the Danes, and consequently of cotemporaneous or later date; or, secondly, that the type of the well-minted Danish and Irish coins of the tenth century was derived from this ruder and more ancient original. This latter conclusion appears to me to possess by far the greater probability, because we cannot adopt the former without supposing the Irish, at the time of the first Danish irruptions, not only to have been inferior to their invaders in their knowledge of the arts of civilized life, but also to have been unable to keep up with them in the progress which they subsequently made, —a conclusion, which, though hitherto generally adopted, is utterly opposed to every thing that history tells us respecting the civilization of the two nations. It should also be borne in mind, that, from the intercourse carried on by the Irish with the Saxons, whom they con-

verted to Christianity, as well as with the French, Belgians, and Germans, they must have been intimate with the various arts as practised amongst these nations ; and that, as we know that they were at least equally acquainted with literature and the fine arts, and that their very celebrity in the former caused their country to be visited, for the purpose of instruction, by many of the most distinguished in those nations for rank and love of learning, it would be strange indeed if they should have been ignorant of the use of minted money, then common amongst those nations, or that, knowing, they should have neglected to adopt it.

I am aware that it may be objected that the Irish at this period used for money rings of gold and silver, and ingots of various forms and degrees of weight; and I am far from denying that this description of money, which was, no doubt, derived from a very remote period, was continued in Ireland even to the close of the twelfth century. This, indeed, is a fact established by all our ancient authorities, and particularly by our authentic Annals and Brehon Laws, as an example will sufficiently prove. Thus in the following record, in the Annals of the Four Masters, the payment of fines by weight is distinctly recorded :

" A. D. 1029. Aṁlaoiḃ, mac Sícṗiocca, ciġeaṗna Ḡall, ꝺo eṗẓabáil ꝺo Maċ-ẓaṁáin Ua Riaẓáin, ciġeaṗna ḃṗeaẓ, 7 ꝺo ben ꝺá céo ꝺéẓ bo ꝼuaṗcclaiꝺ aṗṗ, 7 ṗeaċc ꝼichic each m-ḃṗeicneaċ, 7 cṗi ꝼichec uinẓe ꝺ'oṗ, 7 cloiḃeaṁ Caṗluṗ, 7 aiccine Ḡaieal eicciṗ Laiẓniḃ 7 Leċ Cuinꝺ, 7 cṗi ꝼiċic uinẓe ꝺ'aiṗẓec ẓil ina unẓa ẓeimleaċ, 7 ceiċṗe ꝼiċic bo ꝼocail 7 impíꝺe, 7 ceiċṗe h-aicciṗe ꝺ'O'Riaẓain ꝼéin ꝼṗi ṗíċh, 7 lan loẓ bṗaẓacc an cṗeṗ aiccine."

" A. D. 1029. Amlaff, son of Sitric, lord of the Danes, was captured by Mahon O'Riagain, lord of Bregia, who exacted twelve hundred cows as his ransom, together with seven score British horses, and three score ounces of gold, and the sword of Carlus, and the Irish hostages both of the Lagenians and Leth Cuinn, and sixty ounces of white silver (or money) as his fetter-ounce, and eighty cows for word and supplication, and four hostages to O'Riagain himself as a security for peace, and the full value of the life of the third hostage."

It also appears from innumerable passages in our ancient authorities that the precious metals thus valued by weight, and used as a circulating medium, were, as I have already said, sometimes in the form of ingots, but perhaps more frequently manufactured into rings for the neck, called *muntorcs*, and for the arms and legs, called *failghe;* and hence the epithet of " exactors of rings," so frequently

applied by their poets to the northern warriors, who infested Ireland in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

This custom is very interestingly illustrated in the following passage—explaining the name *Righ*, which was anciently applied to the river Boyne—in an ancient manuscript of the Brehon Laws, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin :

" Ríᵹ mna Nuaoac, .ı. ſonaıſc, .ı. cumoach oo ſaılᵹıb óıſ no bıo ıma láıṁ oıa o-cıonacal oo ſıleóaıb."—H. 3, 18, p. 545.

" The *Righ* of the wife of Nuada, i. e. great, i. e. she was used to have her hand (or arm) covered with rings of gold for bestowing them on poets."

This woman was the wife of Nuada Neacht, a poet, and king of Leinster in the first century ; and she is said to have given her name, Boann, to the river Boyne.

So also, from various passages found in the Irish annals, we find that these rings were of fixed weights ; as at the year 1150, when the monarch Muirchertach O'Loughlin, among other things, presented the abbot of Derry with a gold ring, which weighed five *ungas* or ounces ; and at the following year, when the same abbot received from Cu-Uladh O'Flynn, chief of Sil-Cathasaigh, a gold ring weighing two ounces ; and gold and silver rings, as well as torcs and ingots of the precious metals of fixed weights, are found in abundance in the country at the present day.

But, while the precious metals were used as a circulating medium in large unminted pieces, or rings, of this description, it is obvious that a smaller and more convenient species of money must have been indispensably necessary for the ordinary purposes of exchange ; and it would be strange indeed, if, while every other country in Europe, immediately after its conversion to Christianity, adopted the use of a small denomination of minted money, the Irish alone should have neglected a usage so necessary to a people, who had made any advances in civilization, till taught it by a people confessedly less civilized than themselves. It is this consideration, which induced me to doubt the generally received opinion that money was first coined by the Danes in Ireland, and to believe it more probable that the type of the Danish coins was not derived from cotemporaneous Saxon money, but more directly from an earlier Irish original ; and, if I mistake not, the evidences which I have now to adduce, and which

these doubts induced me to search for, will go far towards establishing such a conclusion.

In the first place, it occurred to me that if the Irish had had minted money similar to that in use in the neighbouring countries, evidences of such a fact would necessarily be found in the ancient laws of the country, and that those laws would also furnish evidence as to its weight and value; and I was the more sanguine that such evidences might be found, from a recollection of the interesting letter written about the year 790 by Alcuin to the celebrated St. Colcu, master of the school of Clonmacnoise, in which he tells him that he had sent fifty *sicli* of silver to his brethren of the alms of Charlemagne, and fifty *sicli* as his own alms; thirty *sicli* of the king's alms to the southern brethren of Baldhuninega, and thirty *sicli* of his own; twenty *sicli* of the alms of the father of the family of Areida, and twenty of his own; and to every hermit three *sicli* of pure silver, that they might all pray for him and for king Charlemagne, that God would preserve him for the defence of his church and the glory of his name. The original of this passage,—as published by Ussher in his *Sylloge*, pp. 51, 52, and Colgan, *Acta SS.*, pp. 379, 380,—is as follows:

" Misi charitati tuæ aliquid de oleo, quod vix modò in Britanniâ invenitur; ut dispensares per loca necessaria Episcoporum, ad utilitatem hominum vel honorem Dei. Misi quoq; quinquaginta siclos fratribus de eleemosynâ *Caroli* Regis : (obsecro ut pro eo oretis :) & de meâ eleemosynâ quinquaginta siclos : & ad Australes fratres *Baldhuninega*, triginta siclos de eleemosynâ Regis, et triginta de eleemosynâ meâ, & viginti siclos de eleemosynâ patris familiæ *Areidæ*, & viginti de eleemosynâ meâ, & per singulos Anachoritas tres siclos de puro argento : ut illi omnes orent pro me, & pro Domino Rege *Carolo*, ut Deus illum conservet ad tutelam sanctæ suæ Ecclesiæ, & ad laudem & gloriam sui nominis."—*Sylloge*, p. 52.

I confess that to me this passage, written before the Danes had coined money in Ireland, affords a strong presumption that minted money was not only known but in use in Ireland at the time when it was written, and that the money designated as *sicli* must have been a description of coin then current not only in France but also in Ireland. It is true that Colgan, and after him Harris and Archdall, state that a *siclus* or *shekel* in silver was a coin about half an ounce in weight, and of the value of sixteen pence; but this, as I shall prove, was obviously an error, arising out of the supposition that by the term *siclus* was meant a piece of the size and value of

the Hebrew *shekel*, whereas it is certain that no coin of this kind was current in Europe during the middle ages. The real meaning of the word *siclus*, as understood by the Irish, and the value of the coin which it designated at this period, are, however, distinctly pointed out in a tract of the Brehon Laws, relating to fines and amercements, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, class H. 3, 18, p. 426, col. *b*, and in which the fine upon the owner of a cow that has killed a bondsman, or bondswoman, is thus stated :

"Mao muᵹ no cumal no oin in aᵹ onᵹain ano, an nennech ber aᵹ. Cnicha riᵹal n-ainᵹio ino. Sicolun quani rcnipulur, o né leié-pinᵹinoe ᵹaban ino o conach in comair, 7 na re leié-pinᵹinoe ir cni lán-pinᵹinne in rcnepaill."

" If it be a bondman or bondwoman that has been killed by the cow, the cow is forfeited (till reparation be made by the owner). Thirty *sigals* of silver is the fine. *Sicolus quasi scripulus*, from six half *pinginns* being its value from the beginning of enumeration, and these six half *pinginns* make the three full *pinginns* of the *screpall*."

The value of the same coin is given in another MS. in the same Library, H. 3, 17, p. 645, somewhat differently, thus :

" Siculun quani reretlicor, ó ré lec-penoinᵹib ᵹaban in o conach in comar; no re lec-penoinᵹe ir cni lan-penoinᵹ, na cni lan penoinᵹ ir rcnepall."

" *Siculus quasi seselicos*, from six half *pennings* being its value from the beginning of enumeration [the lowest denomination]; the six half *pennings* make three full *pennings*, and the three full pennings make one *screpall*."

From the above passages then it clearly appears that the word *sigal* was a term synonymous with *screpall*, and innumerable evidences might be adduced from the Irish laws, and other equally ancient authorities, to prove that the word *screpall* was the designation of the *denarius* or *penny*, which was the largest denomination of money then current in France and England, and which, I think, was also current in Ireland, though under a different name. It is a well-known fact that the largest silver coin current in Europe in the middle ages,—and which in France was called *denier*, from the Latin *denarius*, and known to numismatists by the name *penning* or *penny*, —was usually of the weight of from twenty to twenty-four grains : and that such also was the weight of the Irish *screpall*, or *sigal*, will clearly appear from the following passage in a tract of the Brehon Laws, entitled *Fodhla Feibe*, preserved in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 181, *b*, *b*, in which the following curious table of weights is given :

2 F

" Iſ é ſeo ın meaꝺ coȝbuſ ın cınꝺe ſın ꝺo ȝſán cſuıċneaċca a ſa ſáſ a cíſ cſı meccon; ceıċſı c. [correctly, noí c.] 7 lx. mılı; uaıſ uı. ȝſaınnı x. 7 cuıȝ céꝺ 7 lx. comċſom uınȝı; uaıſ ceaċſa ȝſaınoı xx. ec cſuıċneaċꝺa comċſom ın ſȝſeabaıll aıſȝıꝺ. Ceaċſa h-aꝺaım xx. ec ı n-ȝſaıne, 7 comċſom uıı xx. ec uınȝe ın cınꝺe ſın, 7 ní h-o'n ȝabaınꝺ a ꝺamna."

" This is the quantity* which that bar *raises* [i. e. weighs or balances] of grains of wheat which grew in a soil of three roots† ; sixty thousand and four hundred [correctly nine hundred] ; for five hundred and seventy-six grains is the weight of an ounce ; for twenty-four grains of wheat is the weight of the *screaball* of silver. Twenty-four atoms in a grain, and seven score ounces in that bar, and its material is not from the smith."

It is scarcely worthy of observation that, by some error of the transcribers of this tract in copying the numerals, this table is not consistent with itself, but in that portion of it relating to the *screpall* of silver there can be no error, and its accuracy in this particular can be proved : and from the weight thus assigned to the *screpall*, or *sigal*, as it was otherwise called, it would appear that the Irish applied these terms to denote the denier of the middle ages ; and, indeed, the terms themselves seem clearly to be of foreign, and most probably ecclesiastical, introduction into the Irish language. It appears, however, that the Irish had also two vernacular terms which they applied to a piece or denomination of the same weight, namely the words *puincne* and *oifing*, or *oiffing*, as thus stated in Cormac's Glossary under the word *puincne* :

" Þuıncne, .ı. ſcſepall meꝺı ınbıċe, ıſ é ſın ſcſepall Ȝaeꝺal oın, .ı. oıſınȝ."

" *Puincne*, i. e. the *screpall* of the notched beam, i. e. the *screpall* of the Gaels, i. e. *oifing*."

Thus also in O'Clery's Vocabulary of Ancient Irish Words, under the word *puincne :*

" Þuıncne, .ı. ſȝſeaball .ı. cſı pınȝınne."

" *Puincne*, i. e. a *screball*, i. e. three pence."

And hence the word *screaball* is explained in Shaw's and O'Reilly's

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* This passage is also given in an ancient vellum manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 18, but somewhat less correctly. Both, however, agree in making the weight of the *screpall* of silver to be twenty-four grains of wheat. The weight of the whole bar, according to the table, should be 69120, which is equal to 10 Roman *Libræ*.

† Cıſ cſı meccon, *land of three roots*, i. e. the richest soil, which, according to the Irish notion at the present day, is always known by the presence of three weeds, remarkable for their large roots, namely, the thistle, the ragwort, and the wild carrot.

Dictionaries as "a three-penny piece," and the word *oiffing*, by O'Reilly, as "a tribute of three-pence."

Seeing then, that the *screpall* contained three *pinginns*, and weighed twenty-four grains, it would follow that the *pinginn* should weigh eight grains; and such is the weight assigned to it in an ancient tract of the Brehon Laws, on vellum, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 4, 22, fol. 66, in which the following curious passage occurs:

" Oinnpa, .ı. comuр. Oınnpa claparẓe, .ı. comuр bıр con luċċ claıðeр ın claıр, oı uınẓı ıр é fıl ınn, .ı. boınẓıð méın ın úma. Oınnpa cepoa oo oepẓ uma; ре uınẓı ann, 7 pcpepall a loẓ. Pınẓınn ıр fıú ın uınẓı fınn úma; 7 leıċ-pınẓınn ıр fıu an uınẓı oepẓ uma; 7 comloẓ ın oepẓ uma 7 ın póán, 7 oċċ n-ẓpannı cpuıċne-aċċa comépom na pínẓınnı aıpẓıo; 7 ceıċpe oınnpa oo luaıðı ap oınnpa fınn uma, ap ıр oo luaıðe oo nıċhep ın caċh."

" *Dinnra*, i. e. a weight [measure, or share]. The *dinnra* of the delver, that is, the share which those who dig the pit do get, that is, those who dig the copper ore, contains two ounces. The *dinnra* of the *cerd* [artificer] is of red copper [or bronze]; contains six ounces, and is worth a *screpall*. A *pinginn* is the value of an ounce of fair copper [or bronze]; and half a *pinginn* is the value of an ounce of red copper [or bronze]; and the red copper is of the same value as the *sdan* [tin]; and eight grains of wheat is the weight of the *pinginn* of silver; and four *dinnras* of lead are of the same value as one *dinnra* of fair copper, for it is of the lead the *tath* [solder ?] is made."

From the preceding evidences it at least appears certain that while the Irish had in use amongst them, from a very remote period, a mode of estimating the value of animals, and other property, by ingots or rings of gold and silver of fixed weights, they had also, for the daily purposes of traffic, two small pieces of silver, namely, the *screpall* or *sigal*, weighing twenty-four grains, and the *pinginn*, weighing eight grains, which, there is every reason to believe, were coins; for, as the names, by which they were known, are obviously of foreign introduction into the Irish language, and were undoubtedly denominations of coined money in foreign countries, we have every right to conclude that they were similarly applied to coined money in Ireland. But if we find pieces corresponding with these in weight, and indicating by their types an early antiquity, the fact seems placed beyond dispute. Such pieces we do find in our rude bi-lateral coins, and in our bracteates, which are struck only on one side, and may be considered as peculiarly Irish, being of a type wholly unlike the

bracteate money of any other nation. Were such names indeed found
in Irish authorities previously to their application to coins in other
countries, it might justly be concluded that they were mere deno-
minations of weights of metals; but no such terms occur in the
authentic documents of earlier date. There is no mention of *screpalls*
or *pinginns* in the Book of Rights, nor in the most ancient Lives
of St. Patrick, in which, however, we find most distinct reference to
the valuation of property by gold and silver in weight, as the follow-
ing remarkable passage from the Annotations of Tirechan will suffi-
ciently show :

"Oippoʒʒel Cummen ocup Ɗpeċhan Ochꞇep n-Achıꝺ co n-a peılb, ıꞇep pıꝺ
ocup maʒ ocup lenu, co n-a llıup ocup a llubʒopꞇ. Oʒoılep ꝺın ꝺu Chummın leċh
ın ꝺoppı po, ın ꝺoım, ın ꝺuınıu, con pıccaꝺap a peuıꞇ ꝼpıe, .ı. .ıɪɪ. unʒaı apʒaıꞇ, ocup
cpann apʒıꞇ, ocup muınce, .ɪɪɪ. n-unʒae co n-ꝺpoch oıp pen-mepıb penaıpoꞇıb, loʒ
leıċh unʒae ꝺı muccıb, ocup loʒ leıċh unʒae ꝺı chaıpıb."—*Book of Armagh*, Fol. 17,
b. 1.

"Cummin and Brethan purchased Ochter n-Achid with its appurtenances, both
wood and plain and meadow, with its fort and its garden. Half of this wood, and
house, and *dun*, was mortmain to Cummin, for which they paid [*from*] their treasure,
viz. three ounces of silver, and a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of the base gold
of the old dishes of their seniors, [i. e. ancestors], the equivalent of half an ounce in
hogs, and the equivalent of half an ounce in sheep."

It is to be observed, indeed, that the pieces corresponding with
sigals or *screpalls* found in Ireland, even when in good preservation,
but seldom weigh more than twenty-one or twenty-two grains; and
in like manner that those corresponding with the *pinginns*, which
are all bracteates, seldom weigh more than seven; and that such was
the usual weight of the latter, in the ninth century, would appear
from the following passage in Cormac's Glossary, under the word *pi-
sire*, the ancient Irish name for the ouncel, or steel-yard.

" Pıpıpe, .ı. Pıp-aıpe, .ı. cpanꝺ leꞇan-ċenꝺ bíp oc ꞇomap oen pınʒınne ꞇomaıp, .ı.
comꞇpomm .uɪɪ. n-ʒpaıne pıp-cpuıꞇnechꞇa. Pıp, ꝺın, aınm ın cpaınꝺ, no ın ꞇamaın;
pıp, ꝺın, aınm ꝺo pınʒınꝺ; oen pınʒınꝺ, ꝺın, aıpe ın chpaınꝺ pın."

" *Pisire*, i. e. *pis-aire*, i. e. a broad-headed beam, which is for weighing one *pinginn*
of weight, i. e. the weight of seven grains of pure wheat. *Pis*, then, is the name of
the beam, or the trunk, and *pis* is, also, a name for the *pinginn;* because one *pinginn*
is what that beam weighs."

The evidence furnished by the preceding passage is further cor-
roborated by the following curious notice, in an ancient sermon on
the betrayal of Christ by Judas, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, in

the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in which the writer enters into a calculation of the value, in Irish money, of the thirty pieces which Judas was paid for his treachery:

" Tpom, epa, oobapéa na cennaiʒecea, in ean eepea a cetpuime oo'n cethpamao unʒa. In xx. n-aipʒennee eucpae Iuoaibe pop bpaé Cpípe oo Iuoap anpeccnach, .i. océ penʒinoe co leié, iap numiip coiechino, ip eó pil in ceé aipʒene oib, iap na pepibeno la ppuieib na n-Ebpaioe."—Fol. 73, a, b.

" Great, indeed, the foulness of the purchase, when the fourth ounce wanted a quarter. The thirty *argentei* [*denarii*] which the Jews gave the unfortunate Judas for betraying Christ: i. e. eight *pinginns* and a half, after the general enumeration, is what is in each *argenteus* of them, according to the writings of the learned among the Hebrews."

According to the previous calculation, if we allow sixty grains to each of the *argentei*, which is the usual weight of the Roman *argenteus*, or *denarius*, then current in Jerusalem, it will be seen, that the *unga*, or ounce, contained four hundred and eighty grains, and the *pinginn*, or penny, seven grains and one-seventeenth.

Should it be objected, that if the Irish had had minted pieces of these denominations, previously to the Danish irruptions, allusions to them would be made in the authentic annals of the country, the answer is,—that the annals relating to those early times are so brief and meagre, that they preserve to us little beyond the dates of battles, and of the deaths of distinguished men ; and that though the word aipʒeo, i. e. *silver*,—the only one used to designate money of any description at the present day, like the French *argent*, from the circumstance of the ancient minted pieces being of silver only,—does frequently occur,—as in the metaphorical notice in the Annals of Tighernach, at the year 718, of a ppopp apʒaio, which Mageoghegan translates, " a shower of money,"—yet as the word in its literal signification denotes *silver* simply, no certain inference can be drawn from it either way. Yet, in some instances, it is difficult to doubt that this word was applied to minted money, as in the following passage in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 946 :

" A. D. 946. Lán ino Innpaiòiʒ Paepaiʒ o'apʒae ʒil o Ceniul Coʒain oo Paepaiʒ."

" A. D. 946. The full of the *Innfaidhech Patraig* of white silver [or white money] *was given* by the Cinel Eoghain, to St. Patrick." [i. e. to Joseph, his successor.]

As the relic here called *Innfaidhech*, but more correctly *Finnfai-*

dhech by the Four Masters, in their record of this donation,—and which, according to the ancient poem by Flann of the Monastery, and the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, was made by Mac Cecht, one of the saint's smiths or artificers in iron,—was a bell, as I have shown in my Essay on ancient Irish Bells, it is not easy to imagine it to have been filled with any other kind of tribute collected among the numerous tribe of the Cinel Eoghain, than pieces of silver, each of small value, then in circulation.   When, however, at a later period, our annals become more detailed, we find in them passages which show the use both of the *screpall* and *pinginn*, as the following examples will sufficiently prove. Thus, in Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, at the year 1009, we have the following entry :

A. D. 1009. " There was great scarcity of Corne and Victualls this year in Ireland, insomuch that a hoop [i. e. a quarter of a peck] was sold for no less than five groates, which came (as my author sayeth), to a *penny* for every barren." [i. e. cake.]

It is to be regretted that we have not the original Irish of this passage, to ascertain the Irish word which Mageoghegan has translated *groate ;* but it can scarcely be doubted that it must have been one of the Irish terms for the *screpall*, or larger silver coin in use amongst them, as that denominated *groat* did not come into use in Ireland till the reign of Edward III.

Thus also, in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1031, distinct mention is made of the *pinginn*, as being then in general circulation at Armagh, and there is every reason to believe it Irish and not Danish money :

" A. D. 1031. Ƒlaıѡƀepᴄach na Néıll ѡo ᴄoıѡeacᴄ ó Róım.   Qp ƒpı pémeap Ƒlaıѡƀepᴄaıᵹ ƒo ᵹaıƀéí an connpaѡ ѡímóp ı n-Qpomacha, amaıl ap ƒollup ıp ın panѡ :

" Seıpeѡach ѡo ᵹpán copca,
   Ho ᴄpıan ѡ'áıpnıƀ ѡuƀ-éopcpa,
   Ho ѡo ѡepcnaıƀ ѡapach ѡuınn,
   Ho ѡo énoaıƀ ƒalaᴄ ƒıonn-éuıll,
   Ƒo ᵹaıƀée ᵹan ᴄacha ᴄınn
   Í n-Qpomacha ap aon ѡınᵹınn."

" A. D. 1031. Flaithbhertach O'Neill returned from Rome. It was during the reign of Flaithbhertach that the very great bargain was used to be got at Armagh, as is evident in the verse :

> " A *shesheagh* (measure) of oaten grain,
> Or a third of [of a measure] black-red sloes,
> Or of the acorns of the brown oak,
> Or of the nuts of the fair hazle hedge,
> Was got without stiff bargaining
> At Armagh for one *pinginn*."

This Flaithbhertach O'Neill, whose father, Muirchertach, king of Aileach or Ulster, was slain by Amlaff the Dane, in 975, succeeded his brother Aodh, in the year 1005, and died in 1036, after having made a pilgrimage to Rome.

The preceding passages seem to me quite sufficient to prove that the words *pinginn* and *screpall*, among the Irish, were applied to coins, and that the weight of the former was usually seven grains, and of the latter about twenty-one grains; and as we find in Ireland two classes of ancient coins which, when in good preservation, correspond with these weights, we have every reason to conclude that they are the denominations of money so often referred to in the ancient Irish authorities. These conclusions might be strengthened by many additional evidences from those authorities; but fearing to prolong this digression to a tedious extent, I shall only add one more, relative to the *pinginn*, or seven-grained piece, which is more immediately the subject of this disquisition. It is found in a very ancient Glossary, on vellum, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, as an explanation of the word *pinginn*, and also in several copies of Cormac's Glossary, written in the ninth century :

" Pınᵹınn, quaṛı panunᵹ, .ı. paṗṗ ın uncıo; uel bennınᵹ, .ı. a n-ınᵹnaıṛ a beann aᴄa, .ı. cṗuınn."

"*Pinginn*, quasi *pan-ung*, i. e. part of an ounce ; or, *benn-ing*, i. e. it wants *benns* (points), i. e. [it is] *round*."

If it be considered that the application of the word *penning* to a coin amongst the Saxons must have been familiar to Cormac, it will be obvious that he could hardly have explained the meaning of the word in this manner if he did not intend to intimate that it was applied to a coin minted by the Irish also; nor would he have given such derivations for it, if he supposed it had its origin amongst the Danes in Ireland.

But though the custom of minting money may, on the preceding evidences, be conceded to the Irish, it may still be argued that this custom was derived from the Danes in the ninth century; and to

settle this question, the antiquity of the pieces remaining to us must be tested by a comparison of the types on them with those on the coins of other countries, whose ages have been determined.

The opinions of those numismatists, who conclude that the Danes were the introducers of coin into Ireland, is founded upon the supposition, which I believe to be wholly erroneous, that the Pagan Danes were vastly more advanced in civilization than the Irish, a lettered and Christian people, whom they came to plunder, and, if possible, to conquer. Hear Mr. Pinkerton on this point:

" The Danes, a wise and industrious, as well as victorious people, being much more advanced in society [than the Irish] when they settled in Ireland, were the founders of Dublin, Limeric, and other cities ; the seats of little Danish kingdoms, where arts and industry were alone known. Their frequent invasions of England, and neighbourhood to that opulent kingdom, made them acquainted with coinage. And it is clear, from the form and fabric, that the old rude pennies, found in Ireland, are struck by the Danes there. These pieces have no resemblance of the old Gaulic or British ; or even of the skeattas, or English pennies ; but are mere rude copies of those of the eighth or ninth centuries, executed by artists who could neither form nor read letters, and therefore instead of them, put only strokes, I I I I I I."—*Essay on Medals*, vol. ii. pp. 153, 154.

This assumed superiority of the Danes is wholly gratuitous, as no remains of that people have been discovered in Ireland, that would in any degree authorize it. It cannot be said that Irish artists in the eighth or ninth century could not form or read letters, for I have myself collected several hundred well-sculptured Irish inscriptions of those very centuries, while, on the other hand, not a single Danish inscription has been ever discovered in Ireland. And if the rude imitations of the Saxon money, to which Pinkerton alludes, were made in Ireland in the eighth or ninth century, they must have been made by the Irish, as they always present Christian devices ; and we have the authority of the Irish annals, acquiesced in by Ware, that the Irish Danes were first converted to Christianity about the year 948, and that the first of them recorded as Christians lived in the time of Godfrid, son of Sitric, who succeeded Blacar II. as king of Dublin in that year. And certain it is that the earliest ascertained Danish money, minted in Ireland, is that of the brother of Godfrid, Sitric III., 989, while according to Mr. Pinkerton himself, we have well struck pieces of an Irish king Donald, who, that writer states, is probably Donald O'Neill, 956 ; so that we would have greater

reason to suppose that the type on those coins of the latter, which resembles that on the coins of Donald, was derived from it, than that the coins of Donald were struck in imitation of those of Sitric. Nor can it be fairly supposed that the usual type on the coins of Sitric was derived from a Saxon prototype; for, if we look for such among the money of the Saxon princes, we find it only on the coins of Ethelred II., 979, 1015,—which for their peculiarity, are known among numismatists as coins of the Irish type,—and it is remarkable that many of them were minted in Dublin. Doctor Ledwich has, indeed, been rash enough, in opposition to Ware and the whole body of our annals, to assert, in the first edition of his *Antiquities of Ireland*, that the Danes were christianized in Ireland in the time of Sitric I., 893; and in the second edition he ventures to assert, that they were Christians even in the time of Ivar I., 870, and this on no other evidence than that he finds a cross on a coin, which he says was minted in Dublin, and which exhibits the legend, "*Ifarus Re Dyflin*." But, as there were more Ivars than one, he should have given some reason for ascribing this coin to Ivar I., who, according to all the Irish annals, was a pagan, rather than to Ivar II., who was a Christian: besides, no such words as *Re Dyflin* appear in the legend on the coin to which he refers, and even if they did they would not prove it a coin of the first Ivar, as Ivar II. was also king of Dublin. Indeed it is now generally acknowledged to be a coin of Ivar or Ifars II. 993; for, as Mr. Lindsay well observes, " the coins formerly assigned to Ifars I., bear such a strong resemblance to those of Sihtric III., as to render it nearly certain that they ought to be assigned to Ifars II."— *View of the Coinage of Ireland*, p. 12.

With much greater appearance of probability Dr. O'Conor, who repudiates the assertion of Dr. Ledwich, finds on a coin, published in Gibson's edition of Camden, an inscription, which, he thinks, proves it to be a coin of Aedh Finnliath, monarch of Ireland from the year 863 to 879, and the last Irish monarch who bore the name "AED," which appears on the coin in question. His words,—which are given in a note on an entry in the Annals of Ulster at the year 936, recording a memorable battle fought between Athelstan, king of the Saxons, and Amlaff, king of the Danes,—are well worth transcribing, and are as follows:

" *Amlafo* nonnulli nummum argentum [argenteum] tribuunt, editum a Gibsono,

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Camden Op. v. 1, Tab. iii, No. 34, p. 195.—At, nummus iste nullam exhibet notam
Chronicam, præter nomen *Amlafi Regis Dublinii*, et insignem crucis ; et cum alii fue-
runt Amlafi posteriores, cavendum est ne huic tribuatur, quod æque tribui potest suc-
cessori. Falluntur certe qui *Sitricum* I Christianæ Religioni nomen dedisse contendunt,
ex alio nummo, crucem exhibente, cum Sitrici nomine insculptam ; quasi vero alii
non fuerint Sitrici posteriores, quibus potiori jure tribui possit, quam primo, qui
Ecclesiis Hiberniæ fuit hostis infensissimus !—*Ledwichius*, in Opere cui titulus ' *An-
tiquities*, &c. Dublin 1790,' Annales nostros, quos nec videre licuit, nec, si vidisset, ex
linguæ antiquæ ignorantia, intelligere posset, ex isto tamen nummo, non dubitat
castigare ! ' This coin of *Sithric* I, is the *earliest* inscribed coin that has hitherto
occurred. It is valuable *for correcting our Annalists*. The cross on it evinces that the
Danes were now Christians.' p. 126. At, etsi concedamus esse Sithrici I, quod in-
certum est, ergone sequitur esse antiquissimum, et errasse Annales nostros, qui Danos,
regnante *Sithrico* I, Ethnicos fuisse affirmant ?—Oportebat primo omnes extantes ex-
plicasse. Extant nonnulli editi a Gibsono, et hactenus inexplicati, quorum unum de
certo affirmo, esse saltem Aedi Regis Hiberniæ, qui floruit ab anno 863 ad 879. Is enim
ultimus fuit istius nominis, et nummi characteres sunt AED—RII—MIDIN. *i. e. AED
REX MIDENSIUM*—Monendi sunt Scriptores nostri, ne, absque gravissima causa,
ab his Annalibus discedant ; recentiores sunt qui tempora, et nomina Regum miser-
rime confundunt. Asserere non vereor, neminem adhuc, ea qua decet doctrina, et
diligentia, de re nostra numismatica scripsisse. Plurimi sibi nomen Antiquarii arro-
gare student, pauci merentur."—*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, tom. iv. pp. 262, 263.

I may here remark, however, that Dr. O'Conor is in error in as-
cribing this coin, the legend on which plainly reads RII MIDIN, i. e.
KING OF MEATH, to the monarch Aedh Finnliath, for that prince,
who was the head of the northern Hy-Niall, and had been king of
Aileach, or Ulster, before he became monarch, was never king of
Meath ; and if he had struck this coin when monarch of Ireland,
it would have borne a different legend. This coin, which certainly
bears an Irish type, may, with far greater probability, be ascribed to
Aedh, the son of Maelruanaidh, who was the thirty-second king of
Meath of the southern Hy-Niall race, and was slain by his relative
Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, about the year 922, after a reign of one
year.

But, without attaching much weight to these facts, I would ask,
is it fair to ascribe all those ruder and more antique-looking coins,
which are often without inscriptions, and when inscribed hitherto un-
intelligible, to the Danish rather than to the Irish princes,—or, to sup-
pose them, if struck by Irish princes,—as is sometimes conceded,—to
be but bungling imitations of the better minted coins of their invaders,
struck at so late a period as the eleventh and twelfth centuries ? To

me it seems at least as fair to ascribe such pieces to the Irish as
to the Danes, and I think that the probability is greater that their
antiquity is anterior to that of the well-minted money with legible
legends than posterior to it. But, whatever uncertainty there may
be as to the true originators and exact date of those heavier coins,
which agree in weight with the Saxon and other *pennies*, or *deniers*,
of the middle ages, it appears to me that the real *pennies* of Ireland,
—the bracteate pieces of seven grains,—have, at present, every claim
to an Irish origin, or at least to an origin not immediately derived
from either the Danes or Saxons. They do not seem to have been
immediately derived from the Saxons, because that people appear to
have had no such money,—at least, none such has been as yet found;
nor could they have been derived from the Danes, if the generally
received opinion be true, that they derived their knowledge of money
from the Saxons; and it may be remarked, that the earliest bracteate
coins struck in Denmark are those of Harold, 945. It is true that the
name *penning*, or *pinginn*, applied to these pieces by the Irish, seems
to be of Teutonic origin, and it might have been derived from the
Saxons by the Irish, though applied to a piece differing, not indeed
in size, but in weight and thickness, from the Saxon *penning*. And
till continental bracteates be found of earlier date than those whose
ages are now determined, this would seem the most probable conclu-
sion, as the derivation of the name from the Irish language, given by
Cormac in the ninth century, clearly shows that the word must have
been long in use in the country at the time, and could not have been
adopted into the language from a recent introduction of this descrip-
tion of money by the Danes.

That these coins are indeed of Irish mintage is the opinion of Mr.
Lindsay; but, while he allows the merit of striking the bracteate
pieces to the Irish princes, from the absence of any resemblance
between their types and those found on the Danish coins, he comes
to the conclusion,—from a resemblance which, he thinks, he dis-
covers between their types and those of the English pennies sub-
sequent to the reign of William I.,—that their dates should be
assigned to the early part of the thirteenth century. His words are:

" A comparison of these types, with those of the English coins, to which I have
drawn the attention of the reader, will lead us to conclude, that they have been in
general copied from English coins, commencing with William I. or II., and ending

with John, or perhaps Henry III., and to assign as the probable period of their min-
tage, the early part of the thirteenth century ; and as the Danes had then no power
over, or intercourse with Ireland, it is not likely they were struck by that people,
and still less by the English, who had then a very different coinage of their own, and
never appear to have struck Bracteate coins in their own country ; and we may there-
fore, conclude, that they are genuine and unquestionable specimens of the coins of the
native Irish princes, and although a very poor description of coin, highly interesting,
as forming a distinct and hitherto unknown class, in the annals of the coinage of Ire-
land."— *View of the Coinage of Ireland*, p. 24.

As examples of bracteate coins, in which Mr. Lindsay finds this
imitation of the types on the coins of Stephen, Harold, and Henry I.,
I annex engravings of three bracteates, formerly in the collection of
the Dean of St. Patrick's, and now in the Museum of the Royal Irish
Academy, the two former of which have been given by Mr. Lindsay
in Plate IV. of his work :
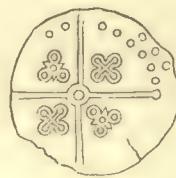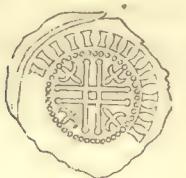
I confess, however, that I can see no such resemblance between these,
or any other Irish bracteates, and Anglo-Norman prototypes, as would
authorize the conclusion at which Mr. Lindsay arrives.   That amid
a great variety of types, consisting of crosses, and having smaller
ornaments within their angles, a few should bear some resemblance
to types found on the reverses of coins of the Anglo-Norman kings,
is not to be wondered at ; it would be strange, indeed, if some such
coincidence did not occasionally occur : but it is too much to infer
from a remote similarity, which may be purely accidental, that all
those Irish bracteates, which present no such similarity of type, must
be of cotemporaneous date with those in which Mr. Lindsay thinks he
discovers it ; and he is obliged himself to acknowledge
that he has found nothing like the type on one of those
bracteates, except on coins of Offa, 757, and Coenwulf,
794. In the bracteate piece represented in the annexed
engraving, the original of which also is in the Dawson
Collection, we have an unequivocal example of that type, which may
be regarded as peculiarly Irish ; and that Mr. Lindsay could find no

resemblance between this coin and any of those of the Anglo-Norman kings, we have sufficient evidence in the fact that he publishes it without a comment. In like manner, if we compare the bracteate pieces, found in the Tower of Kildare, with the coins of the Saxon and Anglo-Norman kings, we shall find that they bear the greatest resemblance, in two instances, at least, to coins of Eadwald and the Mercian kings, Offa and Coenwulf, as in the annexed examples :

and this appears to me to point to the true date of those pieces. I am aware, indeed, that an objection may be made to the antiquity I thus assign to them, from the double cross which appears upon one of them, inasmuch as the double cross is not found on the Anglo-Saxon coins of the heptarchic Kings, nor indeed on those of the sole monarchs earlier than the time of Ethelred II. But, as I have already shown that the type on some of the coins of Ethelred is itself most probably derived from Ireland, no conclusion, I think, can be fairly grounded on this circumstance. There is scarcely a variety of cross, which is not to be found as a typical ornament in our most ancient manuscripts, even in those of the sixth century, as well as on our ancient sepulchral monuments anterior to the tenth; and among these a double cross is of the most common occurrence ; it is, therefore, but natural to expect that the Irish would use on their coins the same variety of crosses as they employed on their sepulchral and other ornamented monuments.

In fine, it appears to me that the conclusion so generally adopted, that the Irish owed the use of minted money to the Danes, is wholly gratuitous, and rests on no firmer basis than do those opinions, which assign the erection of our ancient churches, stone crosses, and other monuments, to that people,—opinions, which I shall prove to be utterly erroneous. It is quite certain that the Danes minted money in Ireland, not indeed, as is supposed, in the ninth century, but in the tenth and eleventh; however, as they do not appear to have previously coined money in their own country, and as the types on what

seem to be their earliest coins, struck in Ireland, do not appear to
have been borrowed from the earlier or cotemporaneous Anglo-Saxon
coins, but from the still ruder money without inscriptions, found
abundantly in Ireland, it seems to me a more natural and philosophical
induction,—and more in accordance with the historical evidences
which I have adduced,—that such rude pieces are generally of Irish
mintage, and anterior to the Danish irruptions, than that they are
Danish, or Irish imitations, cotemporaneous with, or of a later age
than the better minted coins of the Danes.

I think it probable, however, that the *pinginns*, or bracteates, are
of greater antiquity in Ireland than the *screpalls*, as they appear to
have been in Germany, Sweden, and Denmark : and am also of
opinion that those rude pieces without legends, whether *screpalls* or
pinginns, were very probably for the most part, if not wholly, eccle-
siastical,—their types having usually a religious character, and being
most commonly found in the localities of ancient ecclesiastical esta-
blishments : as for instance, that curious hoard of coins found at
Glendalough in 1639, of which Sir James Ware published a few ex-
amples, and concerning which Ledwich remarks, that " the mintage is
extremely rude, and bespeaks the infancy of the art, and the unskil-
fulness of the workman." But, according to this learned writer these
coins must have been Danish,—and why ? Because, " As it [Glen-
dalough] was built by the Danes, and much resorted to for devotion,
we cannot admire at finding much of their money there." These as-
sertions of Doctor Ledwich are really amusing. It was truly a sin-
gular species of devotion which these pious warriors exhibited at
Glendalough,—built, according to Doctor Ledwich, by themselves,
in the ninth century,—that they plundered and devastated it in the
years 830, 833, 886, 977, 982, 984, 985, 1016 ! I should also notice,
as another remarkable instance of the discovery of coins at a cele-
brated religious establishment, the " *minores denarii*, quasi oboli,"
—most probably the bracteate pennies, found near Kilcullen in 1305,
of which mention is made in an Exchequer record of 33 Edw. I.—
See *Harris's Ware*, vol. ii. p. 206. According to M. Schœpflin, the
ecclesiastical bracteates were the most common in Germany, where
they were known by the same name as in Ireland : " Ce sont les
monnoies de cette espèce qu'on trouve designées dans les chartes
d'Allemagne, sous le nom de *panningi*, dérivé du mot Tudesque

pfenning."—*Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* tom. xxiii. p. 218.

If these arguments have any weight, it will not perhaps be an improbable conjecture,—that the bracteate *pinginns,* or *pennings,* found at Kildare, were ecclesiastical coins minted there. And, in connexion with this conjecture, it may be worthy of remark, that in the Irish Annals at the year 962, where it is stated that a vast number of the seniors and ecclesiastics of Kildare had been made captives by the Danes, it is added that they were redeemed by Niall O'Heruilbh,—who was probably the Erenach of the place, though of Danish descent, as his name would seem to indicate,—with his own money. The passage is thus given in the Annals of Ulster:

" A. D. 963. Ceall vapa vo apcain vo Ʒallaıb, reo mırepabıle [mıpabılı] pıecace mırepcur erc cpıa Hıall h-U n-Epuılb, pevempcır omnıbur clepıcır pene ppo nomıne Domını, .ı. lán ın vaıʒı moıp Sancc Ópıʒcı, 7 lan ın vepéaıʒı ır é vo puaʒell Hıall vııb vıa apʒac rerın."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Conor:

" A. D. 963. Kildaria spoliata ab Alienigenis, sed miserabili pietate [mirabili] misertus est Niall, filius Erulbii, redemptis omnibus Clericis pene, pro nomine Domini, i. e. quotquot capere potuit domus magna S. Brigidæ, et Nosocomium, quos emit Niall ab eis, pretio argenti, eodem tempore."

The preceding translation by Dr. O'Conor is not, however, strictly correct, for the words apʒac rerın, which he renders, *pretio argenti, eodem tempore,* should be expressed by *propriis pecuniis,* and it is so rendered by Colgan in his translation of the record of this transaction, given in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 962, as follows :

" A. D. 962. Ceall vapa vo apccaın vo Ʒhallaıb, 7 bpoıo móp vo rpuıéıb 7 vo cléıpéıb vo ʒabáıl vóıb ann, 7 Hıall Ua h-Epuılb vıa b-ruapclav. Lán an coıʒe móıp Sancc Ópıʒve, 7 lán an vepéıʒe ar eav vo puaıéıll Hıall víob vıa apʒav booéın."

" A. D. 962. Nortmanni Kildariam fœdè depopulati, seniorum & Ecclesiasticorum plurimos captivos tenuerunt : ex quibus tot personas *proprijs pecuniis* redemit Nellus Oherluibh, quot in magna S. Brigidæ domo, & Ecclesia simul consistere poterant."—*Trias Thaum.,* p. 630.

But whether the money here referred to was minted at Kildare or not, it is certain that ecclesiastical money was in use in Ireland at a later period, as it is stated in Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise that money was coined there in the year 1170. This

was in the reign of Roderic O'Conor; but we learn from the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, an authority of great value, that money was also minted there in the reign of his father Turlogh; and it is by no means improbable that money was coined there at a much earlier period, though the records of such mintages have not been preserved, or at least not yet discovered.

On the whole, then, I have, I trust, adduced sufficient evidences to show the great probability, if not absolute certainty, that coined money was in use in Ireland previously to the Danish irruptions, and that the discovery of bracteate *pinginns* in the Round Tower of Kildare,—which there is every reason to believe were placed there, either accidentally or by design, cotemporaneously with its original erection,—affords no presumption at variance with the antiquity which I am disposed to assign to that edifice, or to the style of architecture which it exhibits, namely, the close of the eighth, or beginning of the ninth century, when the description of the church of Kildare was written by Cogitosus. Indeed, were I disposed to venture on assigning this doorway to an earlier period, nay, even to the age of St. Bridget, to which the legend in Cambrensis would seem to refer it, there is, I think, nothing in its style of architecture which would invalidate such a supposition, as there is no feature in its decorations of which earlier examples may not be found in the corrupted architecture of Greece and Rome. Of the triangular, or rather ogived label, or canopy, which appears above the architrave or semicircular moulding on its external face, an example is found over a semi-circular-headed doorway of a temple on a coin of the Emperor Licinius, A. D. 301; and another example, exhibiting an ogived or contrasted arch, occurs in the Syriac MS. of the Gospels, transcribed in the year 586, and preserved in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence. Of the chevron moulding, which ornaments the architrave of the second of the two recessed arches, abundant examples are found, as ornaments on arch mouldings, in the Syriac MS. already referred to; and a remarkable example of the use of this ornament on a very ancient arch at Chardak, in Syria, is noticed by the Rev. Mr. Arundel in his *Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 103: it is also figured as an arch ornament in the exquisitely executed illuminations in the Book of Kells,—a manuscript copy of the Gospels, undoubtedly of the sixth century, which, as I have already noticed, is now preserved in

the Library of Trinity College, Dublin ; and I need hardly remark,
that it also appears as a frequent decoration on the mouldings which
cap the Corinthian modillions in the palace of Dioclesian at Spalatro,
erected between the years 290 and 300.   In like manner, of the
lozenge pannelling, enriched with rosettes, which decorates the soffit
of the innermost recessed arch, examples are found on the fragments
of Roman architecture discovered in the subterranean galleries of
Poitiers,—which fragments the most eminent antiquaries of France
consider to be of the close of the third century.—See *Mémoires de
la Societé des Antiquaries de l' Ouest*, tome premier, p. 57.

To the preceding remarks I should add, that this interesting
doorway is built of a hard, siliceous sandstone, of light colour, and
that the ornaments are carved in very low relief.   Its general form
may be described as consisting originally of four concentric arches,
one recessed beyond the other, and resting on round pilasters, or
semi-columns, with flat imposts or capitals.   The ornaments on the
external arch have been long destroyed, and their place was supplied
with rude masonry at the commencement of the last century.   The
ornaments on the recessed arches are also much injured, and the
fourth, or innermost arch, is the only one now remaining in tolerable
preservation.   The external arch is seven feet two inches in height,
and three feet eight inches in width ; the second arch is six feet ten
inches in height, and three feet two inches in width ; the third arch
is six feet seven inches in height, and two feet ten inches in width ;
and the fourth, or innermost arch, is five feet eight inches in height,
two feet one inch in width, and one foot three inches in depth.   The
entire depth of the doorway, or thickness of the wall, is four feet ;
and the height of its floor from the ground is fifteen feet.   The floor
of this doorway is raised by a step of eight inches in height at the
innermost arch, and it is probable that the other divisions may have
been raised above each other by similar steps, as I shall presently
show an example of such an arrangement in a doorway of similar
construction.

The opinions which I have thus ventured to express as to the
age of the doorway of the Round Tower of Kildare, and consequently
as to the antiquity, in Ireland, of the style of architecture which it
exhibits, will, I think, receive additional support from the agreement
of many of its ornaments with those seen in the better preserved, if

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not more beautiful, doorway of the Round Tower of Timahoe, in the Queen's County,—a doorway which seems to be of cotemporaneous erection, and which, like that of Kildare, exhibits many peculiarities, that I do not recollect to have found in buildings of the Norman times, either in England or Ireland. The general appearance of this doorway will be seen in the annexed sketch:

As this doorway, which is the finest of its kind remaining in Ireland, is of the highest interest, not only on account of the richness, and, as I conceive, antiquity of its decorations, but also from its high state of preservation, it will be desirable that I should endeavour to illustrate its several features as clearly as possible, both by drawings and verbal descriptions.

This doorway, like that of Kildare, is formed of a hard siliceous sandstone, and may be described as consisting of two divisions, separated from each other by a deep reveal, and presenting each a double compound recessed arch, resting on plain shafts with flat capitals. As in the doorway of the Tower of Kildare, the carving is all in very low relief, and its height from the ground is the same with that of the doorway of that Tower, namely, fifteen feet. The general

arrangement of its several compartments will be best understood from the annexed ground plan, to which I add a vertical section, to show the manner in which the floor rises towards the interior by a succession of three steps.

On its external face the outer arch rests on a sill projecting from the face of the wall, and is ornamented on each side with two semicolumns and other mouldings. The capitals of the shafts are decorated with human heads; and the bases, which are in better preservation than the capitals, present, at their alternate eastern angles, a similar human head, and, at their alternate western angles, a figure not unlike an hour-glass. The architrave, on its external face, is more simply decorated, but on its soffit it presents an ornament, which may be described as a pellet and bead moulding, as shown in the annexed sketch. The measurement of the shafts of this external arch, including the bases and capitals, is five feet eight inches. The breadth, at the spring of the arch, is three feet nine inches, and at the base, four feet; and the entire height of the arch is seven feet six inches. The jambs of this outer division splay by an obtuse angle to the second or recessed arch, which is ornamented somewhat similarly to the first, except that the soffit of the arch is more highly enriched, presenting a diagonal panneling, which forms a chevron moulding at its corners. The jambs of this second arch, which are one foot three inches in width, are rounded into semi-columns at their angles; and, though their bases present no decorations, their imposts, or capitals,—if such they may be called, which are more of the nature of friezes,—are ornamented
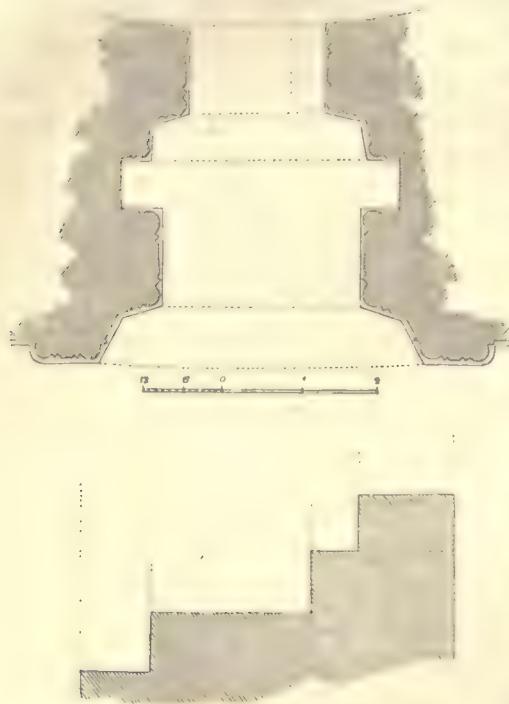
in a very elegant style of design, and are fortunately in a high state of preservation.   These jambs, including the bases and capitals, are five feet in height, and one foot three inches in depth.   The width of the arch at top is two feet six inches, and at bottom two feet nine inches; and the entire height from the floor to the vertex of the arch is six feet three inches.   The floor of this recessed arch, or sub-arch, is raised by a step nine inches in height above the external one.

Of the capitals, or impost mouldings, that at the west side presents at each angle a human head, with thick moustache, lank whiskers, and curling, flowing beard.   The hair of each head is divided in the middle of the forehead; and, passing over the ear, forms, by a mutual interlacing in the intervening space, a kind of cross of complicated and graceful tracery.

The capitals on the east side present a design, similar, but differing in some of the details,—the whiskers of the heads being curled, and the interlacing of the hair forming a cross, less complicated but equally graceful.
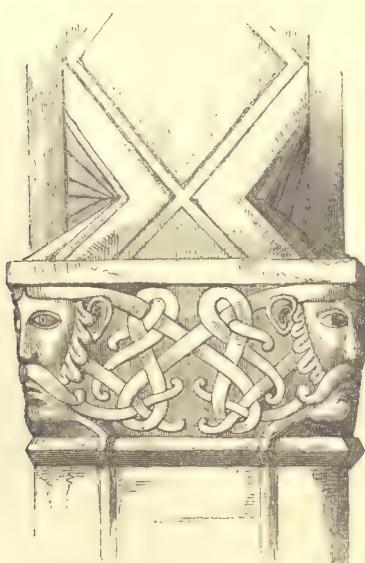
The reveal, which divides the outer compound archway from the inner one, is on each side six inches in depth, and seven inches and a quarter in breadth, and is without ornament of any kind; but the inner compound archway is equally ornamented with the outer one.   Like the outer archway, this compartment consists of two parts, or concentric arches, the floors of which, like those of the outer archway, rise over each other by steps nine inches in height.   The front arch of this division is four feet three inches in height, from its floor to the spring of the arch, seven inches in depth, and five feet six inches in height, from the floor to the vertex of the

arch. Its width is two feet six inches at the capitals, and two feet nine inches at the bases. The inner arch, or sub-arch, measures one foot six inches in width at its capitals, and one foot nine inches at its bases, and four feet four inches, in height, from the floor to the vertex of the arch. The jambs are three feet seven inches in height, and one foot three inches in breadth. At the base of the jamb on the west side there is a fourth step, nine inches in height and five in breadth, and running parallel with the wall; but its use it would now be difficult to conjecture.

The outer division of this inner archway, as in the first compound archway already described, presents a semi-column at each of its angles, with a human head as a capital. The head at the west side exhibits the hair arranged in massive curls over the forehead, while the space at the back of the head and under the cheek is filled with a flowery interlaced ornament, which springs from an angular moulding at each side of the semi-circular shaft, as shown above. The head, forming the capital at the east side, exhibits the hair divided over the forehead, a plain moustache, and

the hair arranged in straight plaits under the chin, from ear to ear, as shown in the annexed wood-cut.

The bases of the shafts present an equal dissimilarity in design as the capitals. That on the west side ex-hibits above the plinth an ornament, in de-pressed relief, of the figure represented in the annexed drawing, and over it a human head rudely carved in low relief, having the moustache and beard arranged in stiff and straight plaits. The base of the correspond-ing shaft at the east side is less ornamented, and exhibits a sort of bulbous figure resting on a high plinth, as sufficiently shown in the general view of this doorway, given in p. 234. The architrave of this arch is without orna-ment on its face, but its archivolt is richly decorated with a triple-chevron moulding. The sub-arch, or recessed division of this archway, is sculptured in a style altogether different from that of the outer archway, being not in relief, as are all the other carv-

ings of this interesting remain, but in depressed lines, and of a sim-pler design. The jambs are rounded into semicircular shafts at both their angles. The ornaments on the capitals are carried from the

true capital to its abacus, as shown in the preceding engraving. The bases of the semicircular shafts at the angles are bulbous figures, like that already de-scribed on the eastern shaft of the outer archway; and the intermediate spaces are ornamented with crosses, formed by a check in alternate depression and relief, as shown in the annexed engraving.

The architrave of this archway presents a simple round moulding, with angular fillets on each side, and the soffit is carved into lozenge pannels.

Though I cannot in this, as in the preceding instance, adduce any historical evidence in support of the antiquity of the doorway,—for I
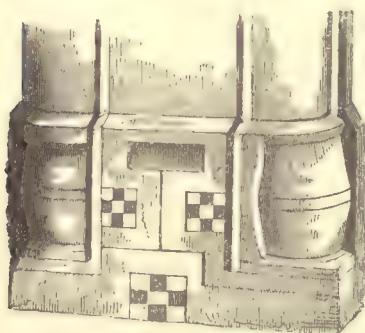
should be afraid to venture on ascribing its erection to the time of St. Mochua, the original founder and patron saint of Timahoe, who flourished, not indeed in the fifth century, as Archdall erroneously states, but in the sixth,—yet it will, I think, be seen that it presents no architectural features differing from those in the doorway of the Round Tower of Kildare, which are not obviously derived, like the latter, from the debased Roman architecture of the Lower Empire, and which it would be hazardous in the extreme to deny may be of a very early age,—earlier, at least, than any Norman examples of the kind, noticed as remaining in England.

Of capitals decorated with human heads we have examples as old as the sixth century, in the Syriac MS. of the Gospels already referred to. They are used in the earliest examples of Romanesque architecture in the German churches, of which a beautiful example, remarkable for its similarity in design to some of those at Timahoe, is found in St. Ottmar's Chapel at Nürnberg, assigned to the tenth century.

Of the bulbous, or tun-shaped bases, an example may be seen on a representation of a temple, figured on a coin of the tyrant Maxentius; and their similarity in style of design to the rude baluster columns of the oldest Saxon churches in England, as those of Bricksworth and Earlsbarton in Northamptonshire, can scarcely fail to strike the architectural antiquary. The strongest evidence in favour of the antiquity of this doorway may, however, be drawn from the construction and general style of the Tower, as in the fine-jointed character of the ashlar work in the doorway and windows; and still more in the straight-sided arches of all the windows, which, with the exception of a small quadrangular one, perfectly agree in style with those of the most ancient churches and Round Towers in Ireland, and with those of the churches in England now considered as Saxon.

In the opinions which I have thus hazarded,—so opposite to the

generally, if not universally adopted conclusions of eminent historical antiquaries, as to the civilization of the Irish previously to the Danish irruptions, and still more, of architectural antiquaries, as to the antiquity of ornamental architecture in the British Islands,—I am sensitively aware that I am running the greatest danger of being deemed rash and visionary. But confiding, as I do, in the honesty of my purpose, which is solely to inquire after truth in a spirit of candour, such an anticipation presents to me no terrors; and I feel confident that those who are best qualified to judge of the difficulties of my undertaking will not censure the expression of opinions, however novel, which are offered for consideration in such a spirit, and which, even if erroneous, being based on evidences which I submit to be tested by the learned, must equally tend to the discovery of truth, as if they had been themselves incontrovertible.

Impressed, as I am, with the conviction that the style of architecture variously denominated by antiquaries Romanesque, Tudesque, Lombardic, Saxon, Norman, and Anglo-Norman, belongs to no particular country, but, derived from the corrupted architecture of Greece and Rome, was introduced wherever Christianity had penetrated,—assuming various modifications according to the taste, intelligence, and circumstances of different nations,—I think it only natural to expect that the earliest examples of this style should be found in a country supereminently distinguished, as Ireland was, for its learning, and as having been the cradle of Christianity to the north-western nations of Europe, in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Neither should it, I think, be a matter of wonder that more abundant examples of this style, though on a small scale,— such as might be expected in a kingdom composed of many petty, and nearly independent lordships,—should remain in Ireland, than in those more prosperous and wealthy countries, in which such humble structures would necessarily give place to edifices of greater size and grandeur.

The supposition that the style of architecture exhibited in some of the Irish Round Towers,—as shown in the preceding instances,— and in many of the churches, of which I shall presently adduce examples, was derived from the Anglo-Normans, is one in the highest degree improbable : in the general form, size, and arrangement of these Irish churches there is to be found as little agreement with the

great Norman churches, as there is in our Round Towers with their square ones. An equal and a more important dissimilarity will be found in their ornamental details; and I must greatly deceive myself if those exhibited in the Irish churches will not be acknowledged as indicating an antiquity far less removed from the classical model. The theory advanced by Dr. Ledwich,—which had great influence in its day,—that our most ancient ornamented architectural remains should be ascribed to the Danes, appears to me still more objectionable, and scarcely worthy of notice. It is utterly opposed to the history of both nations. There is not a single authenticated monument of the Danes in Ireland, or in their own country, which would support such a conclusion; and any knowledge of the Christian arts, which the Danes possessed, must have been derived from the people from whom they received the doctrines of Christianity. Neither could I easily believe that the architectural remains, of which I shall presently adduce examples, any more than the two I have just noticed, were erected during the sway of that people in Ireland. Their domination in this country was a reign of terror, and, as the oldest of our annalists says, " second only to the tyranny of hell." No place was so sacred as to afford a refuge from their sacrilegious fury. They carried fire and devastation into the Christian communities, seated in the most secluded valleys, and on the most remote islands; and it could hardly have been during such a period of calamity that the ecclesiastics would have employed themselves in the erection of buildings of a more costly character, and requiring more time to complete them, than those already existing in the country. I do not deny, however, that some buildings, and these too of an ornamented character, may have been erected by the Irish, during those intervals of repose which followed the defeats of the Danes by Malachy I. in the ninth century, and by Brian and Malachy II. in the tenth; and particularly in such districts as were under the immediate protection of those vigorous and warlike monarchs. Of the erection of buildings in such places our annalists record a few instances; but the remains of these edifices, whenever they are to be found, are, as I shall hereafter show, different in character from those of whose erection we have no direct evidence, and which I am disposed to refer to earlier times.

But if we are without absolutely conclusive historical evidences to

prove the age of such churches, exhibiting ornamented architecture, as are presumed to be anterior to the Danish devastations, there is, at least, no want of such historical evidences as will strongly support such a conclusion; and the early antiquity which I have ventured to assign to the ornamented doorways of the Towers of Kildare and Timahoe, will derive much probability from a comparison of their details with those of the ancient ornamented church at Rathain, or Rahin, near Tullamore, in the King's County,—details, which would appear to be of the same age, and which, from historical evidence, there is every reason to believe to be of the eighth century.

Of this building, which is still used as a parish church, the chancel only appears to be ancient, and even this has suffered the loss of its original east window. The chancel arch, however, still remains, as also a circular window richly ornamented, which lighted a chamber placed between the chancel and the roof. The chancel is stone-roofed, as we may well believe the entire church to have been originally. It is in the ornaments of the chancel archway, however, that the similarity in design and execution to those in the Tower of Timahoe is chiefly found. This archway, as will be seen from the annexed drawing, consists of three rectangular piers at each side, rounded at their angles into semi-columns, which support three semi-circular arches entirely unornamented, except by a plain architrave on the external

one. The capitals, on which the greatest richness of ornament is found, are those on the third, or innermost of these piers at each side ; and,

like those at Timahoe, these ornaments, though similar in design, are dissimilar in detail, and their bases differ in like manner. The resemblance of these ornaments to those at Timahoe will, I think, be at once obvious. The height of the piers in this archway, from the floor to the spring of the arches, is six feet five inches ; and to the vertex of the innermost arch, ten feet two inches.

Though not essentially necessary to my purpose in this comparison, I trust I shall be excused for introducing in this place a more detailed notice of the remarkable round window already referred to, and which seems to me to be not only the most curious of its kind remaining in the British Isles, but also, I have little doubt, the most ancient.

As the details of this window will be sufficiently seen in the illustration given on next page, it is only necessary to remark, that the ornaments are in very low relief, or, as I might say, *inciso*, or in hollow ; and that it measures about seven feet six inches in the external diameter of the circle, and is placed at the height of about twenty-two feet from the ground. I should add, that the masonry throughout this interesting building is of a very superior character,—the stones, which are polygonal, being fitted to each other with the greatest neatness and art,—and that the material is the celebrated limestone of the district.

I have now to inquire into the probable age of this structure. The monastery of Rathain,—which Archdall and Lanigan erroneously place at Rathyne, in the barony of Fertullagh, and county of Westmeath,—was originally founded, about the close of the sixth century, by the celebrated St. Carthach, or Mochuda, afterwards the first bishop of Lismore. In this monastery, which became one of the most celebrated in Ireland, Carthach ruled, for a period of forty years,
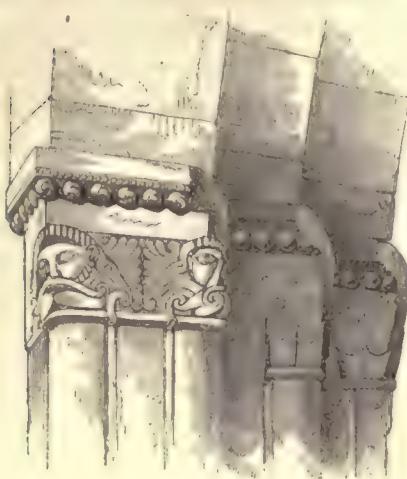
a community of monks, said to have flocked to him from various parts, both of Ireland and Great Britain, and which finally increased to the number of 867, all of whom provided for themselves and the poor by the labour of their hands. But, notwithstanding the sanctity of his character, the envy and jealousy of the monks or clergy of a neighbouring establishment effected the expulsion of himself and his monks from Rathain in the year 630, by the prince of the country, Blathmac, the son of the monarch Aedh Slaine; and, after having wandered for some time from place to place, he ultimately formed a second religious establishment, not less celebrated in our histories, at Lismore, which from his time became the seat of a bishop. St. Carthach died on the 14th of May, in the year 637, and was buried at Lismore.

It is not, however, to this distinguished man that I am disposed to attribute the erection of the present church at Rathain, but to one

who flourished nearly two centuries later, and whose name has been also venerated as that of the patron of the place,—an honour never paid to any but founders of churches. From the expressive silence of our annals, it would appear, that, after the expulsion of St. Carthach and his monks, there was no religious community settled at Rathain till towards the middle of the eighth century. Colgan, indeed, labours, on the doubtful and contradictory authority of some of the Irish Calendars, to fix here, as St. Carthach's successor, a St. Constantine, who, according to some, had been originally a king of the Britons, and to others, a king of the Picts. But the evidences adduced in support of this statement are wholly insufficient to establish its truth; and the first abbot of Rathain after St. Carthach, who appears in our authentic annals, is St. Fidhairle Ua Suanaigh, whose name appears in the Irish Calendars at the 1st of October, and who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, died on the 1st of October, in the year 758, but more correctly, according to the accurate Annals of Tighernach, in 763. And that this Ua Suanaigh was the founder of a new establishment at Rathain appears sufficiently plain from the fact, that, in the Irish Annals, the later abbots of Rathain are not called successors of St. Carthach, but of Ua Suanaigh, as in the following instances, from the Annals of Clonmacnoise and the Four Masters :

" A. D. 1113. Ɗιαρmαιττ Uα Ceαllαιჳ, comαρbα Uι Shuαnαιჳ, ɗ'ecc."

" A. D. 1113. Diarmaid Ua Ceallaigh, successor of Ua Suanaigh, died."

" A. D. 1136. Sαeρbρeταċ Uα Ceαllαιჳ, comαρbα Uι Suαnαιჳ, ɗ'ecc."

" A. D. 1136. Saerbhrethach Ua Ceallaigh, successor of Ua Suanaigh, died."

" A. D. 1139. Muιρċeρταċ Uα Mαoιlṁuαιɗ, τιჳeαρnα Peαρ ჳ-Ceαll, ɗo loρcαɗ ɗ' Peρoιb Ceαll, .ι. ɗo Uιb Ʌuαιnιṁ, ι τempull Rαιċne."

" A. D. 1139. Muirchertach O'Molloy, lord of Feara Ceall, was burned by the Feara Ceall themselves, namely, the O'Luainimhs, in the church of Rathain."

" A. D. 1141. Ɗoṁnαll, mαc Ruαιɗρι Uι Mhαoιlṁuαιɗ, τιჳeαρnα Peαρ ჳ-Ceαll, ɗo ṁαρbαɗ lα Muιnτιρ Ʌuαιnιṁ ι Rpαċαιn h-I Suαιnιჳ."

" A. D. 1141. Domhnall, son of Ruaidhri O'Molloy, lord of Feara Ceall, was slain by the Muintir Luainimh in Rathain Ui Suanaigh."

" A. D. 1153. Ʌαιnιcc ɗαn Ʌαɗჳ Uα bριαιn co n-α floċċαιb co Rαιċιn Uι Shuαnαιჳ h-ι foιριċιn Chonnαċτ, &c."

" A. D. 1153. Tadhg O'Brien marched with his forces to Raithin Ui Shuanaigh to relieve Connacht, &c."

" A. D. 1166. Ɉιollα nα nαoṁ Uα Ceαllαιჳ, comαρbα Uι Shuαnαιჳ h-ι Rατhαιn, ɗ'ecc."

" A. D. 1166. Giolla na naomh O'Ceallaigh, successor of Ua Suanaigh at Rathain, died."

I may also mention, as a fact corroborative of this conclusion, that an ancient stone cross at Rathain, which was probably erected as well to mark the bounds of the sanctuary, as for a memorial of the re-erection of the churches there, was called Ua Suanaigh's Cross, as appears from a very curious notice in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 35, p. *b*, relative to the punishment by death and forfeiture of lands of some families of the Cineal Fiacha, for violating the guarantee of Ua Suanaigh, and offering insult to his cross.

If then to these evidences we add the fact, that the Irish authorities are silent as to the re-erection of churches at Rathain at a later time, or as to any devastations by the Danes that would create a necessity for such re-erection, the inference is, I think, only natural, that this church, as its style of ornament seems to me to indicate, was erected about the middle of the eighth century.

In addition to the church which I have now noticed, there are also at Rahin the ruins of two smaller churches, which attest its for-

mer importance; and it is not improbable that there anciently existed here a group of seven small churches, such as are usually found at other celebrated religious establishments in Ireland. Of these churches, one is greatly dilapidated, and retains no ornamented feature; but the other, which is nearly entire, is worthy of an ampler notice in this place, on account of its very perfect and beautiful doorway, the ornaments of which, though possibly not of equal age with those of the principal church, already described, indicate at least a very considerable antiquity. The general architectural character of this doorway will be sufficiently understood from the preceding engraving, from which it will also be seen that its jambs have the inclination inwards, so characteristic of the earlier Irish architecture.

In height, this doorway measures, externally, five feet four inches from the bases to the tops of the imposts, and six feet seven inches to the vertex of the arch; and in width, two feet six inches between the capitals, and two feet nine inches between the bases. In form, the church is a simple oblong, measuring externally thirty-nine feet by twenty-three; and its massive polygonal masonry is of the earliest Christian style. It was lighted by two windows, one, as usual, in the centre of the east wall, and the other at the upper end of the south wall: the former is quite ruined, and the latter is a restoration of the fifteenth century. It is built throughout of the limestone of the district, and the ornaments on its doorway are remarkable for their sharpness and beauty of execution. As is usual in the architecture of this class, the ornaments on the bases of the semi-columns differ in their details, those on the south side being plain mouldings, while those on the north present the figure of a serpent, as shown in the accompanying engraving.
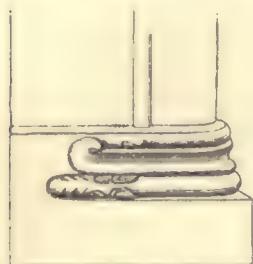
To the same age as the remains at Rahin, we may, I think, with every appearance of probability, assign the interesting fragments,—for we unfortunately possess no more,—which remain in the sequestered valley of Glendalough. I have already, to some extent, laid before the reader the characteristic features of the more ancient and unornamented churches in this interesting locality: those which I have now to notice are obviously of a later age, but yet, as I conceive, anterior at least to the repetition, by the Danes, towards the

close of the tenth century, of those devastations, which had been committed in the ninth, namely, the interval between the years 886 and 977. These fragments belong to three churches, namely, 1. the small chapel or oratory, popularly called the Priest's House, or Priest's Church, from the circumstance of its having been used for a considerable period as a cemetery for the Roman Catholic clergy of the district; 2. the chancel of the Cathedral; 3. the chancel of the small abbey church, now popularly called the Monastery.

Of the first of these buildings there now unfortunately exist but very slight vestiges; but I am enabled to illustrate, to some extent, the ornamented portions of its architecture, as existing in 1779, by means of drawings, made for the late Colonel Burton Conyngham in that year, by three competent artists, Signor Bigari, Monsieur Beranger, and Mr. Stephens. The form of this small chapel was that of a simple oblong, measuring externally nineteen feet six inches in length, and twelve feet three inches in breadth. It was built with considerable art, and in a style of masonry quite different from that usually found in the most ancient churches of this country,—the stones being generally of small size, and the masonry around the door and window ashlar work.

The principal ornamented feature which distinguished this build-

ing, and to which I have seen nothing similar in any other Irish ecclesiastical remain, was an arched recess, placed on its east front, as represented in the prefixed copy of Beranger's drawing.
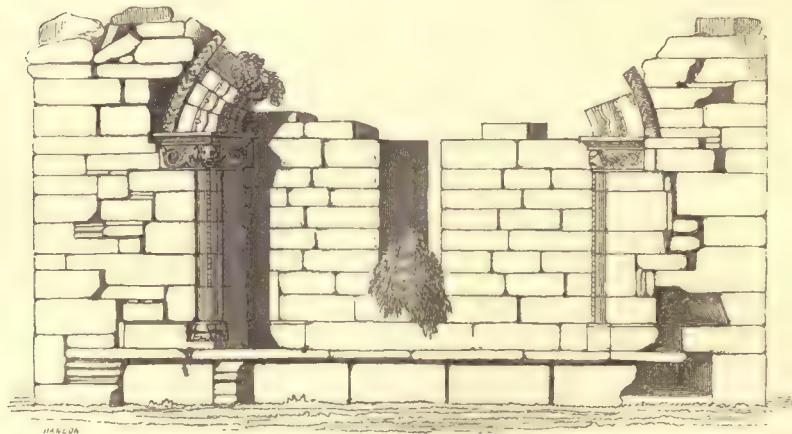
The arch, which, it will be seen, presented a well-decorated archi-

trave, rested on narrow columns with capitals equally enriched with
sculpture, and the recess, which it enclosed, was perforated in the
centre by a narrow, unornamented window, having obviously a semi-
circular head, but which was not in existence when the drawing
was made. The sides of this window were not, as is usual, inclined,
nor does it appear from the drawing that its jambs had the usual
internal splay; but the sides of the arch were splayed outwards, as
well as the arch itself. This arch measured, at its outer angles,
seven feet four inches in breadth, and six feet eleven inches in
height to its vertex. The semi-columns, or pilasters, were three
feet three inches in height, including the capitals, which measured
eight inches and a half, and the bases, which measured five inches.
The architrave was nine inches in breadth, including the cornice,
which was two inches.

The several features of this architectural front will appear from
the annexed engravings, all of which have been copied from Mon-
sieur Beranger's drawings, with the exception of the last, which has
been recently sketched from the fragments still remaining.

The two first represent the sculptures on the two faces or sides
of the capitals, which, it will be seen, are of unequal lengths, as well
as dissimilar design.

Dr. Ledwich, who has treated of the architectural ornaments
at Glendalough, has not offered any explanation of the artist's inten-
tion in these sculptures,—if he had any beyond a merely ornamental
one,—nor can I attempt to explain them : but I may remark that in
the latter the similarity of design which it presents to some of the
capitals of the doorway of the Round Tower of Timahoe can hardly

fail to strike the reader, and lead to the conclusion that they are, if not of the same age, at least of periods not very far removed from each other. The execution of this sculpture is, indeed, better, and the relief bolder than in those of Timahoe, but the idea is the same in both, namely, a tracery formed by the intertwining of the long hair of the head, which forms the proper capital of the column.

Of the engravings which follow, the first represents the ornaments on the face of the architrave and cornice, and I should observe that the archivolt had an ornament corresponding with that of the architrave; the second is a plan of the mouldings of the pilasters, or

4 Inches.
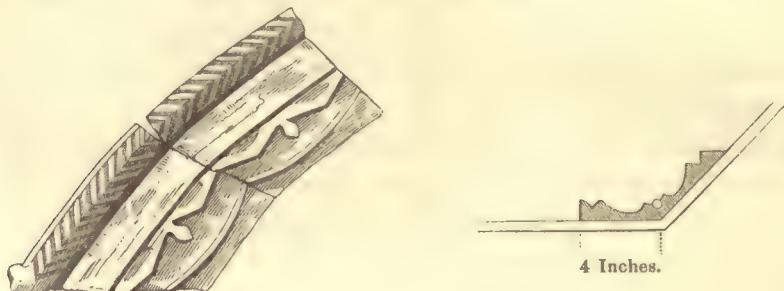
mouldings at the angles; and the third shows in detail the existing remains of these mouldings, with one of their bases.

The only other ornamented feature in this chapel was its doorway, which was placed in the south wall. This doorway, which was in a

ruined condition even when sketched by Colonel Conyngham's artists, was a simple oblong, one foot eight inches and a half in width, and about six feet in height, as we may conclude, for it was too much injured to be measured accurately. Though quite plain in its jambs, it was surmounted by a triangular pediment, in the tympanum of which, formed of a single stone, was the sculptured bas-relief represented in the annexed wood-cut, taken from a drawing recently made on the spot :

The stone is now broken, as marked in the drawing, but the two pieces are preserved in a neighbouring house. This is the only example of a pedimented lintel, which I have met with in Ireland, nor do I know of any other of the middle age architecture either in England or France, except one in the latter country, namely, over the Byzantine portal of the church of *Notre Dame du Port* at *Clermont-Ferrand*, and which is supposed to be of the eleventh century.—See *Les Arts au Moyen Age.*

I cannot pretend to explain the subject represented in this curious piece of sculpture, nor, indeed, is it essential to my purpose to do so; but, as Dr. Ledwich has seized upon it to support those peculiar prejudices, the exhibition of which so greatly disfigures his work, I feel it a duty, at least, to expose the errors, whether proceeding from ignorance or dishonesty, into which he has fallen, in his description of it. Dr. Ledwich says :

" Among the remnants of crosses and sculptures is a loose stone, shewing in relievo three figures. The one in the middle is a Bishop or Priest sitting in a chair, and holding a Penitential in his hand. On the right a Pilgrim leans on his staff, and on the left, a young man holds a purse of money to commute it for penance."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 177, second edition.

The conclusions drawn from these assertions have been ably answered by Dr. Lanigan in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. pp. 398, 399, and the preceding drawing will show that the assertions of Dr. Ledwich are utterly erroneous. Whether the principal or central figure be, as he says, a bishop or a priest, I cannot venture to determine, but I think it most probably represents a bishop,—and this, St. Kevin, the patron of the place. There can, however, be little, if any doubt, that the figure on the right, which Ledwich calls a pilgrim leaning on his staff, is also a bishop, or an abbot, holding his crozier, or pastoral staff, and that the figure on the left, which he describes as a young man holding a purse of money, is also an ecclesiastic, but of lower grade,—the αιρτιηe, or porter and bell-ringer, holding in his hand, not a purse of money, but a quadrangular bell, such as we see represented on many stone crosses in Ireland of the ninth and tenth centuries : and these figures appear to me to be of great value and interest as evidences of the early antiquity of the little building to which this sculpture belonged, for both the bell and the staff exhibit forms, which were unquestionably not in use in the twelfth century. The crozier is of the form of the simple shepherd's crook, as found in all the existing croziers of the primitive saints of the Irish Church, of which there are four specimens in my own collection; and that this form was no longer retained in the twelfth century is sufficiently proved by the crozier—also in my collection—of Cormac Mac Carthy, King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel, who founded the stone-roofed chapel at Cashel in the year 1129, which crozier exhibits the usual enriched circular head, characteristic of those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In like manner, the quadrangular-shaped bell, which appears in the hand of the other figure, exhibits that peculiar form which characterizes all the consecrated bells, which have been preserved in Ireland as having belonged to the celebrated saints of the primitive Irish Church ; and there is every reason to believe that this quadrangular form gave place to the circular one now in use, previously to the twelfth century. Indeed, we see a remarkable example of the transition to the latter form in a bell, formerly in the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick's, and now in the Museum of the Academy, which, as an inscription in the Irish character carved upon it clearly shows, is undoubtedly of the close of the ninth century.

Thus again in the diagonally-knotched band or fillet,—which encircles the head of the central figure, and which seems to be the base of a low mitre, of which the upper portion is obliterated,—we find an ornament very similar to that on a mitre represented on a sculptured figure of St. Leger, in bas-relief, given by Montfaucon, in his *Mon. Françoise*, tom. i. p. 347, and which that learned antiquary considers to be a work of the close of the seventh century.

If then to the evidences, which this interesting piece of sculpture affords in favour of the early antiquity of this little church, be added the Romanesque character of the ornaments, and the great improbability that a structure of this ornamental character would have been erected during that calamitous period when Glendalough was exposed to the frequent devastations of the Northmen, it will appear highly probable that it was erected either previously to the Danish irruptions, or, at least, during that period of repose already referred to, which intervened between the years 886 and 977.

I have next to notice the curious fragments of ornamented architecture, which were formerly to be seen in the chancel of the cathedral, but of which there is now scarcely a vestige remaining. As in the preceding instance, however, through the drawings made for Colonel Burton Conyngham, now in my possession, aided by sketches made by myself a few years since, I am enabled to preserve a tolerable memorial of these interesting features. These features are confined solely to the interior of the east window of the chancel,—of which a geometrical drawing is given in a preceding page,—and a sculptured fascia, or frieze, connected with it on either side.

Of the ornaments on the exterior face of this window, I have unfortunately no memorial, as they were wholly effaced previously to the visit of Colonel Conyngham's artists in 1779. The several fea-

tures on its interior face will be more distinctly seen in the annexed engravings of its details; of which the two first represent the sculptures on the frieze, as drawn by Monsieur Beranger; and I need scarcely add, that they appear obviously to be of cotemporaneous age with those of the Priest's House, already given :
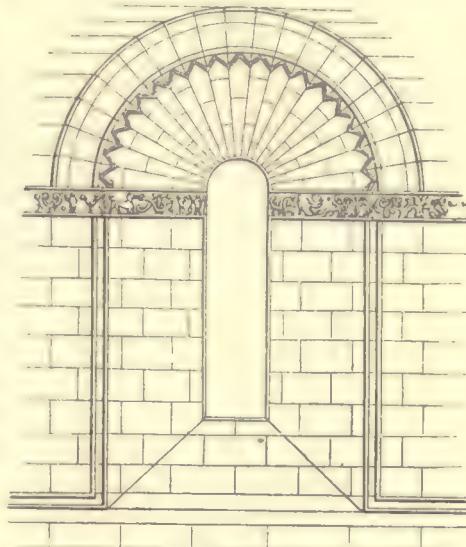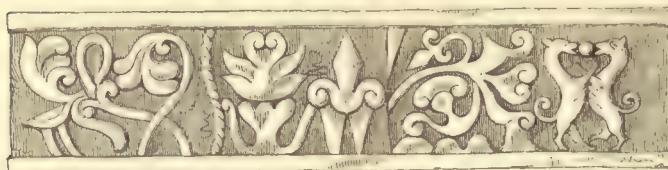
Of the illustrations which follow, the first represents the chevron moulding on the archivolt, and the second is a section of the pilasters.
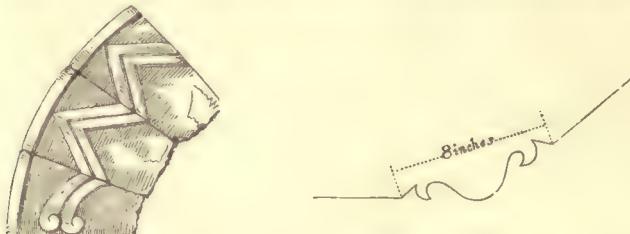
The height of this window, on its inner face, from the sill to the vertex of the arch, was fourteen feet, and its width six feet three inches; and externally it was about seven feet in height, and one foot in width. The pilasters, including their bases, were ten feet in height; and the capitals, or frieze, eight inches.

Dr. Ledwich, who is ingenious in his explanations of Irish allegorical devices, thus describes the sculptures on this frieze :

" The Eastern window is a round arch ornamented with a chevron moulding. The sculptures of the impost mouldings are legendary. On one part a dog is devouring a serpent. Tradition tells us, that a great serpent inhabited the lake, and it is at this day called Lochnapiast," [correctly *Loch na péiste*] " or the serpent loch, and being destructive of men and cattle was killed by St. Kevin. In another part the saint appears embracing his favourite Willow, and among the foliage may be discovered the medicinal apple."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, second edition, p. 176.

How far Dr. Ledwich may be right or wrong in the preceding explanations of these sculptures, I must leave the reader to determine, as I am myself unable to offer any elucidation of them.

That these features, and indeed the whole of the chancel, are of later age than the nave, or body of the church, will be at once obvious on an examination of the building. The greater antiquity of the nave, which, indeed, there is every reason to believe, if not of St. Kevin's time, is of an age very closely following it, is sufficiently indicated by the Cyclopean character of its masonry,—of which I have given an example at page 187,—and its massive doorway, placed in the centre of the west front, which is similar to some of the most ancient church doorways in Ireland, except that the weight upon the lintel is taken off by a semicircular arch, as shown in the annexed wood-cut:

Moreover, in the chancel there is no massive masonry in any part of the walls, and the stones, of which they are composed, seem all to have been boulders or surface stones; and those forming the quoins in the east angles are of granite, not mica slate,—the stone of the district,—as in the angles of the nave. Besides, the walls of the chancel

are not bonded into those of the nave, as they unquestionably would have been had both been built at the same time. In addition to these facts, I need only observe the extreme improbability, that the same architects, who introduced decorated architecture in and around the principal window, would leave the great entrance doorway without any ornament whatever.

The last, and perhaps most interesting of the ornamented architectural remains at Glendalough, which I have to notice, are those found in the chancel of the Church of the Monastery, situated about a mile to the east of the old city, and which is called by Archdall and other modern writers, but without sufficient authority, the Priory of St. Saviour. This small chancel, which was originally stone-roofed, had lain for ages concealed from observation, in consequence of the falling-in of the roof, until, about the year 1770, the rubbish was cleared out by Samuel Hayes, Esq., of Avondale, in the county of Wicklow. Its interior measurement is fifteen feet six inches in length, and eleven feet five inches in breadth, and the walls are three feet in thickness. At its east end it has a stone bench or seat, one foot eight inches in breadth, and extending the length of the wall, like that in the little chapel called the Priest's House, already described ; and at a distance of two feet from that seat stood an isolated stone altar,—since destroyed,—five feet in length, two feet eleven inches in breadth, and about four feet in height. In its south wall are three niches, one foot six inches in depth, one of which appears to have been for a piscina, and the two others were probably ambrys, or lockers. Of these niches the first is one foot six inches in breadth, the second two feet eight inches, and the third two feet four inches. At the upper end of the north wall there is a similar niche, but of smaller size, being only one foot four inches in breadth, and one foot two inches in depth. This chancel was lighted by a single window, placed in its east end; but this was destroyed previously to the year 1770.

The nave connected with this chancel, and which appears to have been without ornament, was about forty-two feet in length, and about twenty-six feet in breadth, and seems to have been entered by a doorway placed at the eastern extremity of the south wall, near the chancel arch. On its north side there appears to have been a range of apartments for the use of the officiating clergy of the place, but their divisional walls cannot now be traced.

The most interesting feature, however, of this curious structure is its chancel archway, of which only the piers with their semi-columns on each side remain; but a great number of the sculptured stones, which formed its compound arch, are still to be seen scattered about the cemetery. It is to be lamented, however, that many others of them have been carried away within the last few years; and as such barbarous devastation of these ruins is too likely to be continued,—since there is, unfortunately, no care taken to prevent it,—I feel it an imperative duty to preserve, so far as is in my power, every memorial of fragments so interesting to the history of art in this country.
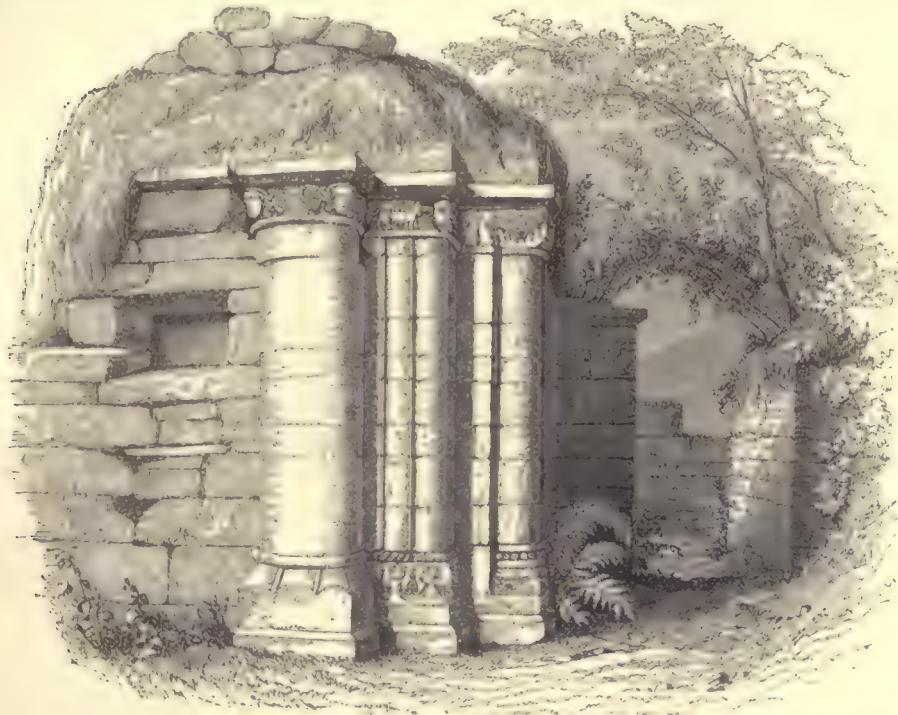
This archway is a compound one, consisting of three receding piers with semi-columns, the arrangement of which will be sufficiently understood from the prefixed illustration, recently drawn, and the ground-plan, which is given at the close of this description. Its breadth, at its innermost arch, is ten feet, and its height to the vertex was eleven feet: the height of the semi-columns is six feet one inch and a half, of which the capitals measure nine inches and a half, the shafts four feet, the bases eight inches, and the plinths eight inches.

2 L

The devices on the capitals on the south side are shown in the annexed details, of which the three first represent the faces of the

capital of the innermost recessed arch, marked A on the ground-plan; and the cut which follows, which is copied from a drawing of Beranger's, presents the whole of this design in a continuous line.
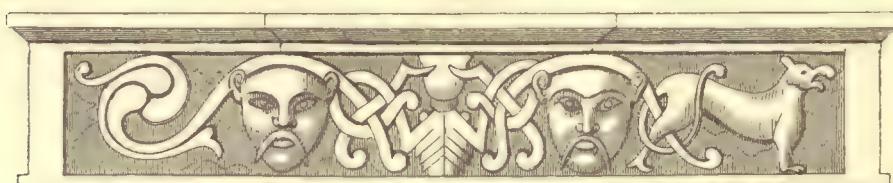
It is a portion of this sculpture that Dr. Ledwich describes as exhibiting " the head of a young man and a wolf; the long hair of the former elegantly entwined with the tail of the latter." And he gravely adds, " There was a singular propriety in joining the tail of this animal with the young man's glibb, to indicate the fondness of the one for the pursuit of the other."

The capital to the column on pier B has been recently carried away, but its design is shown in the following illustration from a drawing of Beranger's, exhibiting in a continuous line the design on the two sides :

Dr. Ledwich displays even more than his usual ingenuity in explaining the subject of this sculpture : " A ravenous quadruped,"— he should have used the plural,—" a wolf, devours a human head :

the head is a living one; the hair, whiskers, and beard give it a savage appearance. The animal is easily discovered by the following story:—One of the sailors of King Harold dreamed, that a woman of gigantic size appeared to him, riding on a wolf, who had in his mouth the head of a man, the blood of which flowed from his jaws. When he had swallowed the head, the woman put another into his mouth, and so on with many more, all of them he devoured, and then she began the song of death."

The capitals of the outer pier, marked C in the ground-plan, are represented in the annexed illustrations, showing their two sides or faces.
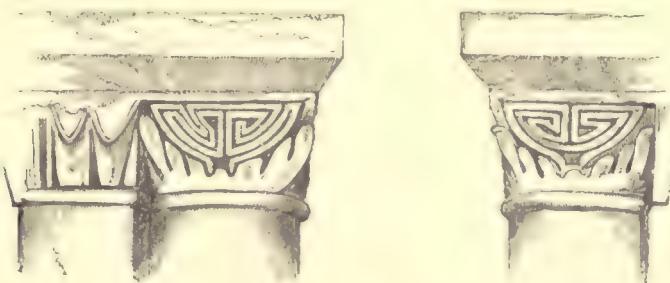
The ornament which constitutes the principal feature on these capitals does not occur on any others in Ireland; but it is, as I shall hereafter show, very common on Irish tombstones of the ninth and tenth centuries, and in manuscripts of a still earlier age. The columns on the opposite side of the arch are without capitals or ornament.

The illustrations which follow show the various ornaments on the

bases of the columns. Those prefixed exhibit the two faces of that of pier B: they are no less peculiar than the capitals.

Those which follow represent the two faces of that of pier C, on the outer column, and are equally remarkable in their character.
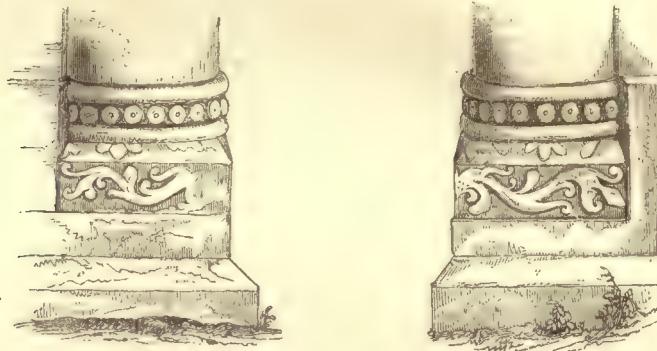
The base of the column on pier A is sufficiently shown in the general view. The bases of the piers on the north side of this archway present an equal variety of device with those on the south, as will be seen in the following illustrations, of which the first represents the base of the innermost pier, or that opposite pier A in the plan. Dr. Ledwich gives a representation of a portion of the sculpture on this base, as a specimen of what he calls " Runic knots, composed of the segments of circles, their arcs and chords

intersecting each other." And he adds that, " There is scarcely a carved stone, cross, or other remnant of antiquity, during the time
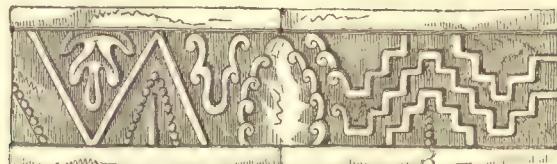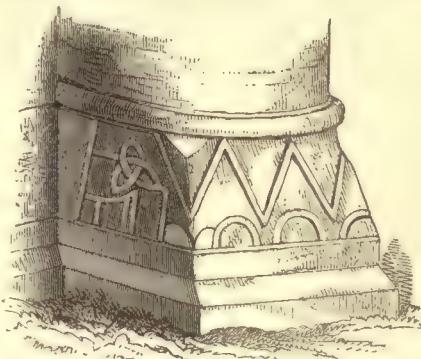
of the Danish power, but exhibits a knot of some kind." But, what proof is there that such knots or figures are Runic ? A single Runic inscription has never yet been found in Ireland; and the interlaced traceries, which he calls Runic, are found in all classes of ancient

Irish monuments, and are equally common in Irish manuscripts, which are acknowledged to be of earlier antiquity than the period of Danish rule in Ireland. The last illustration, given on the preceding page, shows the design on the two faces of the base of the central pier, or that facing pier B: the base of the third column is defaced.

Of the arch-mouldings only a few stones remain, but these are sufficient to prove that they were ornamented with a profusion of sculpture, as will be seen from the following illustrations, of which the three first are copied from geometrical sketches by Monsieur Beranger, and obviously belonged to one compartment of the arch:
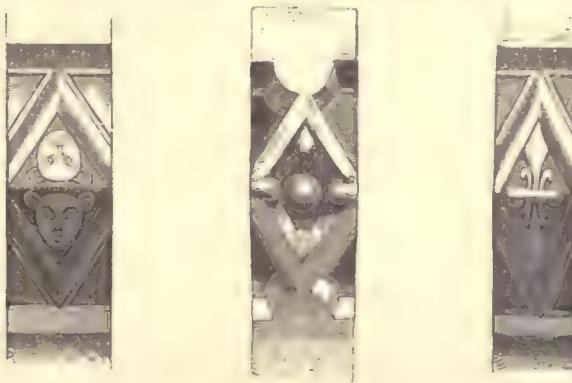
The three which follow, are from sketches of other arch-stones, recently made, but which do not correspond in size or character of ornament with each other.
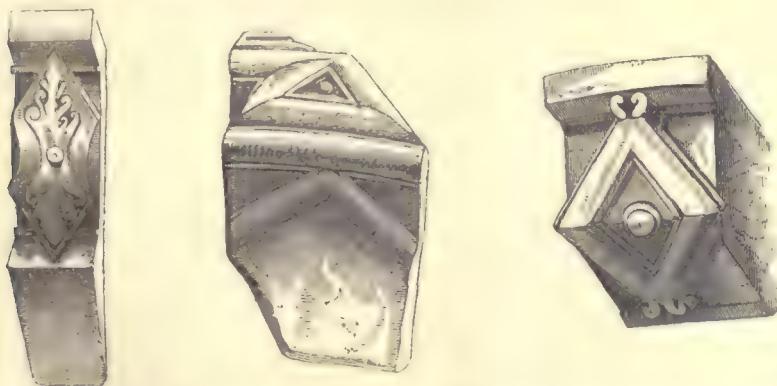
Some of the most curious and beautifully executed sculptures are, however, those supposed to have formed the architrave of the win-

dow, or rather perhaps of an arched recess on the external face of the east wall, similar to that on the Priest's House already described. These sculptures are thus described by Archdall, from the notes written by the artists for Colonel Conyngham :

" On the removal of some heaps of rubbish from under the ruins of this arch, a few stones beautifully carved were found, many of them belonging to the arches, and some to the architrave of the window ; the architrave is twelve inches broad, and a pannel is sunk, ornamented lozenge-wise, and an ovolo forms the lozenge with a bead running on each side; the centre of the lozenge is decorated on one side in bas-relief, with a knot delicately carved ; on the other with a flower in the centre, and mouldings corresponding to the shape of the lozenge. The half-lozenge, at the bottom of the pilaster in one, is filled with a bas-relief of a human head, with a bird on each side pecking at the eye [mouth], and the other by a dragon twisting its head round and the tail turned up between its legs into the mouth. Here is another stone, apparently the capital of a column ; two sides of it are visible, both are ornamented with a patera, but each side in a different manner ; one consists of a flower of sixteen large leaves, and fifteen [sixteen] small ones, relieved the eighth of an inch, and the other of six leaves branching from the centre, with another leaf extending between their points."—*Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 771.

Most of the stones above referred to still exist, and are here represented from recent sketches.

Dr. Ledwich, who finds illustrations of the Danish mythology in most of these sculptures, makes the following observations on this one, of which he gives a very inaccurate representation :

" Two ravens picking a skull. This bird was peculiarly sacred to Odin ; he is called the king of ravens. In the epicedium of Regner Lodbrog is recorded an engagement of the Danes and Irish at Vedrafiord, or Waterford.

> " In heaps promiscuous was piled the enemy :
> Glad was the kindred of the falcon.   From
> The clam'rous shout they boded an
> Approaching feast.   Marstein, Erin's king whelm'd
> By the irony sleet, allay'd the hunger of the
> Eagle and the wolf, the slain at Vedra's ford became
> The raven's booty.

" The three daughters of Lodbrog worked a reafan on the standard of Hingar and Hubba, with many magical incantations, which was to be invincible. This ensign, common among the Northerns, was supposed to give omens of victory or defeat : if it gayly fluttered in the wind, it presaged success, but if it hung down motionless, it portended misfortunes. It is plain from many Abraxas in Chifflet, and many passages adduced in Cuper's Harpocrates, that the raven was an Egyptian hieroglyphic, and had a predictive virtue."—*Antiquities of Ireland,* pp. 208, 209.

Whether the birds in this sculpture represent ravens or not, I shall not take upon me to decide. They are certainly not so like those birds as Dr. Ledwich has represented them ; but, even supposing them to be ravens, it by no means follows that the sculpture is Danish, or illustrative of Danish mythology. It is extremely probable that the raven was as much a bird of omen with the pagan Irish as with the pagan Danes and other nations ; it is still considered so in the popular superstitions of the Irish, and Ƿiaċ, the Irish name of the bird, was a usual name for men in Ireland both in Pagan and Christian times. But it would nevertheless be an absurdity to suppose that the ravens, represented in this sculpture, have any connexion with pagan superstitions.

In the next illustration, which is that described by Archdall as " a dragon twisting its head round, and the tail turned up between its

legs into the mouth," Dr. Ledwich recognizes another Danish symbol, which he thus describes :

" A wolf in a rage, with his tail in his mouth. The ferocity of this animal, and his delight in human blood, are the chief themes of Scaldic poetry. Odin, the ruler of the gods, as he is stiled in the Edda, is constantly attended by two, named Geri and Freki, whom he feeds with meat from his own table."—*Ib.* p. 208.
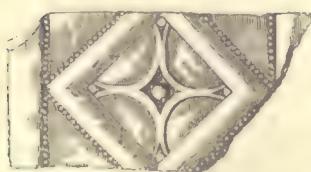
In the next illustration, which represents another of these stones as now broken at one side, Dr. Ledwich could find nothing emblematic of the mythology of the Edda, and therefore has omitted it altogether. Not so, however, in the case of the two following, which he describes as

Runic knots, but which appear to me as nothing more than ornamental crosses, of which innumerable examples may be found in our most ancient manuscripts, and on sepulchral monuments.
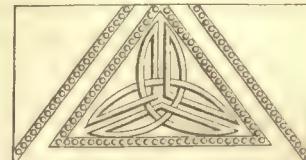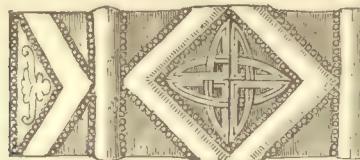
The manner in which these stones lay upon each other will appear from the annexed diagram, as drawn by Monsieur Beranger ; and it should be remarked, that the angle of the two sculptured faces of these stones is much greater than a right angle, as in those of the arch on the Priest's House already noticed.
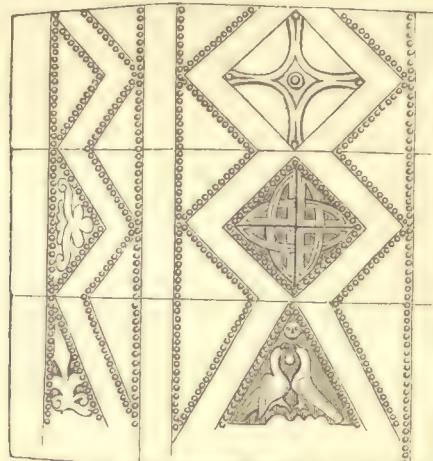
The two illustrations which follow represent the two sides of the stone, described, erroneously as I think, by Archdall, as being apparently the capital of a column. I should rather suppose it to be a portion of an architrave ; and the following cut seems to me to represent another stone of the same architrave. It shows the two faces of
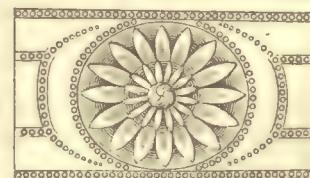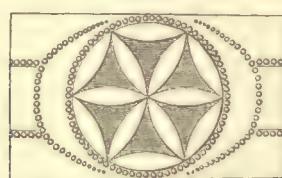
the stone, and is copied, on a reduced scale, from a drawing by Beranger, together with its section, which accompanies it.
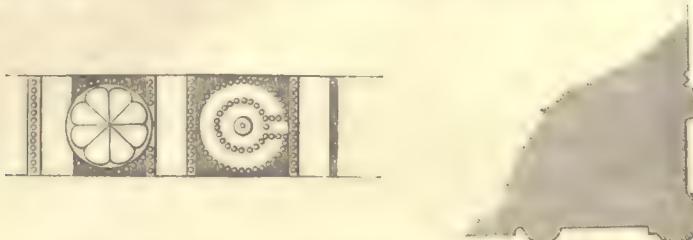
It is not easy to determine the situations in the building of the two stones represented in the illustrations which follow. The first would appear to be an arch-stone, and the second a portion of the architrave of the east window. They are engraved from sketches recently made.
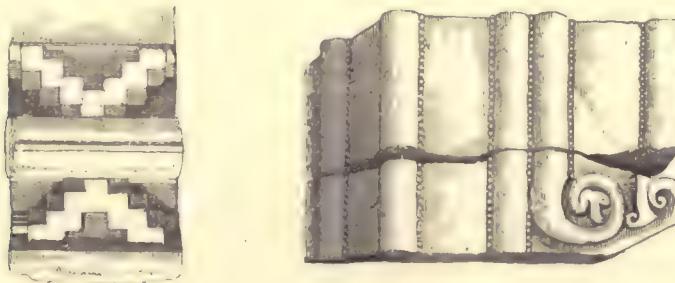
The small cut annexed, which represents another sculptured stone at the monastery, not now to be found, is copied from Dr. Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland; and as the author gives no account of it, I am unable to determine its situation in the building, or whether it was the ornament of a frieze or capital. I think it, however, most likely to be the latter; and its singularly classical character makes it too interesting to be omitted in these notices.

To the preceding illustrations I have only to add the ground-plan of one side of the chancel archway, already referred to, and coupled with it a sketch of one of the sepulchral crosses of Glendalough, which I give as a cotemporaneous specimen of the use in such monuments of what Dr. Ledwich calls Runic knots. This cross is of mica slate, the stone of the district, and is situated in the cemetery of the Refert, or

burial-place of the kings, near the upper lake, where many stones
sculptured in a similar style may be found.

It should be stated that the sculptured stones in this church, as
well as those in the little church called the Priest's House, though
generally supposed to be of sandstone, are in reality of clay slate,
while those on the east window of the cathedral church are all of
an oolitic sandstone, more resembling Caen than Portland stone;
and that no stone of this latter description is found in the province
of Leinster, or perhaps in Ireland. And, respecting the merits of these
sculptures generally, it may be observed, that however barbaric they
may be considered as to their style of design, their execution, at
least, exhibits no small degree of art.

    That these sculptures have but little resemblance to the decora-
tions usually found in Anglo-Norman architecture in England, will, I
think, be at once obvious to the architectural antiquary; and I shall
presently show that they have as little similitude in taste of design to
the ornaments usual in Irish churches of the eleventh and twelfth
centuries. Dr. Ledwich, who perceived this want of similitude in the
Glendalough ornaments to those of Saxon or Norman architecture in
England, states it as his opinion that their origin "is certainly Danish;"
and that the "specimen is unique in Ireland." "Here," he remarks,
"are no traces of Saxon feuillage, no Christian symbols, or allusions
to sacred or legendary story: the sculptures are expressive of a
savage and uncultivated state of society. Had there been a mixture

of styles, something might be allowed for the caprice of the carver, but the design and execution being uniform, the whole must be consigned [assigned] to a particular people and era." This strange opinion, as I have shown, he endeavours to sustain by references to legends in the mythology and history of the northern nations. But his evidences, I have no doubt, will be deemed insufficient to sustain such a conclusion, and his arguments wholly unworthy of notice. It is certainly not among the northern nations of Europe, who had no stone architecture previously to their conversion to Christianity, that we are to look for the prototype of a style of decoration, which obviously had its origin, however moulded by local caprice, in the debased architecture of Greece and Rome.

Among the many other ornamented churches in Ireland, the styles of which appear to indicate a very early antiquity, and of which we have historical notices to support such antiquity, one of the most curious is the church called *Teampull Finghin*, or Fineen's Church, at Clonmacnoise. Of this interesting building a portion only remains, namely, the chancel, and a Round Tower attached to it at its south-east junction with the nave; but the foundations of the walls of the nave may still be traced with sufficient certainty to determine its original form and extent, as shown in the annexed ground-plan, made for Colonel Conyngham by Monsieur Beranger in 1779, when this building was less ruined than it is at present.
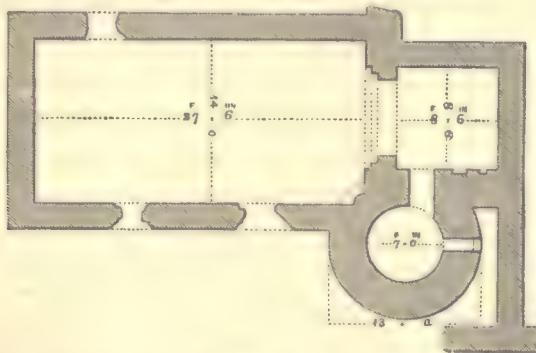
The only ornamented portion of this church remaining is its chancel archway. Its doorway, which, there can be little doubt, was ornamented in a similar style, has long since disappeared; and even of this archway, which appears to have consisted originally of three concentric arches, the innermost was destroyed, and its place is

supplied by a plain arch of black marble. The outer arch is only ornamented with plain fillet and band mouldings, but its columns present as capitals human heads in a quite Egyptian style of design; while the inner, or recessed arch, presents, both on its face and archivolt, the usual chevron, or ziz-zag ornament, executed in low relief, and on the capitals of its columns a figure somewhat resembling the Irish crown. It may be remarked also that the bases of the columns in this sub-arch have the bulbous character, noticed in some of the preceding examples, and are stilted in a curious fashion, so as to form a triple base, as shown in the annexed illustrations.

The measurements of this archway are, in breadth, at the base of the outer arch, nine feet two inches; at the base of the second, seven feet two inches; and at the base of the third, six feet: in height, at the outer arch, ten feet to its vertex; at the second arch, nine feet; and at the third, eight feet four inches. The height of the columns, including the capitals and bases, is five feet four inches.
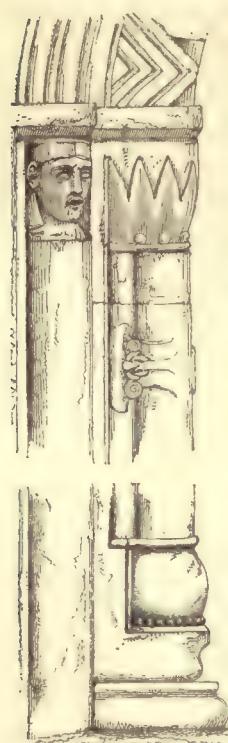
I have already stated that there exist historical evidences, which go far to support the antiquity I am disposed to assign to this curious structure; but I must, at the same ime, confess, that there is also evidence seemingly authentic, which, if credible, would place the date of its erection as late as the close of the twelfth century. This evidence is found in a document, which purports to be a Registry of Clonmacnoise, and which, as it states, was transcribed by direction of Bishop Muircheartach O'Muiridhe, from the original entries, which were in the Life of St. Kieran, "fearing least it might be obscured or lost." The original MS. of this Registry, as Archbishop Ussher, in his Report on the Diocese of Meath, addressed to King James's Commissioners, states, was in existence in his time, "but had lately been conveyed away by the practice of a lewd fellow, who hath thereupon fled the country." Transcripts of it were, however, in the possession of the archbishop, and of his

friend Sir James Ware, who had it translated into English by the cele-
brated Irish antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis; and the original autograph
of this translator is preserved among Ware's manuscripts, in the
British Museum, No. LI. of the Clarendon Collection, 4796.   In this
document,—which contains an account of the various lands granted to
the See of Cluain by the several provincial kings and principal chief-
tains, as a purchase for the right of themselves and their descendants
to be interred in a portion of the cemetery appropriated to their
use,—the following notice is given of the payment made by Mac
Carthy More (Fineen) for the place of sepulture of the Mac Carthys:

" Thus hath Mac Carthy .i. Great, Finyn McCarthy, paid for his sepulture, viz.
for the proportion of nyne cells, or chapels, 48 daies for every chapell :—the chapells
were these,—Killkyran in Desmond, Killcluain, and Killcorpain, and Killatleibhe, and
the other five kills, or cells, cannott be reade ; and there was so a discord between
Gerald na Corn, from whom the Geraldins discend, and Macarty More, that the said
Gerald tooke choice place of Macarty in Tempoll Finyn in Cluain, and hath given for
the same, in Dun Domnall in Conallagha, sixe dayes there and six dayes given in
mortmaine by Kydelagh to the church of Dun Domnall in Kidelagh, his owne towne,
so as there are 12 daies in Dun Domnall east and west, and the head of a mill and the
greate Iland in mortmaine to ye said church, and ye parte of the waterweares be-
longing to the greate Iland is the black weare, and in the parish of Dun Domnall,
are but sixe quarters, or sixe plowlands, and the whole doth belong to ye church,
together wth all kind of tithe in those sixe plowlands; and allso ye baptising ; and
the said Gerald payed out of his owne part of Athfara four fatt beeves and 48 daies in
Killcluayn, whereof there are 4 daies in Bregoig, and 48 daies in Kill Dacire, and 48
daies in Killcyugh, and 48 daies in Kill Drochuyll, and sixe daies in Crumaigh, and
the baptising, together wth the tithes of that towne of Crumaigh ; and Gerald gave
this in mortmain to ye church called Teampull Finyn in Cluain."

From the preceding document it might very naturally be con-
cluded, that the church called Temple Fineen owed its name and
erection to a Fineen Mac Carthy More ; and such seems to have
been the inference drawn by the learned Sir James Ware, who, in a
ground plan of the cemetery of Clonmacnoise, calls this church
Temple Finian, or Mac Carthy's Church: and hence the general sup-
position that it owed its origin to a chief of that family, as stated in
the published pedigree of the Count Mac Carthy, compiled by Mon-
sieur Laine, genealogist to Charles X. of France.   If then such an
inference were correct, it would follow that this church could not be
of earlier date than the thirteenth century, as, in the first place, the
epithet More, or Great,—which was applied to the chief of the senior

branch of the Mac Carthys, to distinguish him from the chief of
another branch, who was called Mac Carthy Reagh,—was not so ap-
plied until after the time of Cormac Finn, king of Desmond, who died
in the year 1215; and, in the second place, no chieftain of the name
of Finghin, or Fineen, is found as a Mac Carthy More before that
period. Such an inference would, however, be wholly opposed to
historical truth, and the tradition of the place, which assigns its
erection to St. Finian of Clonard, the instructor of St. Kieran; for,
without dwelling here on the suspicious character of this document
(which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter), or on the evidence
which the architecture of this church affords of a far earlier antiquity,
we have the authority of Tighernach,—the most ancient and accurate
of our annalists, who flourished before the name Mac Carthy was
applied to a family,—that the Finghin, after whom this church was
called, was a saint of the primitive Irish church, after whom a holy
well in the immediate vicinity of the church was called *Tiprait
Fingen*, as will appear from the following passage:

"A. D. 758. Ᵹoᵽman, comaᵽba Mochᴛa Luᵹbaɪ, .ɪ. mac Ꞇoᵽbaɪᴅ, comaᵽba
Paᴛᵽaɪᵹ: ɪᵽ ᵽe ᵽo baɪ bliaᴅaɪn ᵽoᵽ uɪᵽcɪ ᴛɪᵽᵽaɪᴛ Fɪnᵹen a Cluaɪn mac Noɪᵽ,
ocuᵽ aᴅ baᴄh a n-aɪlɪᴄᵽɪ ɪ Cluaɪn."

"A. D. 758. Gorman, comharba of Mochta of Lugbadh [Louth], i. e. the son of
Torbach, comharba of Patrick: it is he that was a year on the water of Tiprait
Fingen [St. Fineen's Well] at Clonmacnoise, and died on his pilgrimage at Cluain."

The well, alluded to in the preceding passage, still bears the
name given to it by the annalist, and is held in the greatest vene-
ration; and the grave of St. Finghin himself, situated beside the
church, is still used as one of the principal penitential stations of
this distinguished sanctuary. But still further:—in the *Chronicon
Scotorum*,—which is only a copy of the Annals of Tighernach, omit-
ting such entries as do not relate to the Scoti, or Irish people,—we
have an entry at so early a date as the year 1015, which proves
that a church, dedicated to St. Finghin, then existed at Clonmacnoise,
and would lead to the conclusion that it was not then of recent con-
struction. The passage is as follows:

"A. D. 1015. Ᵹaoᴄ móᵽ ɪᵽ ɪn ᵽoᵹmuᵽ, ᴅo ná ᵽᵽíᴄ ᵽeᴅ ná ᵽaᵐaɪl ɪᵽ ɪn aɪmᵽɪᵽ
ᵽɪ, ᴅu a ᴅ-ᴛoᵽᴄaɪᵽ ᴅaɪᵽ móᵽ Reᵹleᵽa Fɪnᵹɪn h-ɪ ᵹ-Cluaɪn mac Nóɪᵽ."

"A. D. 1015. A great wind [storm *occurred*] in the autumn of this year, the like
or similitude of which had not been found [observed] at this time, by which was
prostrated the great oak of Regles Finghin at Clonmacnoise."

That this church became the cemetery of the Mac Carthy family in the twelfth or thirteenth century, I see no reason to doubt; I even think it not improbable that the name Finghin, which does not previously appear in their history,—but which after that period became so common amongst them,—may have been originally adopted from a feeling of veneration for the saint, in whose church they were interred. But that they have any claim to the erection of this curious structure I think I have sufficiently disproved; and I have only to add, that, as the Annals of Clonmacnoise,—which are so circumstantial relative to the erection of the buildings there, and to the injuries which happened to them,—are wholly silent as to any erection or restoration of the church, called Temple Fineen, or Regles Finghin, there appears to me no reason to doubt that the existing ruin is the remains of that church, which the annalist refers to as in existence in the year 1015, and which was then apparently of a respectable antiquity.

The Round Tower, which is attached to this church, and forms an integral, and undoubtedly, a cotemporaneous part of the structure, will be described hereafter; but I should state here that the entrance doorway of this Tower is placed within the chancel, and on a level with its floor. I should remark also, that this chancel was lighted by a single round-headed window, placed in its east wall, of very simple construction, and small size; and that there is a curiously ornamented piscina in the south wall, still in perfect preservation.

Among the many other churches, of which there are ruins at Clonmacnoise, the great church may, with propriety, be here noticed, not only as a building erected in the beginning of the tenth century, as can be proved from the most satisfactory historical evidence, but also, as exhibiting vestiges, sufficient to show that it had been originally ornamented. The erection of this church is thus recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and a similar entry is to be found in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the same year.

" A. D. 909. Daimliaʒ Cluana mac noip oo óénaṁ la Flann, mac Maoil-rechlainn, 7 la Colman Conaillech."

" A. D. 909. The Cathedral of Clonmacnoise was built by Flann, son of Maoil-sechlainn, and by Colman Conaillech."

The persons here recorded were Flann, monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 916, and Colman, abbot of Clonmacnoise and Clonard.

in the record of whose death, at the year 926, in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and 924 in the Annals of the Four Masters, we have an additional evidence that this church was erected by him :

"A. D. 926. Colman, mac Aililla, princepr Cluana mac Noir, 7 Cluana Iraipo, o'ég. Ir leir oo pineò oaimliag Cluana mac Noir. Oo Conaillib Muirèemneé."

"A. D. 926. Colman, son of Ailill, chief [abbot] of Clonmacnoise and Clonard, died. It was by him the cathedral of Clonmacnoise was erected. He was of the Conaille Muirthemne."—*Chron. Scot.*

"A. D. 924. Colman, mac Ailella, abbaò Cluana Ioraipo 7 Cluana mac Noir, eprcop 7 ooccor egnaiò, o'ég. Ar leir oo ronnaò Oaimliacc Cluana mac Noir. Oo Conaillib Muirèemne a cenel."

"A. D. 924. Colman, son of Ailell, abbot of Clonard and Clonmacnoise, a bishop and sapient doctor, died. It was by him the Cathedral of Clonmacnoise was built. He was of the tribe of Conaille Muirthemne."—*Ann. Quat. Mag.*

We have also what may be considered a further evidence of the period of the erection of this church in the splendid stone cross at Clonmacnoise, which is unquestionably coeval with it, and which affords in itself an evidence, that the Irish at this period were not ignorant of the art of sculpture, and therefore not incompetent to apply it to architectural purposes. That such crosses were erected as memorials of the founders of distinguished churches in Ireland is proved by one at Tuam, inscribed with the names of *Toirdhelbhach O'Conchobhair*, or Turlogh O'Conor, monarch of Ireland in the early part of the twelfth century, and the archbishop, *Aedh O'Hoisin*, by whom the cathedral church of Tuam was rebuilt; and, in like manner, by a similar cross at Cashel, which is obviously co-temporaneous with a beautiful church there, called Cormac's Chapel, which was erected about the same period as the cathedral at Tuam. The style of these crosses is,—as I shall hereafter show, when I come to speak of the churches of Cashel and Tuam,—of a more complex character than that of the cross at Clonmacnoise, which is of that simple form, which may be now considered to be as peculiarly Irish as the Round Towers themselves. Any doubt, however, which might be entertained respecting the age of this cross, or the purpose for which it was erected, will at once be removed by the fact, that the names of the abbot Colman and of the monarch Flann appear engraved in compartments upon it ; and though these inscriptions are now greatly effaced, enough remains to enable a judicious Irish scholar, familiar

with this class of inscriptions, which is still numerous in Ireland, to determine what the entire inscriptions originally were. The first of them occurs on a tablet on the west front of the cross in the lowest compartment of the shaft, and should unquestionably be read as follows :

" OROIT DO FLAIND MAC MAILSECHLAIND."

"A PRAYER FOR FLANN, SON OF MAELSECHLAINN."

The second inscription is found on a similar tablet, on the east side of the cross, which nearly faces the western door of the church, and, like the former, occupies the lowest compartment of the shaft : this inscription, which is less injured than the preceding, very plainly reads as follows :

" OROIT DO COLMAN DORROINDI IN CROSSA AR IN RI FLAIND."

" A PRAYER FOR COLMAN WHO MADE THIS CROSS ON THE KING FLANN."

Should it be objected that this cross was erected by the abbot Colman as a sepulchral monument to the monarch Flann, and not in commemoration of the erection of the church,—I would reply, that it is highly probable that it was intended for both purposes, as the abbot Colman survived the monarch eight years ; and a cross of this kind, which would have taken the sculptor a considerable time to finish, might very well have been commenced during the life-time of the monarch, and have, moreover, been intended to serve as much as a memorial of the erection of the church as a sepulchral monument of its royal founder. But, however this may be, the sculptures on the west side of the cross evidently relate to the history of the original foundation of Clonmacnoise by St. Kieran, and are very clearly intended to be a memorial of the erection of its great church to his honour, while the sculptures on the other sides represent the principal events in the life of our Saviour, as recorded in the Scripture ; and hence the cross was subsequently known by the appellation of the *Cros na Screaptra*, i. e. the Cross of the Scriptures, under which name it is thus noticed in the Annals of Tighernach at the year 1060 :

" A. D. 1060. h-Eille 7 h-Ui Focertai do argain Cluana mac Noir, co pucrat bruit móir ó Croir na Screptra, 7 con marbad dir ann, .i. mac leigind, 7 oclac eili : co poirir Dia 7 Ciaran Delbna i n-a n-diaig, con lairret a n-ár ann, im rigoamna h-Ua Focarta, an ir eiride ro marb in mac leigind. Do roct tra a m-bruit trath n-eirgi do lo ar na marac co Cluain tre fertaib Ciarain."

" A. D. 1060. The Elians and the Hy-Focertai plundered Clonmacnoise, and carried away many captives from *Cros na Screaptra*, and slew two persons there, i. e. a student, and another youth : but God and Ciaran incited the Delvins in pursuit of them, and they slaughtered them, together with the heir apparent of Hy-Focarta, for it was he that had killed the student.   Their captives also returned to them at rising time on the day following to Cluain through the miracles of Ciaran."

I should confess, however, that, if we are to trust Dr. Ledwich, this cross,—of two sides of which he gives a very inaccurate representation, and couples with them two sides of another cross at Clonmacnoise, as if they were the remaining sides,—is no older than the close of the thirteenth century, at which time, he says, the cathedral church was re-edified by Odo, or Hugh, the dean of the place.   His remarks on this subject would be unworthy of notice, if the character which he obtained by his show of research, and plausible assumption of love for truth, did not cause his audacious misrepresentations to be received with respect by the learned, and render it a duty to expose them.   His description of this cross is as follows :

" The other ornamented cross is at Clonmacnois. The stone is fifteen feet high, and stands near the western door of Teampull Mac Diarmuid.   Over the Northern door of this church are three figures : the middle St. Patrick, in pontificalibus, the other two St. Francis and St. Dominic, in the habits of their Orders.   Below these are portraits of the same three saints and Odo, and on the fillet is this inscription : ' Dons Odo Decanus Cluanm, fieri fecit.'   Master Odo, Dean of Clonmacnois, caused this to be made.   This inscription refers to Dean Odo's re-edifying the church, and must have been about the year 1280, when the Dominicans and Franciscans were settled here and held in the highest esteem, as new Orders of extraordinary holiness. The figures on this Cross are commemorative of St. Kiaran and this laudable act of the Dean.   Its eastern side, like the others, is divided into compartments.   Its centre, or head and arms, exhibit St. Kiaran at full length, being the patron of Clonmacnois.   In one hand he holds an hammer, and in the other a mallet, expressing his descent, his father being a carpenter. Near him are three men and a dog dancing, and in the arms are eight men more, and above the Saint is a portrait of Dean Odo.   The men are the artificers employed by Odo, who show their joy for the honour done their patron. On the shaft are two men, one stripping the other of his old garments, alluding to the new repairs.   Under these are two soldiers, with their swords, ready to defend the church and religion. Next are Adam and Eve and the tree of life, and beneath an imperfect Irish inscription. On the pedestal are equestrian and chariot sports.   On the North side is a pauper carrying a child, indicating the Christian virtue, Charity.   Below these a shepherd plays on his pipe, and under him is an ecclesiastic sitting in a chair, holding a teacher's ferula, on the top of which is an owl, the symbol of Wisdom, and its end rests on a beast, denoting Ignorance.   The other sides are finely adorned with lozenge net-work, nebule mouldings, roses and flowers."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 75, 76.

On this extraordinary description it is scarcely necessary to re-

mark, that Dr. Ledwich is as much in error with respect to the age
of the north doorway of the cathedral and its inscription, as he is
with respect to that of the cross itself. The doorway is not, as he
states, a work of the thirteenth century, but unquestionably of the
fifteenth, as the style of its architecture, and the character of the let-
ters in the inscription, will at once prove to any person acquainted
with the antiquities of this period. The cathedral church of Clon-
macnoise was, indeed, re-edified in the thirteenth, or, more probably,
in the beginning of the fourteenth century, but not by Dean Odo, the
builder of the north doorway,—which is in a different style,—but by
Tomultach Mac Dermott, chief of Moyhurg, who, as the Registry of
Clonmacnoise states, " hath repaired or built the great church, upon
his own costs, and this was for the cemetery of the Clanmaolruany."
This Tomultach Mac Dermott, according to the Irish annals, died in
the year 1336.

But, though the church was thus re-edified, we still find in the
sand-stone capitals of its great western doorway remains of a more
ancient church, as their style and material, which are different from
those of every other ornamented portion of the building, sufficiently
show ; and that such capitals belonged to the doorway of the original
church, I can see no solid reason to doubt. The general form of this
doorway, as re-edified in the pointed style of the fourteenth century,
may be seen in a plate of it given in Harris's edition of Ware's Bishops;
the character of its capitals will appear in the annexed illustration,
copied from a sketch made by myself, previously to its recent de-
struction.

In the still perfect doorway of another church at Clonmacnoise
we have a specimen, which, though but of little interest, as exhibiting

ornament, is worthy of notice here, as a work of the close of the tenth century, when the power of the Danes in Meath was broken for a time at the decisive battle of Tara, in 974, by the valour of the monarch Maolseachlainn.   This doorway occurs in the sepulchral chapel of the O'Conors of Connaught, which, from the Registry of Clonmacnoise, appears to have been erected by Cathal, the son of Conor, king of Connaught, who died in the year 1010.   The passage is as follows :

"Thus have the O'Connors their part of that cemeterie, and they gave this for their sepulture place, i. e. a place for six little cells belonging to Cluain and fortie eight daies to every cell, viz. Tobar Ilbe 48 daies, Tamhnach 48 daies, Killmuicky 48 daies, Kill mᶜ. Teig 48 daies, Tuillsge 48 daies, Kill O'Gealba 48 dayes ; and the O'Connor who bestowed these lands was called Cathal O'Connor."

Templeconor is now used as the parish church, but all its features, except this doorway, have been destroyed. It appears, however, from

the reports of the old inhabitants of the place, that its windows were in the same style as the doorway, and without ornament. This church measures externally forty-five feet in length, by twenty-seven in breadth, and the walls are four feet in thickness.

Taking our ancient authorities as a guide in this Inquiry into

the age of ornamented churches, I may next notice those of Killaloe
and Inishcaltra, in Munster, as buildings said to have been erected,
or re-erected, in the tenth century, by the monarch Brian Borumha,
as thus stated by Keating:

" Aꞃ é bꞃιαn ꞃóꞃ ꞇuᵹ ꞃloιnnꞇe ꞃo ꞃeαċ αn ꞃeαꞃαιb Eιꞃιonn, αꞃ α n-αιċιonnꞇαꞃ
ᵹαċ ꞃιl ꞇꞃeαb ꞃα leιċ oιob. Aꞃ leιꞃ mαn αn ᵹ-céαonα oα ꞇóᵹbαo ꞇempull Cιlle
Oαluα, αᵹuꞃ ꞇeαmpull Innꞃe Ceαllꞇꞃαċ, αᵹuꞃ oo h-αénuαιòιoò cloιċéαċ Chuαmα
Ṡꞃéιne."—*Keating's History of Ireland,—Reign of Brian Borumha.*

" It is Brian also that gave distinct surnames to the men of Ireland, by which
every separate tribe of them is known. It is by him likewise the church of Cill
Dalua, and the church of Inis-Cealltrach were erected, and the steeple of Tuaim Greine
was renewed."

Should it be objected, that a more ancient authority than that of
Keating ought to be adduced in proof of these erections, I must con-
fess that I am unable to find one, as the Life and Actions of Brian, by
Mac Liag, his secretary,—from which Keating, as well as Mac Curtin,
who also states these facts, most probably derived his information,—
has not fallen into my hands; but I may remark, that I consider the
authority of Keating, on matters of this kind, as quite sufficient, for it
is well known to all Irish scholars that his work is only a faithful com-
pilation, as he states, from the original manuscripts of the country:
an examination of the existing churches at Killaloe and Inishcaltra
becomes therefore of the highest importance in this Inquiry, and I
shall accordingly treat of each separately.

At Killaloe, then, we have two ancient buildings, namely, the ca-
thedral and a small stone-roofed church, situated immediately to the
north of it, of which the wood-cut on the next page represents the west
front.   That the cathedral church is not of Brian's time is, however,
sufficiently obvious from its architectural details, which clearly belong
to the close of the twelfth century; and its re-erection is attributed,
with every appearance of truth, to Donnell More O'Brien, king of
Limerick, who died in the year 1194. Yet, that a more ancient church,
and one of considerable splendour, had previously existed on its site,
is evident, from a semicircular archway in the south wall of the nave,
now built up, and which is remarkable for the richness of its embel-
lishments in the Romanesque or Norman style.   It is true that this
archway,—of which a drawing and description will be found in the
Third Part of this Inquiry,—does not appear to be as old as the time of

Brian ; and the tradition of the place has probably a foundation in truth, which considers it as the entrance to the tomb of Muircheartach O'Brien, king of Ireland, who died on the 8th of March, 1120, and who, as Ware tells us, " was a great benefactor to the church of Killaloe, and pursuant to his commands, while living, was buried there :" but this very supposition implies the existence of an earlier cathedral church on the site of the present one.
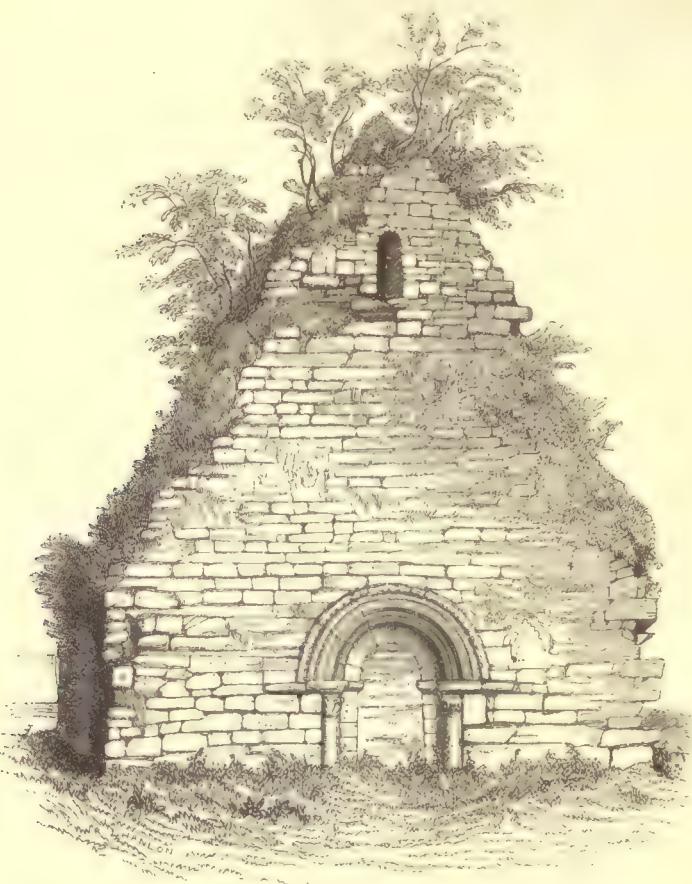
The question then naturally suggests itself, is the other church the remains of that erected by Brian two centuries previously ? That this church is as ancient as Brian's time cannot indeed be doubted, and it would furnish an unquestionable proof,—if proof were wanted,—of the use of ornamented architecture in Ireland in the tenth century.

But I confess that I feel very strongly inclined to believe that its erection should be assigned to a much earlier age; for, in the first place,—without attaching much weight to the tradition of the place, which ascribes the erection of the present cathedral church to Brian Borumha, and of this stone-roofed church to St. Molua, or his successor, St. Flannan,—it is scarcely possible to suppose that the cathedral church, erected within his own hereditary principality by so powerful a monarch as Brian, would have been of dimensions so much smaller than those of most of the cathedral churches of the earliest antiquity, or so remarkable for the simplicity of its architectural features. The nave of this church, which is all that at present remains, is internally but twenty-nine feet four inches in length, by eighteen feet in breadth, and the chancel was only twelve feet in breadth,—as appears by small portions of its walls still remaining,—and could not have been of much greater length. In fact this little church, in all its features, with the exception of its ornamented door-way, is perfectly identical in style with many of the earliest churches and Round Towers of Ireland; as will appear from the annexed illustrations,

representing the windows which lighted the apartment placed above the nave, within the sloping sides of the roof, and of which that in the west gable has a semicircular head, and that in the east, the

triangular, or straight-sided arch. The chancel arch, which is wholly without ornament, has inclined jambs and chamfered imposts, and measures in height eight feet six inches from the floor to the vertex of the arch, and in breadth about four feet six inches, immediately below the imposts.

I have already remarked that the doorway of this church is ornamented, and I should add, that there is no reason to believe it to be of later date than the other parts of the building; and undoubtedly

as its ornaments are very different in character from those found on buildings which I would assign to the tenth and eleventh centuries, it would militate very much against such conclusions if this church could be proved to be of Brian Borumha's time. But, as I have

already remarked, I see no just reason to assign it to so late a period, nor is there any thing in its ornamental details, which may not, as I conceive, be with greater propriety assigned to a far earlier age. It will be seen from the prefixed sketch that the capital of the pillar, on the north side, presents a rude imitation of the Ionic scroll, while that on the south side presents two figures of animals resembling lambs ; and, that the architrave exhibits none of the ornaments considered as characteristic of Norman architecture.

I should certainly not ascribe the erection of this church to St. Molua, the first patron of the place ; the original church of this saint I take to be that of which there are considerable remains, situated on an island in the Shannon, immediately opposite the cathedral : but the conjecture will not, I trust, be deemed rash, that this church may owe its erection to Molua's disciple, St. Flannan, who was son of Toirdhealbhach, king of Thomond, and who, according to Ware, was consecrated first bishop of this see at Rome by Pope John IV., about the year 639. That a man habituated to the sight of the Roman churches of this period should have a disposition to imitate, to some extent, their ornamented features, is only what might be expected ; and that he was supplied with the means to do so appears from the fact stated by Ware, that "while he sat here, his Father, *Theodorick*, endowed the church of *Killaloe* with many Estates ; and dying full of Years, was magnificently interred in this Church by his Son *Flannan*."

But, however this may be, the reasons which I have assigned for doubting that the stone-roofed church at Killaloe owes its origin to the illustrious Brian, will, I think, be greatly strengthened by an examination of the church of Inishcaltra, which this monarch is also said to have built,—or rather rebuilt, as a church had existed there from the seventh century. As this church may fairly be considered in part, if not wholly, of Brian's time, some agreement should be found between the style of its architectural features and those of the church of Killaloe, if they were really cotemporaneous structures,—but it will be seen that no such agreement exists. In point of size indeed there is but little difference,—the length of the nave of the church of Inishcaltra, internally, being but thirty feet, and the breadth twenty-one feet, and the chancel being a square of about fifteen feet. These measurements, however, appear to be those of the original church of

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St. Caimin, which was erected in the seventh century, as it appears
to me obvious from the character of the masonry, and of some of the
features in the nave, that the latter, though unquestionably re-
modelled, was never wholly destroyed.

As is usual in Irish churches, the ornamented portions of this are
chiefly found in its western doorway and chancel arch, the general
features of which will be seen in the annexed illustration.

Of the chancel itself only portions of the side walls remain, and
these walls, which are of ashlar masonry, are of a totally different
character from those of the nave, and are probably cotemporaneous
with the ornamented features of the latter,—or, at least, with some of
them, as indeed some doubts may be entertained that these features
are themselves of cotemporaneous age.   The entrance doorway, of
which a portion only now remains, consisted externally of three
concentric and receding semicircular arches, ornamented on their
faces with the chevron moulding,—not, however, carved in relief, but
in hollow lines, as in the round window at Rahin, already described.
The piers of these arches were rectangular, but rounded at their
angles, so as to form slender semi-cylindrical shafts, with angular

mouldings on each side, and having, in capitals, well-shaped human faces carved in low relief.

The interior face of the doorway was only ornamented with a single semicolumn at each side, the capital of which was a simple scroll. This doorway was two feet seven inches in width at the spring of the innermost arch, and two feet nine inches at the base; and in height, to the spring of the arch, five feet two inches, and to its vertex, six feet six inches.

The chancel arch, which is less distinguished for ornament than the doorway, is also triple-faced, or formed of three concentric and recessed arches on its western face, and is double-faced on its eastern or inner side; but the arches consist simply of square-edged rib-work, and the ornamental sculpture is confined to the piers, which are rounded into semi-columns, and adorned with capitals, as represented in the annexed illustrations, which show a front and side view of the piers.
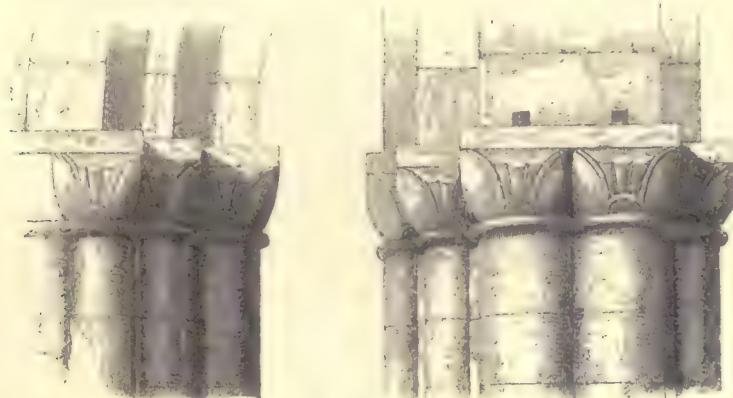
This archway is ten feet three inches in width between the jambs; and in height,—from the present level of the floor, which is considerably raised,—five feet six inches to the top of the capitals, and eleven feet to the vertex of the arch.

Whatever doubt may exist as to whether the doorway and chancel arch of this church be of cotemporaneous architecture, there is, at least, no reason to suppose that either of them is later than Brian's time, when the church is stated to have been rebuilt, or restored. But it appears to be equally certain that Brian's restoration was confined to the chancel,—which, as I have already stated, is in a totally

different style of masonry from the nave,—and to one or both the ornamental features already described. The masonry of the nave, throughout, seems clearly to belong to the original church of St. Caimin, though, perhaps, the windows, or at least one of them, may have been inserted in Brian's time. Of these windows, which are in the south wall, one has a semicircular head, and is ornamented with an architrave, very similar in style to that of the doorways of many of the Round Towers, as shown in the annexed illustration. The
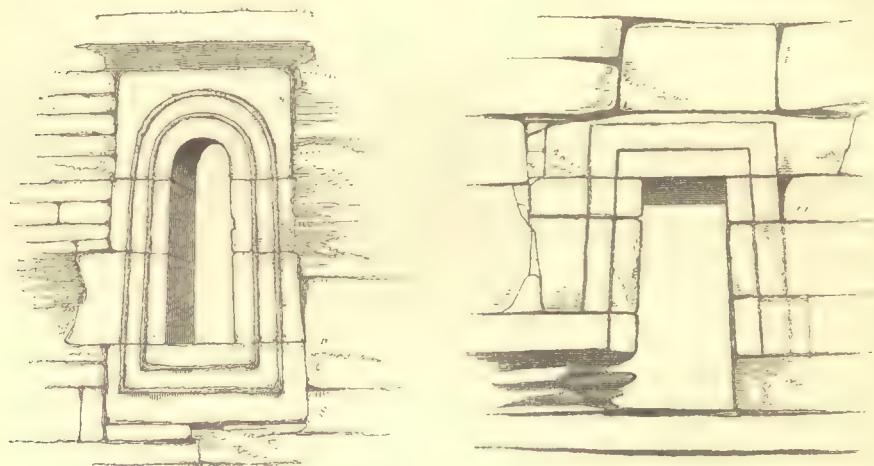
other, which appears original, has a horizontal head and inclined sides, as shown above. There is also a small triangular window,

formed of three stones, and placed in the middle of the west gable, towards its summit, which, as far as I know, is unique in form in Irish architecture.

I have now, as I trust, adduced sufficient evidence not only to prove the existence in Ireland of ornamental architecture, of an age anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion of the country, but to lead, with every appearance of probability, to the conclusion that such architecture existed here previously even to the Norman conquest of England. This latter conclusion will, I think, be greatly strengthened, if not satisfactorily established, when it is shown that those Irish churches exhibiting ornamental architecture,

which we know from historical evidences to have been erected in
the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are not only very different in
their style of decoration from those presumed to be of earlier date,
but have a remarkable agreement in their details with those of the
known Norman structures in England and France. To prove such
agreement it may be proper to adduce one or two examples of such
churches in this place, and many others will be found in the Third
Part of this Inquiry.

Such an example, then, is found in the entrance porch, or door-
way, of the church of Freshford, or Achadh ur, in the county of
Kilkenny, a church originally erected by St. Lachtin in the seventh
century, but rebuilt towards the close of the eleventh, or commence-
ment of the twelfth, as a perfectly legible inscription on its doorway

clearly proves. This inscription is contained in two bands, encircling the external face of the inner arch,—the letters, as is usual in all ancient inscriptions, being indented,—and is as follows:

1. In the lower band:

"ōr ᴅo нeɪm ɪ̄ʒɪn cuɪrc acus ᴅo macʜʒamaɪn u cʜɪar- meɪc las ɪn ᴅerʜaᴅ ī cempulsa"

i. e. " A PRAYER FOR NIAM DAUGHTER OF CORC, AND FOR MATH-GHAMAIN O'CHIARMEIC, BY WHOM WAS MADE THIS CHURCH."

2. In the upper band:

"ōr ᴅo ʒɪlle mocʜolmoc u cēcucāɪ ᴅo rɪʒnɪ"

i. e. " A PRAYER FOR GILLE MOCHOLMOC O'CENCUCAIN WHO MADE IT."

It is to be regretted that neither our annals nor genealogical books preserve the names of any of the persons recorded in this inscription, so that it is impossible to determine exactly the period at which they flourished; but it is obvious, from the surnames applied to the three individuals concerned, that they could not have lived earlier than the eleventh century, when the use of hereditary surnames was generally established in Ireland. And that the Mathghamhain, or Mahon, O'Ciarmaic, whose name is here inscribed, was a chieftain of the district, might be naturally inferred from the inscription itself, even if no other historical evidence existed; but this inference is rendered certain by a passage in the Book of Lecan, fol. 96, *b*, in which we find a Leinster family, of this name, mentioned as one of the six tribes descended from Fergus Luascan, who was the son of Cathaoir Mor, monarch of Ireland in the second century, and the ancestor of almost all the distinguished chieftain families of Leinster. It appears, more-over, from the following passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1087, that a Conall O'Ciarmaic was then a chief of some distinction in the Leinster army.

" A. D. 1087.   Caʜ Rácʜa Eᴅaɪr eʜʜɪr laɪʒnɪᴅ aʒur rɪora Múṁan, co ro raeɪṁɪᴅ rɪa Muɪpcʜeaʜcacʜ Ua m-ōrɪaɪn aʒur re ɓ-reararɓ Muṁan ror laɪʒnɪɓ, aʒur ror mac ᴅoṁnaɪll, mɪc Maoɪl na m-bo, aʒur ar ᴅɪarmaᴅo Ua m-ōrɪaɪn, aʒur ar Enᴅa, mac ᴅɪarmaᴅa, co ro laᴅ ár mor ann rɪn ror laɪʒnɪᴅ, ɪm mac Murcʜaᴅa Uí ᴅoṁnaɪll, ɪm éɪʒearna h-Ua n-ᴅróna, aʒur ɪm Conall Ua Cɪar-maɪc, aʒur ɪm ua Neɪll Maɪʒe ᴅá ċon, eʜ reɪɪquɪ."

" A. D. 1087. The battle of Rath Edair [was fought] between the Lagenians and the men of Munster, in which the victory was gained by Muircheartach O'Brien and the men of Munster over the Lagenians, and over the son of Domhnall, son of Maol na

m-bo [king of Leinster], and over Diarmaid O'Brien, and Enda, son of Diarmaid, and a great slaughter was therein made of the Lagenians, together with the son of Mur- chadh O'Domhnaill, lord of Hy-Drone, and Conall O'Ciarmaic, and O'Neill of Magh da chon, and others."

I may also remark, that the name O'Ciarmaic is still numerous in the county of Kilkenny, though usually metamorphosed into the English name Kirby by those speaking English. The name of the female in this inscription is probably that of the wife of Mathghamhain, or Mahon, as it was the custom anciently in Ireland, and indeed still is to some extent, for married women to retain their paternal names. An instance of this usage is also found in an inscription on the tomb of Maeleachlainn O'Kelly, in the abbey of Knockmoy, in which in- scription his wife is called by her maiden name Finola, the daughter of O'Conor. Of the name O'Cuirc, which is now anglicised Quirk, there were two chieftain families in Ireland, as appears from the Book of Lecan, fol. 105, b, and fol. 115, b,—one seated in the territory of Fothart Airbreach, in Leinster, and the other in Muscraighe Chuirc, now the barony of Clanwilliam, in the county of Tipperary ; but it would be idle to conjecture to which of these families this Lady Niam belonged.

Of the third name, which is undoubtedly an Irish one, it is only necessary to remark, that as it was clearly that of the architect, it may not have belonged to the district, as professional men of that descrip- tion exercised their art wherever they found employment; and that many of them were of distinguished celebrity in their day is suffi- ciently proved from records of their deaths, which have found place in the authentic Irish annals[a].

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[a] It would be scarcely worth while, as a characteristic example of the charlatanism of some of the Irish antiquaries of the last century, to notice here a copy with a translation of the preceding inscription, which was originally published in the *Antho- logia Hibernica*, by Mr. Beauford, one of the original contributors to that work, and also to Vallancey's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, if his interpretation of it had not found its way into Gough's edition of *Camden's Britannia*, and other topographical works of character. The article to which I refer is as follows :—

" No. 2 is an inscription over the door of the old church of Freshford, in the county of Kilkenny. It is in old Irish, engraven on several stones, as shewn in the drawing, and runs thus :

" 'Aodos M'Roen ocas cuce cneabdocum doiamrac neibnisan cuirce. acos dor eacleag amarc mearg use acos elar sni deorsoich en argis.'

" In modern Irish—

The erection of this church may then, with every appearance of
certainty, be referred to a period not much earlier than the close of
the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century; and that the gene-
ral character of this doorway, as well as its ornaments, has a more
decided resemblance to those of the Norman churches in England,
than any of those previously noticed in this work, will, I think, be
at once obvious from the prefixed outline. This resemblance is found
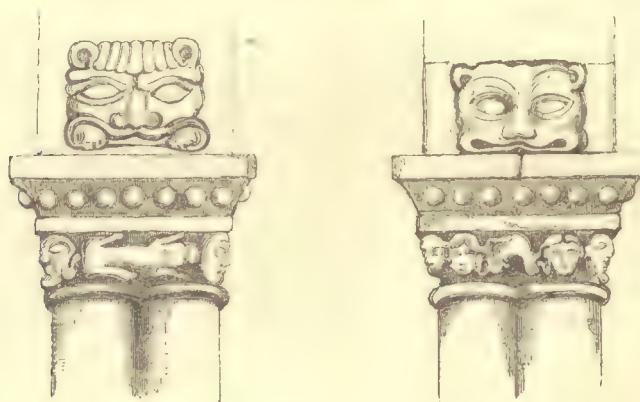
not only in the greater richness of its decorations, and the boldness
of its sculpture, which is in high relief, but also in the forms of its
capitals and bases. And I should also notice, as a characteristic of
Irish architecture, of this period at least, the grotesque lions' heads,
which are sculptured on the soffit of the external arch, immediately
over the imposts.

The next example, which I have to adduce, is a church of pro-
bably somewhat later date than that of Freshford, and whose age is
definitely fixed by the most satisfactory historical evidence. It is the
beautiful and well-known stone-roofed church on the Rock of Cashel,
called Cormac's Chapel, one of the most curious and perfect churches

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" ' Aoda M'Roen agus coighe flath teampall talamh as dlightheach deaglais coirce
agus dorais ea cloch amairc sleas usa agus e fearann do shin devirseach en archios.'

" That is—

" ' The Priest, M'Roen, and chief, gave to this church the glebe of arable land;
and, over the door placed this stone, as a true token; and, with this favour, the land,
slaves, and tribute.'

" There being no date, the time of this gift cannot be determined. Freshford (in
Irish *Achadhur*, or Waterfield) was an ancient monastery of regular canons in the 7th
century, and at present is called the Prebend of Aghour."—Vol. i. p. 351.

in the Norman style in the British empire.   The erection of this
church is popularly but erroneously ascribed to the celebrated king-
bishop Cormac Mac Cullenan, who was killed in the battle of
Bealach Mughna, in the year 908; and it is remarkable that this
tradition has been received as true by several antiquaries, whose
acquaintance with Anglo-Norman architecture should have led them
to a different conclusion.   Dr. Ledwich, indeed, who sees nothing
Danish in the architecture of this church, supposes it to have been
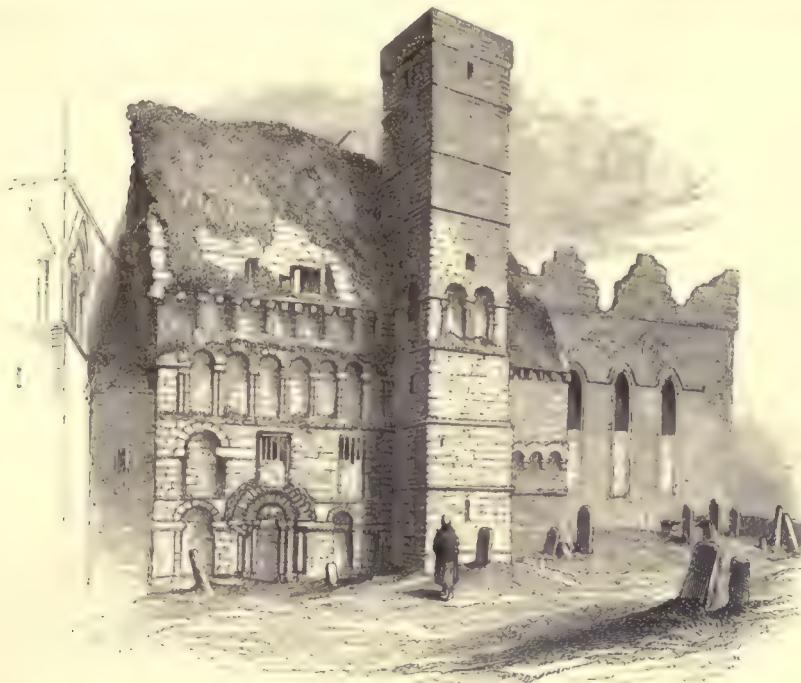
erected in the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, by some
of Cormac's successors in Cashel; but he adds, that it was " prior
to the introduction of the Norman and Gothic styles, for in every
respect it is purely Saxon."   Dr. Milner, from whose reputation as a
writer on architectural antiquities, we might expect a sounder opi-
nion, declares that " the present cathedral bears intrinsic marks of
the age assigned to its erection, namely, the twelfth; as does Cor-
mac's church, now called Cormac's hall, of the tenth."—*Milner's
Letters*, p. 131.   And lastly, Mr. Brewer, somewhat more cau-
tiously indeed, expresses a similar opinion of the age of this building:

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" This edifice is said to have been erected in the tenth century; and from its architectural character few will be inclined to call in question its pretension to so high a date of antiquity."—*Beauties of Ireland*, vol. i., Introduction, p. cxiii.

A reference, however, to the authentic Irish Annals would have shown those gentlemen that such opinions were wholly erroneous, and that this church did not owe its erection to the celebrated Cormac Mac Cullenan, who flourished in the tenth century, but to a later Cormac, in the twelfth, namely, Cormac Mac Carthy, who was also king of Munster, and of the same tribe with the former. In the Munster Annals, or, as they are generally called, the Annals of Innisfallen, the foundation of this church is thus recorded :

" A. D. 1127. Sluaʒ móp le Coipoealḃach Ua Conċuḃaip ʒo pιαċτ Copcαιʒ, ⁊ é péιn αp τíp, ⁊ coḃlaċ αp muιp τιoméul ʒo Copcαιʒ, ʒo n-oeαpnαιò péιn ⁊ Donncha mac Cápċαιʒ ʒo n-α ṁuιnτιp Copmac, mac Muιpeαòαιʒ, Mιʒ Cápċαιʒ, o'αιċpíoʒαò, ʒo mo h-eιʒιon oo ool α n-oιlιċpe ʒo Cιop móp, ⁊ bαċαll oo ʒαḃáιl αnn; ⁊ Donnċα, mac Muιpeαòαιʒ, ṁeιʒ Capċαιʒ, oo píoʒαò n-α pιαʒnαιpe. * * * * * * Dá Cheampul α Cιop mop, ⁊ τeampul α ʒ-Cαιpιol, le Copmac."

" A. D. 1127. A great army was led by Turlough O'Conor to Cork, he himself going by land, and a fleet by sea round to Cork, and he and Donough Mac Carthy with his people caused Cormac, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, to be dethroned, so that he was obliged to go on a pilgrimage to Lismore, and take a staff there; and Donogh, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, was inaugurated in his presence. * * * * * * Two churches [were erected] at Lismore, and a church at Cashel, by Cormac."

Thus also, in the same annals, we have the following record of the consecration of this church seven years afterwards :

" A. D. 1134. Coιpιopʒαo τeampuιll Copαmαιc mac Capċαιʒ α ʒ-Cαιpιol leιp αn Αpoeppoʒ ⁊ h-eppoʒαιḃ nα Muṁαn, ⁊ le mατċιḃ Epeαnn, ιoιp lαoċ ⁊ cléιpeαċ."

" A. D. 1134. The consecration of the church of Cormac Mac Carthy at Cashel by the archbishop and bishops of Munster, and the magnates of Ireland, both lay and ecclesiastical."

And again, in the same annals, the erection of this church is thus distinctly stated in the following record of Cormac's death, at the year 1138 :

" A. D. 1138. Copmac, mac Muιpeαòαιʒ, mac Capċαιʒ, mac Sαopḃpeιċιʒ, mac Donncha, mac Ceαllαċαιn Cαιpιl, Rιʒ Deαpmuṁαn, ⁊ ιomcopnαṁαch Muṁαn uιle, ⁊ αn ouιne bα ċpαιḃċιʒe, ⁊ bα cαlαmα, ⁊ bα peαpp pα bιαιò, ⁊ pα eαoαch, ιαp ʒ-cuṁoαch τeampuιll Copαmαιc α ʒ-Cαιpιol, ⁊ oα ċeampull α Cιop mop, oo ṁαpbαò le Dιαpmαιo Suʒαch h-Ua Conċuḃαιp Cιαppuιòe, αιp pαopαṁ Coιp-oeαlḃαιʒ h-Uι Ópιαιn, α ċlιαmαιn, ⁊ α ċαιpoιop Cpιopτ, ⁊ α αlτpom α b-peαll."

" A. D. 1138. Cormac, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, son of Saorbhrethach, son of Donough, son of Ceallachan Cashel, king of Desmond, and a man who had continual contention for the sovereignty of the entire province of Munster, and the most pious, most brave, and most liberal of victuals, and clothing, after having built [the church called] Teampull Chormaic, in Cashel, and two churches in Lismore, was treacherously murdered by Dermot Sugach O'Conor Kerry, at the instigation of Turlough O'Brien, who was his own son-in-law, gossip, and foster-child."

The consecration of this church is also recorded in all the other Irish Annals, except those which are defective about this period :— thus, for example, in Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, at the year 1135 :

" A. D. 1135. There was a great assembly of Leath Moye in Cashell at the consecration of the church of Cormac Mac Carthie King of Cashell."

Thus also in the Annals of Kilronan, which are preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin :

" A. D. 1134. Coippecaó cempoill Copmaic."

Thus again in the *Chronicon Scotorum:*

" A. D. 1134. Coippecaó cempoill Copmaic 1 ʒ-Caipiol la maiéib imoa."

" A. D. 1134. The consecration of Cormac's church at Cashel by many dignitaries."

Thus again in the continuation of the Annals of Tighernach :

" A. D. 1134. Coippeʒaó ceampuill Copmac a ʒ-Caipiol maicḣib imoa, ioip laech 7 cleipeach."

" A. D. 1134. The consecration of the church of Cormac at Cashel by many chiefs, both lay and ecclesiastical."

And, lastly, thus in the Annals of the Four Masters :

" A. D. 1134. Ceampull oo ponaó la Copbmac, mac Míc Capéaiʒ, pi Caipil, oo ċoippeccaó la peanao cleipeach n-Epeno i n-aoin ionaó."

" A. D. 1134. The church which was built by Cormac, the grandson of Carthach, King of Cashel, was consecrated by a synod of the clergy of Ireland [assembled] in one place."

The preceding authorities will, I think, leave no doubt as to the true age of this structure, and therefore an examination of its characteristic features will not only enable us to obtain an intimate knowledge of the style of architecture prevalent in Ireland in the early part of the twelfth century, but also to mark the differences between that style and those found in buildings, which, there is every reason to believe, should be assigned to earlier periods.

It may indeed be objected, that the word cumoaċ, which is used by the annalists to express the erection or foundation of this church, does not literally bear that signification, but rather a restoration or

covering of the building, as the word is employed in that sense to denote the covering or casing of a book; and, in fairness, I should confess that, in the translation of the Annals of Inisfallen, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, the word cumḃaċ is rendered doubtfully " built, or restored ;" and I should also add, that the verb cumḃaiġim is explained in O'Brien's Dictionary as signify- ing " to keep or preserve, to maintain or support, also to build, rather to roof and cover a building."   But this latter part of the explanation is an inference of Dr. O'Brien's, and it is not warranted by any au- thority found in Irish manuscripts.   In these documents the word cumḃaċ is beyond question employed to denote the erection as well as the founding of a building, and sometimes the building itself; as in the following example in Cormac's Glossary, at the word Αιϲὃε :

> " Αιϲὃε, .ι. eϲὃοе Ӡрeϲe aeԁιԲιϲιum Ϲaϲιne, .ι. cumḃaċ."

> " Aiede, i. e. ecdoe [*recte* ιϰᵈοµή] Græce, *ædificium* Latine, i. e. cumḃach."

And, in like manner, the verb cumḃaiġim is used to translate the Latin *condo*, with which it is very probably cognate, as in the follow- ing example from the Book of Ballymote, in which *condita est* is translated ро cumḃaiġeaὃ :

> " *Roma condita est,* .ι. ро cumḃaiġeaὃ ιn Roιṁ."—Fol. 3, *b, a.*
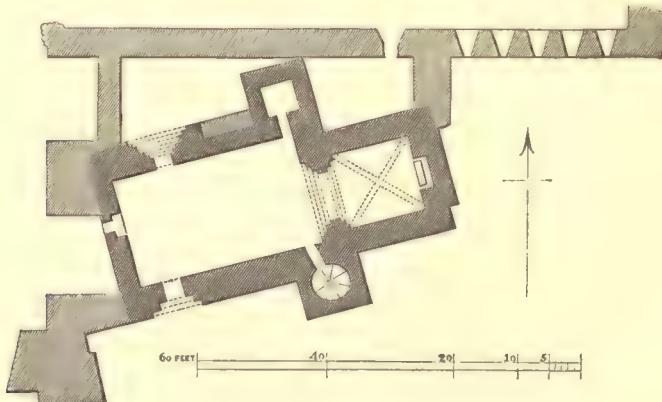
In its general plan, as above shown, Cormac's chapel exhibits many points of resemblance with the earlier stone-roofed churches of the Irish, as in its simple division into nave and chancel, and in the crofts or apartments placed over them; but, in most other re- spects, it is totally unlike them, and indeed, taken as a whole, it may be considered as unique in Ireland.   For example, there is no

east window in the chancel, which has at its eastern end an arched quadrangular recess, or apsis, apparently designed to receive an altar, or perhaps a throne, and which forms externally a third division to the church.

Another peculiarity in this structure is the absence of an original entrance doorway on the west side,—for the present one is obviously of later date,—and its having both a northern and southern entrance : but the most remarkable of these peculiarities is its having a square tower at each side of the termination of the nave, at its junction with the chancel, and thus giving the church a cruciform plan. These towers are of unequal heights, that on the south side, which wants its roof, being about fifty-five feet in height, while the other, including its pyramidal roof, is but fifty feet. The southern tower is ornamented with eight projecting belts, or bands,—the lowest being but three feet from the ground,—and a projecting parapet, which is apparently of later erection. The northern tower is similarly or-

namented with bands, but exhibits only six of them. The southern tower contains within it a spiral staircase of stone, leading to the crofts already spoken of, where it terminates; and the upper portion of this tower was occupied by small apartments over each other, the uppermost of which was lighted by four small quadrangular apertures, as if this apartment had been intended as a look-out station. There is also a small aperture between each of the belts, except the sixth and seventh, to light the staircase. The northern tower has neither staircase nor upper apertures; but it was divided into a series of apartments, the floors of which rested on offsets and joists, the holes for which were left in the ashlar work.

In the ornamental details of the building a similar peculiarity will
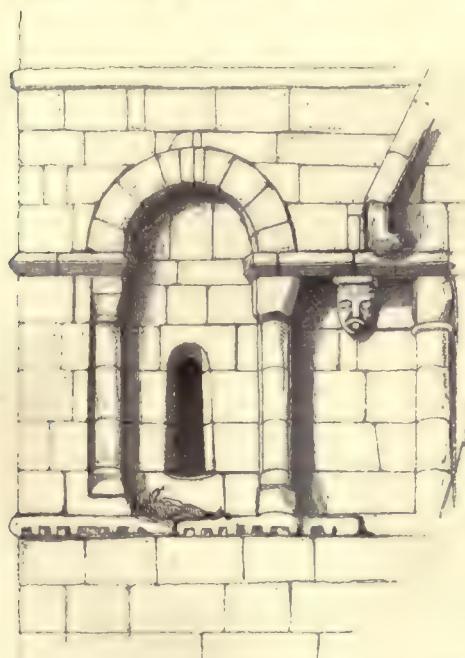
be found to distinguish them from those in churches of earlier date.
Externally the walls are decorated with blank arcades of semicircular
arches, arranged in two stories,—resembling very much the churches
sculptured on the marble fonts in Winchester cathedral, and in the
neighbouring one of East Meon, as figured by Dr. Milner and others,
—and the lower of these arcades is carried round the southern tower.
Internally the side walls are decorated with similar arcades, except
that, in the nave, the arches do not spring from columns, but from
square pilasters.   These pilasters have impost mouldings resting on
billets, and are ornamented with the lozenge, hatched, checked, star,
and other mouldings, characteristic of the Norman style; and the
arches exhibit the zig-zag moulding both on their faces and soffits.
Above these arcades the north and south walls of the nave are
ornamented with a series of stunted semicolumns, resting on a pro-
jecting string-course chamfered underneath; and from the capitals
of these spring square ribs, which support and decorate the semi-
circular roof.

The entrance doorways are also richly ornamented, both on their
shafts, capitals, and arches, and they present, moreover, very curious
grotesque sculptures on their lintels.   The ornaments on the south

doorway, which exhibits on its lintel a figure of a grotesque animal, will be sufficiently understood from the annexed illustration, which represents the doorway, as at present, built up.
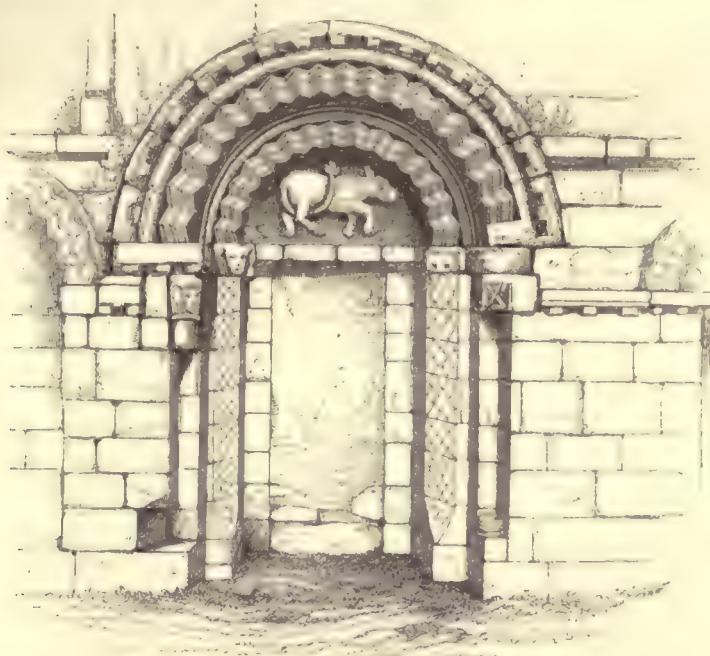
The north doorway, which was obviously the grand entrance, is of greater size, and is considerably richer in its decorations. It is ornamented on each side with five separate columns and a double column, supporting concentric and receding arch mouldings, and has a richly decorated pediment over its external arch. The basso re-lievo on the lintel of this doorway represents a helmeted centaur, shooting with an arrow at a lion, which appears to tear some smaller animal beneath its feet. The design of this sculpture, and the general character of the doorway, will be seen from the illustra-tion on the next page, and outlines of its capitals will be found on pages 298–300.

In addition to these doorways, there are two others in the nave, leading to the towers, but considerably less ornamented than those already noticed. That on the south side is only ornamented in its architrave; but that on the north, which is of much greater size, has two semicolumns on each side, and its innermost arch moulding is enriched with the chevron ornament.

The chancel arch is composed of four recessed divisions, and two of its shafts are twined, or fluted, spirally.   The arch mouldings are also richly sculptured, one exhibiting the usual chevron, and another a series of human heads, which extend also along the faces of the piers.   At present this arch exhibits, to some extent, the horse-shoe form; but this is only an accident, resulting from the pressure of the wall.

The chancel is ornamented, in its side walls, with an arcade like those of the nave, but of a richer character, the arches being supported by columns; and the apsis, or quadrangular recess for the altar, is similarly ornamented, its arcade, however, being open, and its columns enriched with fluted, spiral, and chevron mouldings. The ceiling of the chancel is groined with ribs, springing from the angles, and is ornamented with four human heads at their point of intersection.   Grotesque human heads are also placed immediately beneath the vault on the east and west walls; and the whole of the vaulted roof, as well as the sides of the chancel, appear to have been richly painted in fresco, in which the prevailing colours used were red, yellow, brown, and white.   In the small side recesses curtains were represented, and arches were depicted on the ceiling.   These frescoes are obviously cotemporaneous with the building.

The apartments placed above the nave and chancel are on different levels, the floor of the apartment over the chancel being six feet

six inches lower than that of the apartment over the nave; and the communication between these apartments is by a plain semi-circular headed doorway, within which is a flight of six stone steps. The smaller apartment, or that over the chancel, is lighted by two small windows, round externally, but square, and splaying considerably internally : these are placed in the east wall, and are about ten inches in the diameter of the circle. The larger apartment, or that placed over the nave, is also lighted by two windows on the east side; these windows are oblong and semi-circular headed on the outside, but square, and splayed considerably on the inside, and are each inclosed in a low and semi-circular headed niche. This apartment is also lighted on its south side by two square windows, which are of modern construction, but may possibly occupy the place of more ancient apertures. At the west end, in a wide recess, there is an original fire-place, with a flue passing through the thickness of the wall; and on each side are small flues, extending round the side walls, close to the present level of the floor, and which were evidently intended to heat the apartment.

In both these apartments the side walls converge from their bases, so as to form a sharp-pointed arch; and, in the larger apartment, a series of corbels project from the side walls, at the height of about six feet from the level of the floor, apparently for the purpose of supporting a wooden floor, and thus forming a second apartment, which was lighted by a square window placed at the summit of the east gable. The formation of the roof of this apartment is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it exhibits a considerable knowledge of the art of construction. It consists of two distinct layers of stone, of which the external one is formed of sandstone ashlar, and the internal one of squared blocks of calc tuffa,—a construction admirably calculated to lessen the superincumbent weight, and obtain a greater security against moisture, without decreasing the stability of the building.

I have described the general features of this curious building with a minuteness which, I fear, may be deemed tedious, but which its importance seemed to me to deserve; and under this impression, I shall now present the reader with detailed illustrations of its most characteristic sculptures, including those on its capitals, which, as will be seen, present a singular variety in their designs, and are never in any two instances exactly similar to each other. I shall

begin with a selection of the capitals of the shafts of the great nor-
thern doorway, which, as I have already observed, is the richest
architectural feature in the building.   The richest of these capitals
are those which decorate a double column on each side.
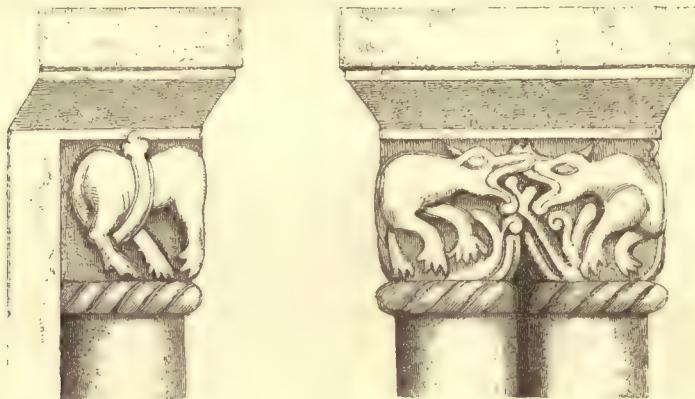
In the curious capital next represented we have an interesting
example of the intersecting semicircular arches, which, by forming
acute arches, gave, in England, according to the ingenious theory so
zealously advocated by the late Dr. Milner, the first suggestion of the
pointed style of architecture, and which was afterwards so generally
adopted in Europe, and refined into a beautiful and harmonious
system.   This theory is, however, I believe, now very generally re-
jected, even by English antiquaries, who have thus given a proof that
they do not love the glory of their country better than truth ; and I

have only alluded to it here in consequence of the cotemporaneous
example which this capital affords of an acquaintance with this form

in Ireland, and which is the more curious inasmuch as no example
of its architectural use occurs in this country.   Similar instances of
its use, as an ornament on capitals, occur in England, as in Appleton
church, Berks, *circa* 1190.

   The capitals which follow are those of the single columns in the
same doorway, and are but little varied in their designs.
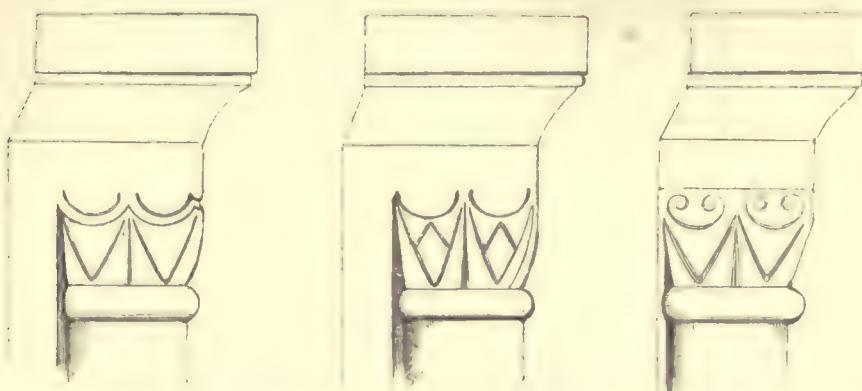
   The next two are more remarkable, particularly the second, which
in its subdivision into small shafts, has an approximation to the clus-
tered column of the pointed style.

   The capitals of the smaller north doorway, or that leading into
the northern tower, are ornamented, like those of the larger doorway,
chiefly with varieties of the Norman truncated and inverted semicones,
with escallopped edges ; but they present one exception worthy of
notice, namely, an imitation of the Ionic volute : and I should also

observe, that the shafts of two of the columns of this doorway are
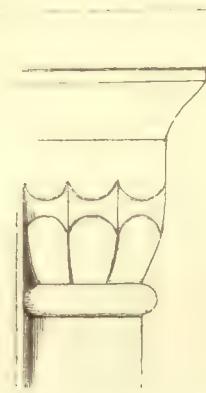
semi-octagonal. The six capitals which follow are those of the
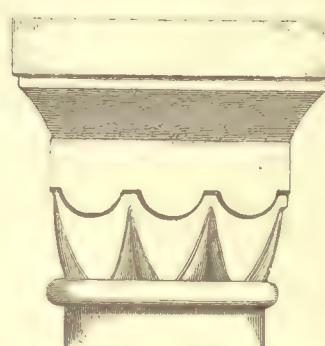
semicolumns which decorate the south side of the nave, and which
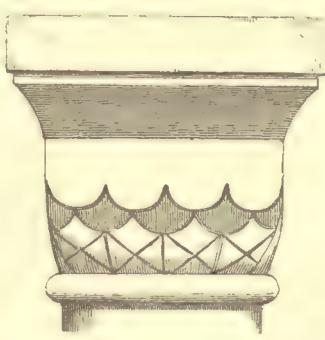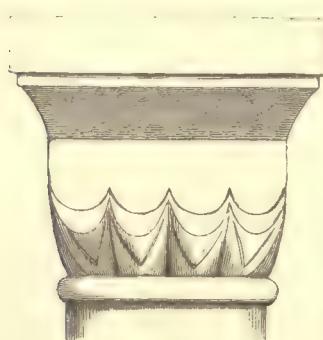
support the ribs of the ceiling ; these are arranged in the same order
as in the building, proceeding from east to west. The six which

next follow are those of the north side, proceeding from west to east; and it will be observed that the fourth of these capitals was
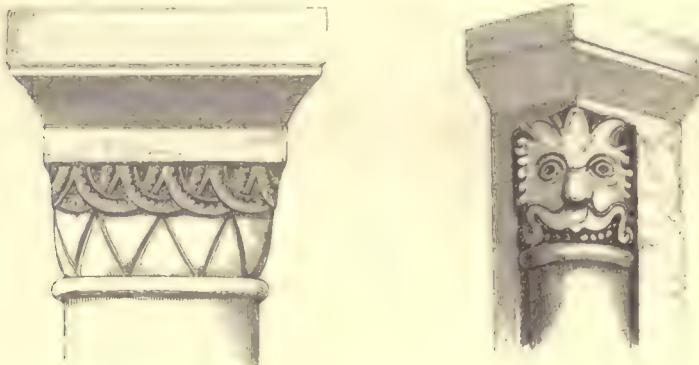
never finished. The next three illustrations represent the capitals of

the outermost double semicolumns of the chancel arch, and which are

of a different style of design from any of the preceding: and the two following illustrations represent the capitals of the double semi-

columns placed on the faces of the piers of the innermost divisions of
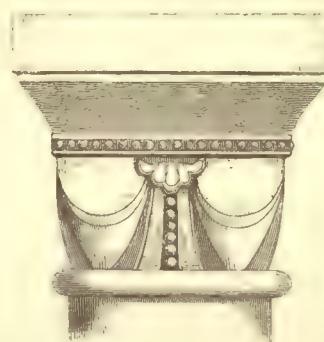
this arch.   These capitals are of the more ordinary Norman types, as
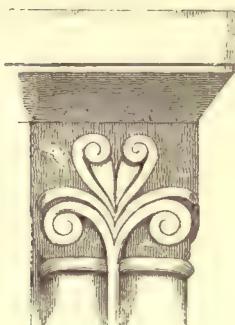
are also those of the chancel, of which the two illustrations at the
top of the next page will serve as examples.
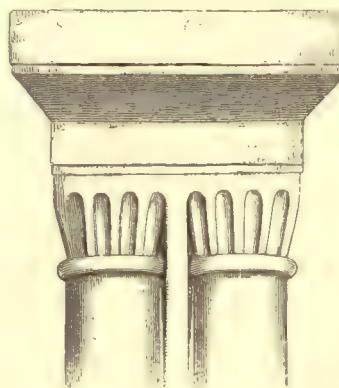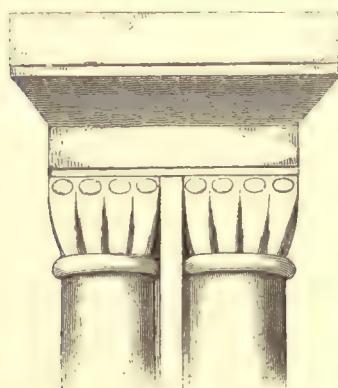
The two illustrations following these are given as characteristic

examples of the bases of the shafts, the first representing the bases of
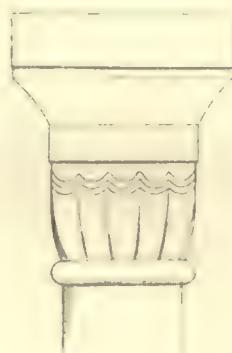
the single shafts of the nave, and the second, those of the double shafts on the piers of the chancel arch.
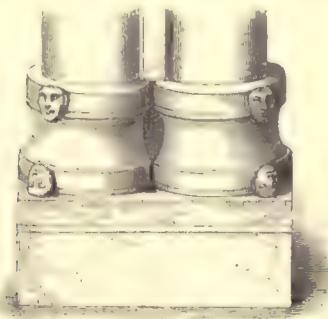
In describing the smaller doorway, at the north side of the nave, entering the north tower, I should have noticed the sculptured label,

or dripstone, terminations, on its interior face, as peculiarly characteristic of the Norman style; and of these I now annex illustrations.

Similar grotesque ornaments terminate some of the mouldings of the larger doorway, but on its external face.

Of the two following illustrations, the first represents one of the

decorated arches of the blank arcade which ornaments the sides of the nave; and the second, one of the arches of the open arcade which ornaments the apsis, or recess, at the end of the chancel.

The two following illustrations will serve as examples of the most
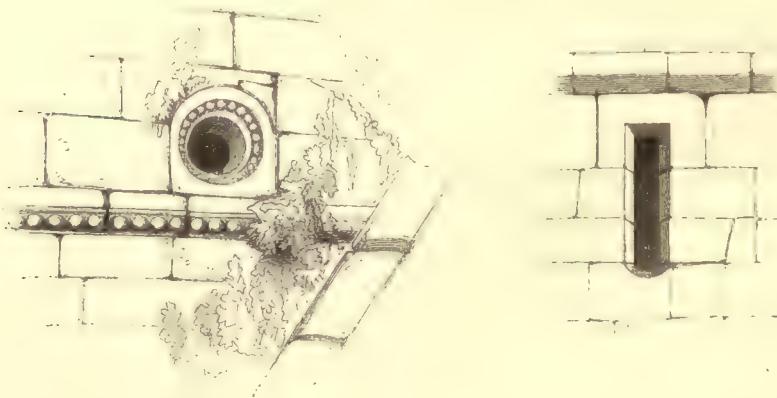
peculiar of the windows of this building, the first representing one of the small round windows at the east end of the croft over the

chancel; and the second, one of the oblong apertures of the south tower, splaying externally, and curved at the sill.

I should not conclude this description of Cormac's Chapel without noticing a curious quadrangular recess, which is placed in the north wall, between the doorway and the tower. This recess is at present occupied by a tomb, and was obviously intended originally for such a purpose; and according to the popular tradition, it was the place of the tomb of the founder, Cormac Mac Carthy. The present tomb, however, is obviously not the original one, which, as I was informed by the late Mr. Austin Cooper, had been removed into a small chapel in the north transept of the Cathedral, more than a century since, after the abandonment of that noble edifice to ruin in Archbishop Price's time, and where, divested of its covering stone, it still remains, and is now popularly called " the Font."
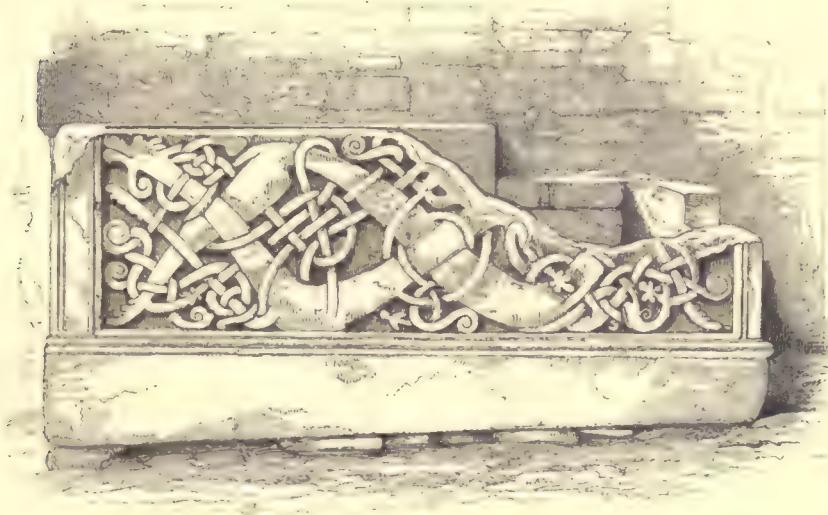
It is said that the covering stone of this tomb was ornamented with a cross, and exhibited an inscription in Irish, containing the name of Cormac, king and bishop of Munster, and that this sculpture and inscription were ground off its surface by a tradesman of the town, who appropriated the stone as a monument for himself and family; and I may remark, that the probability of these traditions being true, is greatly increased by the character of the interlaced ornaments, which are sculptured on the front of the tomb, and which

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are obviously of the twelfth century, and similar in style to those
on the base of the stone cross now remaining in the cemetery adjacent
to the Chapel, and with which it is obviously cotemporaneous.   I
should further add, that the length and breadth of this tomb is such
as to fit it exactly to the recess from which it is said to have been
removed.   But, strong as these circumstances appear, there is yet a

fact to be stated, which may throw some doubt on the truth of these
traditions, or at least so far as they relate to the tomb having been
that of the founder of the church, namely, that, on the opening of the
tomb, there was discovered a crozier of exceedingly beautiful work-
manship, and which, from its form and style of ornament, there is
every reason to believe must be of cotemporaneous age with the
Chapel.   It is certain, at all events, that its age cannot be many years
later ; and I may remark, that a perfectly similar head of a crozier,
which is preserved among the antiquities in the Museum of Cluny,

is ascribed by the learned author of "*Les Arts au Moyen Age*," to the commencement of the twelfth century. The Cashel crozier, after having been in the possession of the Cooper family, of Cashel, for a considerable period, passed into my possession at the sale of the museum of the late Dr. Tuke, it having been purchased by him at the sale of the library of the celebrated Joseph Cooper Walker, author of the Memoirs of the Irish Bards, and other works, and to whom it had been given by Mr. Austin Cooper. The question then naturally arises, was Cormac Mac Carthy, the founder of this Chapel, a bishop as well as a king, or, are we to reject the tradition, and adopt the alternate conclusion that the monument must have been the tomb of some cotemporaneous bishop ?

As this is a question which has been already made a subject of interesting controversy, it is greatly to be regretted that the only evidence that could perhaps have settled it,—namely, the inscription upon the tomb,—should be irrecoverably lost; for, under existing circumstances, much may be said on either side without leading to any satisfactory conclusion. It will be recollected that in one of the passages already cited,—that from the Annals of Innisfallen, at the year 1127,—it is stated, that on his expulsion from the throne of Cashel in 1127, Cormac was obliged to take refuge in Lismore, where he was forced to receive a *bachall*, or crozier : but though there is nothing improbable in the circumstance that a deposed prince, of his high character for piety, should have received the episcopal rank to reconcile him to his fallen condition, the statement in the Annals is not sufficient to establish that such was the fact, as the word *bachall* is used in the Irish authorities not only to denote the crozier of a bishop, abbot, or abbess, but also the penitential staff of a pilgrim. But there is another historical evidence of much higher authority, because a cotemporaneous one, which would go far indeed to establish the fact that Cormac had received an episcopal crozier, and enjoyed the dignity of a bishop, when he was restored to his throne. This evidence is found in the last of the following entries in a manuscript copy of the Gospels, written in Ireland, and now pre-served amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum,—n, 1802.

At the end of the Gospel according to St. Matthew :

"Oṁ ꝺo Maelbṁiʒꞇe qui ꞃcṁibṁꞇ hunc libṁum. Iṛ moṛ in ʒnim Coṁmac Mac Caṗꞇhaiʒ ꝺo maṛbao o Caiṁꝺelbach h-ua Oṁiain."—Fol. 60.

" Pray for Maelbrighte *qui scripsit hunc librum.*   Great the deed, Cormac Mac Car-
thaig to be killed by Tairdelbhach O'Brien."

At the end of the Gospel according to St. Luke:

" Oṗ oo Maelbpiʒce qui pcpibpic hunc libpum xx°uiii° anno aeɛaɛip puae.   In
oapa bliaoain iapp in ʒoeɛhaiʒ moip pin."

" Pray for Maelbrighte *qui scripsit hunc librum, xx°viii.° anno ætatis suæ.*   This
was the second year after the great storm."—Fol. 127, *b.*

At the end of the Gospel according to St. John:

" Oṗ oo Maelbpiʒce h-Ua Maeluanaiʒ, qui pcpibpic hunc libpum, .i. in
n-Apo macha, ocup ip in ampip Donnchaɛha h-Ua Cepbaill apopíʒ Aipʒiall po
pcpibao, .i. in bliaoain oan pepioe oeac pop Kal. Enaip, .i. ip in bliaoain po mapbao
Copmac Mac Capoaiʒ, piʒepcop Muman 7 h-Epenn ap chena in n-a ampip.   Aɛeaɛ
po h-auɛem piʒpa h-Epenn ip in n-ampip pein, .i. Muipcepɛaċ, mac Neill Ui
Loċlaino, Ailiuch; Cu Ulao, mac Conchobuip, piʒ Ulao; Mupcaɛh Ua Mael-
pechlaino, piʒ Mioe; Diapmaic Mac Mupchaoa, piʒ Laʒen; Conchobop Ua
Bpiain, piʒ Muman; Caipoelbach Ua Conchobaip, piʒ Connacht; Ʒilla Mac
Liac, mac mic Ruaiopi (.i. mac ino ip oana oo Ib Bipim), h-i comapbap Pacpaic.
Bennach ap cech oen leʒpap ppip in libup pa;—ʒebeo paicip ap anmain in pcpi-
baeoa,—uaip ip mop haċeɛep eɛip copp 7 cpacɛao ic."—Fol. 156, *b.*

" Pray for Maelbrighte h-Ua Maeluanaig, *qui scripsit hunc librum,* i. e. at Armagh,
and in the time of Donnchat O'Cerbhaill, chief king of Airgiall, it was written, i. e. the
year on which the sixteenth was on the Calends of January, i. e. the year in which
Cormac Mac Carthaig, royal bishop of Munster and of all Ireland also in his time, hath
been killed.   These are the kings of Erin at this time, i. e. Muirchertach, son of Niall
O'Lochlainn, of Ailiuch ; Cu Ulad, son of Conchobhar, king of Ulad ; Murcath Ua
Maelshechlainn, king of Meath; Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster ; Con-
chobhor Ua Briain, king of Munster ; Tairdelbhach Ua Conchobhair, king of Con-
naught; Gilla Mac Liac, the grandson of Ruaidhri (i. e. the son of the poet of the
Hy-Briuin), in the successorship of Patrick.   A blessing on every one who shall let
this book pass [*without censure*],—let him repeat a pater for the soul of the scribe,—
for it stands much in need of indulgence both in its text and commentaries."

This interesting passage has been already published by Dr. O'Brien
in his Irish Dictionary, under the word CURMAC or CORMAC, and also
by Dr. O'Conor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores,* Prolegomena,
p. cxliii, who also gives a fac simile of the original; and both these
writers show, from collateral authorities, that the entry was written
in the year 1138.   That Cormac was really a royal bishop, as he
is here called, Dr. O'Conor seems to have entertained no doubt;
but, in fairness, I should acknowledge that his predecessor, Dr.
O'Brien, who correctly translates pi-epcop Muman, royal bishop of
Munster, gives it as his opinion that the writer, Maelbrighde, " had no

other foundation for styling Cormac *Royal Bishop of Munster* than because he had repaired the cathedral church of Cashel and two churches at Lismore, and was otherwise reputed a man of a pious and holy life, which is the character St. Bernard gives of him in his book *De Vita S. Malachiæ*, according to Malachy's reports to him concerning Cormac, to whom he was doctor and director during his retreat at Lismore, after his dethronement by the faction of his brother Donogh."

But this reasoning of Dr. O'Brien, though it has received the corroborative support of the usually judicious and critical Dr. Lanigan, is far from being satisfactory, as there is no example to be found in Irish authorities for such a loose application of words, so simple and significant; and as to the silence of St. Bernard with respect to the episcopal rank of Cormac, it can scarcely be considered of sufficient weight to upset the direct authority of a native and cotemporaneous ecclesiastical writer, because it is obvious that if Cormac were a bishop at all, he could have been only so in the then Irish and irregular way, which St. Bernard would have been the last to acknowledge or recognize, and of which he thus speaks:

" Verùm mos pessimus inoleuerat quorundam diabolica ambitione potentum sedem sanctam obtentum iri hæreditaria successione. Nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu et familia sua. Nec parum processerat execranda successio, decursis iam hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim. Et eò vsque firmauerat sibi ius prauum, imò omni morte puniendam iniuriam generatio mala et adultera, vt etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed Episcopi nunquam."— *Vita Malachiæ*, cap. vii.

The arguments of Dr. Lanigan add but little weight to those of Dr. O'Brien, and are, in some instances, unworthy of his learning. The following are his remarks on this difficult question :

" Dr. O'Conor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* 2 *Proleg.* 141) calls Cormac M'Carthy not only king but bishop of Munster. He quotes Maelbrigte, (of whom see *Not.* 94 to *Chap.* XXI.) who styles him *rig escop Muman.* But if *escop* mean *bishop,* as Dr. O'Conor thinks, it cannot in this passage be taken in a strict literal sense. *Escop* is not in several Irish dictionaries, *ex g.* those of Lhuyd and O'Reilly, who have no other word for *bishop* than *easbog* or *easbug.* O'Brien, however, has, besides *easbog,* also *eascop.* Yet, admitting that *rig escop* signifies *king bishop,* either Maelbrigte was mistaken, or, what is more probable, he gave Cormac the title of bishop in an honorary manner on account of his piety and attention to ecclesiastical matters, similar to that, in which Constantine the Great was styled *bishop.* Or, perhaps, *escop* indicates an allusion to his having taken a pilgrim's staff at Lismore (see *Not.* 57 to *Chap.* XXVI.)

" That Cormac Mac-Carthy was not a real bishop is evident from the Annals of Innisfallen, which often make mention of him, as a king, a warrior, &c. Had he been also a bishop, it is impossible but that we would find him so called somewhere in said Annals. Or would not St. Bernard, who speaks so highly of him, have told us that he was not only a king but a bishop? Keating relates (*History, &c., B.* 2, p. 103, *Dublin ed.*) his murder; and Lynch (*Cambr. ever. cap.* 21) treats of him rather minutely; but neither of them has a word about his having been a bishop."—*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 108.

In reference to these remarks I may observe, that Dr. Lanigan's doubts as to the meaning of the word epcop are quite puerile, for there cannot be a question that it is one of the older Irish forms of the modern word eapboჳ, which in ancient inscriptions, and manuscripts, is generally written epᴘcop, and which, is but a corruption of the Latin *episcopus*. And if, as Dr. Lanigan conjectures, the word *escop* had any allusion to Cormac's having taken a staff at Lismore, it must have been to an episcopal staff, and not that of a pilgrim, unless he could show that the word *escop* was applied to a pilgrim. Neither can the silence of St. Bernard, as I have already remarked, be considered sufficient to settle the question, for though Dr. Lanigan deems such silence sufficient to overturn the assertions of Colgan, Ware, and Harris, in the case of the second usurpation of the archbishopric of Armagh by Nigel, in opposition to St. Malachy,—indeed St. Bernard goes even farther, and states that Nigel was obliged to remain quiet during the remainder of his life,—yet the fact of that second usurpation is most clearly proved by the Irish annals.

Neither, again, can any great weight be laid on the fact that the Annals of Innisfallen and the other annals are silent as to king Cormac having been a bishop, because it should be recollected that the old Annals of Innisfallen, which should justly be regarded as a valuable authority, are defective at the period in which he flourished, and the Dublin Annals are only a compilation made subsequently to the year 1459. It is, indeed, a singular fact, that in our most ancient annals, that portion of them which would have preserved to us the events of Cormac's time, by a strange fate, are defective; and the oldest authority which I have found, namely, the continuator of Tighernach, throws no light upon the subject. And it is no less remarkable that, in the annals of later age, the death of Cormac is stated in such a way as to leave it optional with the reader whether he should consider him a bishop in reality, or only in a figurative

sense. Thus in the Annals of Kilronan, which were compiled in
Connaught in the fifteenth century :

"A. D. 1138. Copmac, mac meʒ Cappṫaiʒ, aipopiʒ Depmuman 7 e͞pp piʒ
n-Ep. in-a péimep ap cpabaiṫ 7 ap éiónacul peṫ 7 maine ṫo cleipcibo 7 cellaib, 7
ap iapmapc neʒlapoaʒóa a lebpuib, 7 a naiómib, ṫo Ṫhia, 7 ṫo éuicim a mea-
buil la Cuaómumain : 7 bennacht le na anmuin."

"A. D. 1138. Cormac, grandson of Carthach, chief king of Desmond and bishop
king of Ireland in his time for piety and the bestowal of jewels and wealth to the clergy
and the churches, and for ecclesiastical wealth to God, in books and implements, fell
treacherously by Thomond: and a blessing on his soul."

Thus, also, in the Annals of the Four Masters :

"A. D. 1138. Copbmac, mac Muipeaṫaiʒ, mic Capṫaiʒ, ciʒeapna Ṫeapṁu-
man 7 eppoʒ piʒh Epenn i na péiṁeap ap éioónacal peṫ 7 maoine ṫo cléipcib 7
ceallaib, peap leapaiʒce cuaṫ 7 ecclap, ṫo ṁapbaó i na ciʒ péin i b-pioll la
Coipṫealbach, mac Ṫiapmaṫa Ui-ṫpiain, 7 la ṫa ṁac Ui Chonchobaip Ciap-
paiʒe."

" A. D. 1138. Cormac, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, lord of Desmond and
bishop king of Ireland in his time for his bestowal of jewels and wealth to the clergy
and to the churches, the improver of territories and churches, was treacherously slain
in his own house by Toirdhealbhach, the son of Diarmaid O'Brien, and by the two
sons of O'Conor Kerry."

Here it will be perceived that in both these entries, if we put
a comma after the word eppoʒ, we must clearly understand that
Cormac was truly a bishop; while, on the other hand, if we choose
to suppose the words eppoʒ and piʒ to form a compound term, and
connected with the remaining clauses of the sentence, we may con-
sider him as only honoured with the title of bishop for his piety and
liberality to the Church, as Drs. O'Brien and Lanigan have sup-
posed,—and not as a bishop-king virtually, as Dr. O'Conor under-
stands the words of the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters,
but which in fairness I must state he does not translate correctly, as
will appear from a comparison of his version with the strictly literal
one already given :

"A. D. 1138. Cormacus filius Muredachi filii Carthii, Princeps Desmoniæ, et Epis-
copus Rex Hiberniæ durante regimine suo, Donator munerum pretiosorum et divi-
tiarum Clero et Ecclesiis, optimus Consiliarius Clero et populo, occisus est dolose in
domo propria, a Tordelbacho filio Diarmitii O'Brian, et a duobus filiis O'Conori Re-
gionis Kerry."

On the whole, however, the evidences appear to me to favour
the conclusion that Cormac was really a bishop, as well as king, of

Munster; and particularly when we take into consideration the facts,
—that it was a usual circumstance amongst the Munster princes to
step from the church to the throne, as in the case of the celebrated
Cormac Mac Cullenan, and his successor, Flahertach Mac Inmui-
nen;—that we have evidence in the old Annals of Innisfallen, or
Munster, that both Cormac's father and grandfather had been comh-
arbas, or successors, of St. Ailbhe in Emly, and that the former was
also king of the Eoganachts, or Desmond;—that Cormac was but
a second son, and succeeded to the throne on the fatal illness of his
elder brother, Teige, in 1106, and was therefore likely to have been
previously provided for in the Church, as his predecessors had been;
—and lastly, that the church built at Cashel by Cormac—*Saint*
Cormac, as Lynch styles him—was always called Temple Cormac,—
thus retaining the name of its individual founder, which no church
in Ireland, within my knowledge at least, ever did, when such founder
was not an ecclesiastic,—and hence, as I conceive, the popular tradi-
tion which has so long ascribed its erection to the royal bishop
Cormac Mac Cullenan, to disprove which I have been led into this
somewhat tedious digression.

    As many of my readers may desire to see a representation of
the crozier, which has principally led to the preceding investigation,
I annex an outline of its head or crook, the only part which, from
the durability of its material, now remains, the staff having been of
wood This head is formed of copper, and measures twelve inches
in length, and five in the diameter of the crook, or circular head.
The crook, or upper portion of the crozier, represents a serpent,
terminated by a double faced head. Its surface is covered with a
sunk lozenge carving, filled with a vitreous enamel of a blue colour,
and the intervening elevations of which are gilt,—a design obviously
intended to represent the scales of the reptile. Within the curve is
a human figure, standing, with one leg placed on the neck of the
serpent, and the other on the back of a double-faced wingless dragon,
which he has pierced in the back with a spear, which the dragon
bites. This human figure is dressed in a simple tunic, tied round the
waist; and the feet are covered with buskins, which extend above
the ankles. This figure had wings fastened to the shoulders and to
a central bar, which connects the figure with the circle; but these
wings have been detached and lost. Both the figures were gilt, and

their eyes, as well as those of the serpent, are formed of small gems; and the sides of the dragon are ornamented with a line of turquoises, placed at equal intervals from each other. The bowl, or middle portion, which is hollow, is en-circled by a central belt, or-namented with nine turquoises and nine sapphires, placed al-ternately and at equal distances from each other, the inter-vening spaces being filled with sculptured beads. Above and below this belt there are figures of four dragons, gilt, and with eyes formed of gems. The tail of each of these animals is brought round the head of the other, so as to form a very symmetrical ornament; and the surrounding ground is filled with a blue enamel. Imme-diately above the bowl, and encircling the upper portion of the staff, is an ornament re-sembling the Irish crown, con-sisting of eight radii, orna-mented above the fillet with the same number of gems. The lower portion of the head, or cylindrical socket, is orna-mented with a very graceful pattern, composed of leaves, or flowers, in three vertical ranges. The ground in these ornaments is also of a blue enamel, but the stems are gilt, and the flowers are filled with an enamel of white and red, now a good deal decayed. These ranges are separated from each other by three figures of a fish, the well-known mystical symbol of the early Christians; and these figures are each ornamented with a range of seven gems,—turquoises and sapphires alternately,—placed at equal distances along the back.

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Independently of any other consideration, this crozier is of the highest interest as a specimen of the jewellery art in Ireland before the arrival of the English; and, like the cotemporaneous archiepiscopal crozier of Tuam, it may, perhaps, as a work of art, challenge a comparison with any Christian monument of the same class and age now remaining in Europe.

Having now proved, as I trust satisfactorily, that the architectural features found in Cormac's Chapel are not only strongly marked with the known characteristics of Norman architecture, and that these characteristics are very different from those which distinguish buildings of undetermined age, but which I would assign to an earlier period, it might be considered unnecessary to pursue this comparison further, and particularly as several characteristic examples of this Norman style of architecture of the twelfth century, equally well marked, will be found in the Third Part of this Inquiry. I cannot, however, resist the temptation to notice in this place the remaining fragments of a church of somewhat later age, in which the same well-marked peculiarities are found, and which was originally, as would appear, of far greater splendour; I allude to the cathedral church of Tuam, which Ware states to have been rebuilt " about the year 1152, by the Archbishop Edan O'Hoisin, by the aid and assistance of Turlogh O'Conor, king of Ireland."

I have not, indeed, been able to discover what authority Ware had for this statement; but that the cathedral was rebuilt by those distinguished persons may be considered certain from the following cotemporaneous inscriptions, on a slab of sandstone, found near the communion table of the present choir, and which seems to have been mistaken by Harris for a monument to the archbishop; for, in his notice of O'Hoisin he states: "He died in 1161, and was buried in his own cathedral, under a monument, on which is inscribed an *Irish* epitaph, giving him the title of Comarban or Successor of *Jarlath*." These inscriptions are as follows:

"OҴ ꝺO ChOMAꝶꝺA IAꝶƚAIƚhe ꝺO AEꝺ U OSSIN ƚAS IN ꝺEꝶ-
NAꝺ IN ChꝶOSSA."

" A PRAYER FOR THE COMHARBA OF IARLATH, FOR AED O OSSIN,
BY WHOM THIS CROSS WAS MADE."

This inscription runs in two parallel vertical lines along the length of the stone. A second, on the other side, runs horizontally, in a series

of short lines, and is unfortunately in part obliterated : as far, how-
ever, as the letters can be deciphered with certainty it reads as follows :

"ⲞⲢ ⲐⲞⲚ ⲢⲒⳌ ⲐⲞ ⲦⲞⲒⲢⲐⲈⳘⲂⲨⳞ Ⲩ ⳞⲞⲚⳞⳞⲞⳘⲀⲒⲢ ⲞⲢ ⲐⲞⲚ-
ⳞⲀⲈⲢ* ⲐⲞ ⳌⲒⳘⳘⲨ ⳞⲢ Ⲩ Ⳟ**** ⲐⲞ ****."

" A PRAYER FOR THE KING, FOR TOIRDELBUCH U CHONCHUBAIR.
A PRAYER FOR THE ARTIST, FOR GILLU CHRIST U CH****
FOR ****."

It may be doubted, however, that the date assigned to the erection
of the church of Tuam, by Ware, is the true one, and there is, I
think, greater reason to believe that it was erected many years ear-
lier,—or, at least, previously to O'Hoisin's having received the pall
as an archbishop in 1152, or even to his succession to the archbishopric
in 1150. For though, in one of the inscriptions above given, he is
called the Comharba of Iarlath,—which might equally imply that he
was archbishop or abbot of Tuam,—yet in the following inscription,
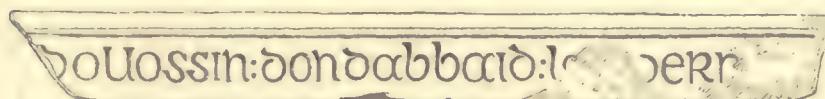
on the base of the great stone cross, now lying in the market-place,
he is distinctly called abbot; and it is not in any degree likely that
this inferior title would have been applied to him after his elevation
to the archbishopric; for in one of the inscriptions on the cross, or
crozier, of the archbishops of Tuam, or Connaught,—now, through
the liberality of Professor Mac Cullagh, preserved in the Museum of
the Royal Irish Academy,—his predecessor, Domhnall, the son of
Flannagan O'Dubhthaigh, is expressly called ⲈⲡⲓⳞⲟⲡ ⲤⲟⲛⲛⲁⳞⲧ ;
and that O'Hoisin was Comharba of St. Iarlath, or abbot of Tuam, as
early as 1134, is proved by an entry in the Annals of Innisfallen at
that year, stating that he was sent by King Turlough O'Conor to effect
a peace between Munster and Ulster; and indeed there is no reason
to doubt that he became abbot as early as the year 1128, on the death
of Muirges O'Nioc.

The above inscription reads as follows :
    "ⲞⲢ ⲐⲞ Ⲩ ⲞⳞⳞⲒⲚ: ⲐⲞⲚⲐⲀⳘⳘⲀⲒⲐ : ⳘⲀⳞ ⲒⲚ ⲐⲈⲢⲚⲀⲐ."
" A PRAYER FOR O OSSIN; FOR THE ABBOT, BY WHOM IT WAS MADE."

A second inscription on the opposite side of the same base, pre-
serves the name of the king, Turlogh O'Conor, as in that on the slab
already noticed, and reads as follows:

2 S 2

"OR ᴅO ᴄhOIRᴅELᴃUch UO CONChUᴃUIR. ᴅOH ✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱
          IARLAᴄh LAS IN ᴅERHAᴅ INSAE ✱✱✱✱✱✱."

"A PRAYER FOR TURLOGH O CONOR FOR THE ✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱
          IARLATH BY WHOM WAS MADE THIS ✱✱✱✱✱✱."

That this cross was of cotemporaneous age with the church, and
was intended as a memorial of its founders, or rebuilders, there can
be no reason to doubt. Such was the Cross of the Scriptures at
Clonmacnoise, which, as I have already shown, was designed as a
memorial of the erection of the great church there; and such also
was the triple-shafted cross at Cashel, just noticed in connexion with
Cormac's Chapel, though the inscriptions on it are now wholly obli-
terated. It seems more probable, therefore, that this church was
erected previously to 1150, when O'Hoisin became bishop, and be-
tween the year 1128, when he became abbot, and 1150, when he
succeeded as archbishop. But the precise year of its erection must
remain a matter of doubt, till some definite authority be discovered
to determine it. If, however, I might indulge in conjecture, I should
assign its erection to a period not very long after his succession to
the abbacy, and this not only from the perfect similarity of the inter-
laced tracery which decorates the base of this cross,—of one side of
which I annex a sketch,—to that on the archiepiscopal crozier of

Tuam, which, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, was made in
the year 1123, but also to the traceries on the base of the cross at
Cashel made in 1134, and still more with those on the tomb of

Cormac, sculptured, as we may assume, in 1138. And I may add, that in the general form of this cross there is an equal similarity with that at Cashel, the arms in both instances being supported by external and detached shafts,—a peculiarity of form not found in any crosses of earlier date in Ireland. The cross of Tuam, however, is of far greater magnificence and interest, and may justly rank as the finest monument of its class and age remaining in Ireland; and yet, to the disgrace of the inhabitants of that ancient city, its shaft, head, and base, though all remaining, are allowed to be in different localities, detached from each other. It is formed of sandstone, and measures, in the pedestal, five feet three inches in breadth, and three feet eight inches in height; and in the shaft and head, ten feet in length, or, including the base, thirteen feet eight inches.
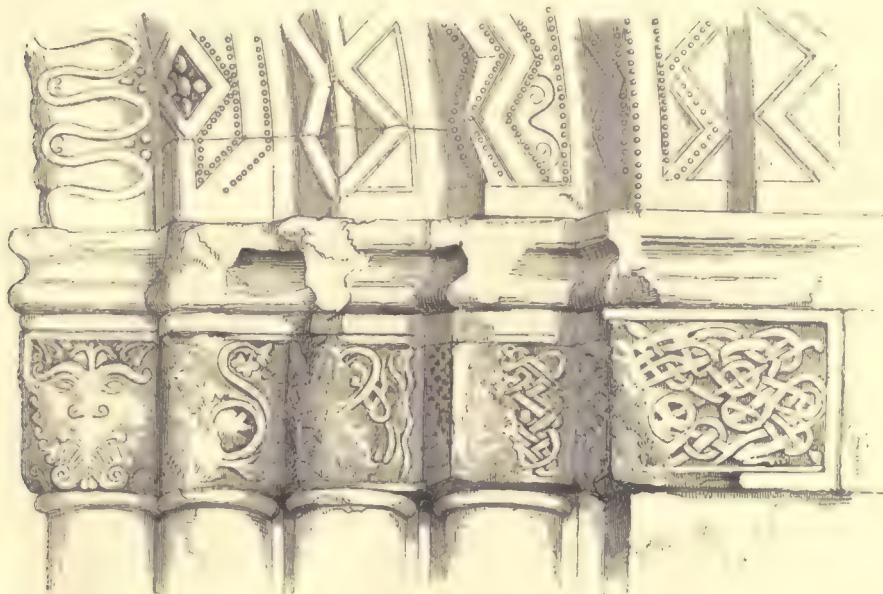
Of the ancient church of Tuam the chancel only remains; but, fortunately, this is sufficient to make us acquainted with its general style of architecture, and to shew that it was not only a larger, but a more splendid structure than Cormac's church at Cashel, and not unworthy of the powerful monarch to whom it chiefly owed its erection. This chancel is a square of twenty-six feet in external measurement, and the walls are four feet in thickness. Its east end is perforated by three circular-headed windows, each five feet in height

and eighteen inches in width externally, but splaying on the inside to
the width of five feet.   These windows are ornamented with the
zig-zag and other mouldings, both externally and internally, and they
are connected with each other by label, or stringcourse mouldings,
of which the external one is enriched with pateræ.   In the south
wall there is a window similarly ornamented, but of smaller size.

But the great feature of this chancel is its triumphal arch,—
now erroneously supposed to have been a doorway,—which is, per-
haps, the most magnificent specimen of its kind remaining in Ireland.
It is composed externally of six semicircular, concentric, and recessed
arches, of which the outer is twenty feet six inches in width at its
base, and nineteen feet five inches in height; and the inner, fifteen
feet eight inches in width, and sixteen in height.   The shafts of the
columns,—which, with the exception of the outermost at each side,
are semicircular,—are unornamented; but their capitals, which are
rectangular, on a semi-circular torus, are very richly sculptured,
chiefly with a variety of interlaced traceries, similar to those on the
base of the stone cross ; and in two instances,—those of the jambs,—
with grotesque human heads.
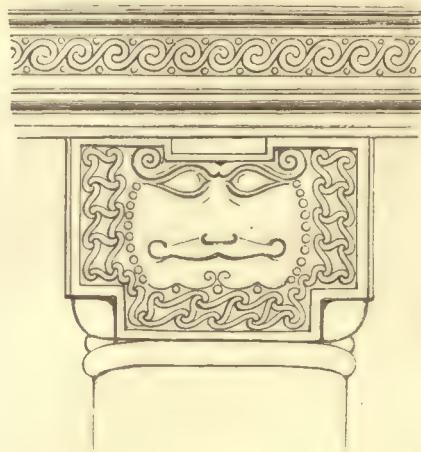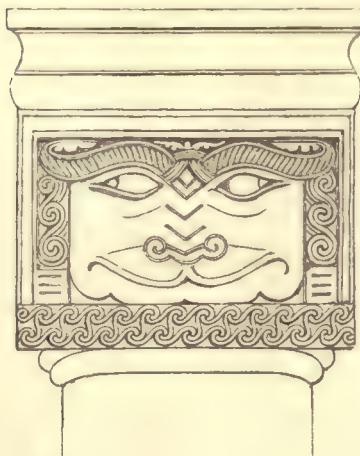
The imposts are, at one side, very richly sculptured with a scroll
and other ornaments; and, at the other side, present a kind of in-
verted ogive; and these imposts are carried along the face of the wall
as tablets.   The bases are unornamented, and consist of a torus and
double plinth.   The arch mouldings consist of the nebule, diamond
frette, and varieties of the chevron, the execution of which is re-

markable for its beauty. I have only to add, that all the ornamental parts of this chancel are executed in red sandstone.

During the short reign of Turlogh's successor, Muirchertach Mac Loughlin, and that of Turlogh's son, Roderic O'Conor, the last of the Irish princes who claimed the sovereignty of Ireland, many churches were erected in the Romanesque style, of which notices will be given in the Third Part of this Inquiry; and in several of these we find a more refined taste of design and beauty of execution than in those of earlier date. The material, also, selected for the ornamental parts, is of a different and better kind, being usually of grey limestone or marble. Such, for example, was the beautiful abbey of Cong, of which, as a characteristic architectural example, I annex an outline of the capitals and arch mouldings of one of the doorways. I

have, indeed, found no authority to enable me to fix with precision the date of the re-erection of this noble monastery, or ascertain the name of its rebuilder; but the characteristics of its style are such as will leave no doubt of its being a work of the close of the twelfth century, while its magnificence indicates with no less certainty the pious bounty of the unhappy Roderic, who, in his later years, found refuge and, as we may hope, tranquillity within its cloistered walls.

In this beautiful abbey, as well as in other monastic edifices of the same age, we find indications of that new and more harmonious style of ecclesiastical architecture denominated Gothic, which became fully developed in France and the British Islands early in the thirteenth century; and amongst the finest specimens of this latter style erected in Ireland, many owed their origin to the Irish princes. But the struggle for dominion which thenceforth ensued between the Irish and the Anglo-Norman chieftains, and which was for so many ages continued in Ireland, was fatal to the progress of the arts; and, with very few exceptions, the architecture, sculpture, and,—as exhibited in our illuminated manuscripts,—painting, not merely ceased to keep pace in improvement with these arts in England and other Christian countries, but, as their monuments prove, gradually declined almost to utter extinction.

But I have extended this section to a tedious length, and though the evidences which I would wish to adduce are still far from being exhausted, I must endeavour to bring it to a close. I trust, however, that enough has been adduced to prove the two following conclusions: first, that churches of stone and lime cement, in a rude style of architecture, were erected commonly in Ireland from a period coeval with the introduction of Christianity; and secondly, that ornamented churches in the Romanesque, or, as it is usually called in England, the Norman style, were not uncommon anterior to the English invasion. I have also, with what success the reader must determine, endeavoured to sustain the conviction which has forced itself on my own mind, that much of this ornamental architecture remaining in Ireland, is of an age anterior to the Norman Conquest of England, and probably, in some instances, even to the Danish irruptions in Ireland. I am aware, indeed, that in this latter opinion I run every risk of being considered rash or visionary, and therefore I trust I shall be excused if, in my desire to sustain it, I avail myself in this place of another and more decided example of such early ornamental architecture, sketched for me by my friend Mr. Burton, since the preceding sheets have been printed off; as, though this example is but a rude one, its antiquity will hardly, as I conceive, be doubted. This example is found in the doorway of the church of St. Dairbhile, which is situated in the wild and hitherto little explored district within the Mullet, in the barony of Erris and Co. Mayo. The church

is, in form, a simple oblong, measuring internally forty feet in length, and sixteen in breadth, and is lighted at its east end by a small, unadorned, semicircular-headed window, splaying considerably on the inside; and its doorway, which is also semicircular-headed, is placed in the west wall. In both instances, however, the arch is formed in a single stone. The walls, which are constructed wholly of gneiss, or stratified granite, are two feet seven inches in thickness; and the massive masonry, which is polygonal, is of the oldest character, the

stones being unchiselled, except in the window and doorway, which constitute the chief features of the building. This doorway measures, at present, but four feet ten inches in height, two feet in width at the spring of the arch, and two feet four inches at the base; and the lintel, or arch-stone, is ornamented on each face with a rude architrave in low relief, now greatly time-worn. The stones immediately be-

neath these extend the entire thickness of the wall, and on one of
them we find a sort of tablet, enriched with simple interlaced tracery
shown in the prefixed view of the doorway, as seen from the interior
of the church.

That this church is that erected by St. Dairbhile, whose name it
bears, and whose tomb is situated within its cemetery, I cannot
entertain the slightest doubt; and, therefore, if I am not in error, it
must be regarded as a church of the sixth century, within which
St. Dairbhile unquestionably flourished.   This fact appears from her
pedigree, as preserved in the Book of the Genealogies of the Irish
Saints, from which we learn that she was the fourth in descent from
the monarch Dathi, who was killed, according to the *Chronicon
Scotorum*, in the year 427, so that, allowing the usual number of
thirty years to a generation, she must have lived about the middle of
the sixth century.   If, indeed, we could give credit to a statement
in the Life of St. Farannan, as published by Colgan in his *Acta
Sanctorum*, at 25th of February, it would appear that she was living
at the close of this century, as her name is included in the list of
illustrious religious persons who assembled at Ballysadare to meet
St. Columbkille, immediately after the great Council of Druim Ceat,
in 590; but as some of the persons there enumerated were dead, and
others not born, at the time, the statement must be regarded as of
no authority, except as referring her existence to the sixth century,
in which Dr. Lanigan properly places her : St. Dairbhile was of the
second class of Irish saints, and her festivals are set down in the
Irish Calendars, at the 3rd of August and 26th of October.

If, then, in a church erected in the middle of the sixth century,—
as I assume this of St. Dairbhile to be,—situated too in a remote
corner of the island, where we should least expect to meet with any
traces of ancient civilization, or knowledge of arts, we find an example,
however rude, of the use of architectural ornament requiring the
sculptor's aid, is it not a legitimate inference that it could hardly
have been a solitary example, and that ornaments of a higher cha-
racter must have existed in churches in more civilized parts of the
country, and be perpetuated, at least to some extent, from age to age ?

That I may be in error as to the exact ages to which I have
assigned some of the examples adduced, is, I am satisfied, not wholly
impossible, as the style of a peculiar class of ornaments which they

exhibit, and on which I have grounded my opinions, may have been continued, by imitation, to a later period than that to which they originally belonged; and, to some extent, such a continuation is, I have no doubt, the fact. But I have felt it difficult, if not impossible, to resist the impression that buildings which exhibit a class of ornaments, that differ in a remarkable degree from those usually seen on the Norman buildings in England, but which have a perfect similarity to those found in our illuminated manuscripts, jewelled reliquaries, sculptured stone crosses, inscribed tombstones, and, indeed, in every ecclesiastical monument of antiquity preserved to us, of ages prior to the period of the Norman Conquest of England, must, in some instances, be cotemporaneous with those monuments. Of this similarity of ornament a thousand evidences might be adduced from the various classes of remains to which I have alluded, but I shall content myself with a notice of a few of the more striking examples of the characteristic ornaments found on those monuments, as well as
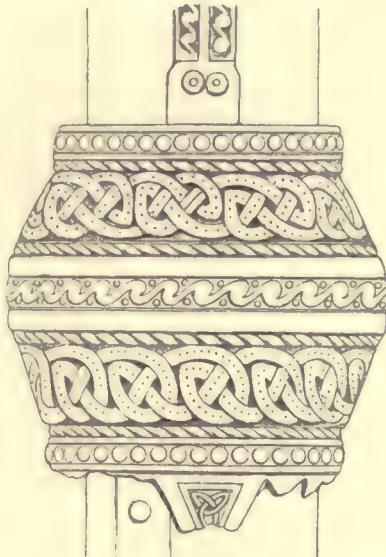
on our ecclesiastical buildings. Of these, one of the most general and remarkable is that curious triangular figure, known among medallists by the name of *triquetra*, and which is formed by the ingenious interlacing of a single cord or line. In the creation of varieties, almost endless, of this figure, the Irish ceards, or artificers, as well as the scribes, found an ample field for the exercise of their fancy in design,

as will sufficiently appear from the first of the prefixed illustrations, which represent two of the bosses of an ancient crozier in my own cabinet,—the crozier of the virgin and martyr, Damhnad *Ochene*, or " The Fugitive," whose memory was venerated by the people of the extensive region of Oriel, as being their chief patroness.   This saint is supposed by Colgan and Dr. Lanigan to be the same person as the martyr St. Dympna, who is venerated as patroness at Ghent in Brabant, and of whom a Legend, or Life, has been published by Messingham and the Bollandists, who suppose she flourished about the close of the sixth century.   If, however, she were the same person as the Irish Damhnad, she must have lived at an earlier period, as her genealogy shows.   But with this question I have no present concern, and I have only to remark that the form, size, and ornaments of her crozier, in its present state, indicate an age not later than the tenth century.   The *triquetra* appears on coins of the Dano-Irish kings, Regnald and Anlaff, who flourished in the tenth century; and on a hitherto unpublished Irish bracteate penny,—which is probably ecclesiastical,—in the collection of my friend, Dr. Aquilla Smith.   It is

also a usual ornament upon the Irish stone crosses of that age; and, from its frequent appearance on all our ecclesiastical antiquities anterior to this period, would appear to have been used as a mystical type of the Trinity.   This figure is found on the doorway of the smaller church at Rahen, and is also figured on one of the stones of the chancel arch of the monastery at Glendalough, already given in p. 264, and which Dr. Ledwich considered as a Runic knot.   That it is not, however, an ornament derived from the Danes, but one in use in Ireland long anterior to the irruptions of that people, is fully proved by its frequent occurrence in the oldest of our manuscript copies of the Gospels, even in those of the sixth and seventh centuries; and its mystical signification seems to be proved by the fact of its being represented as an ornament on the breasts of three of the four figures of the Evangelists, which illustrate the copy of the Gospels written by the scribe Dimma for St. Cronan of Roscrea, about

the close of the sixth century, and now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Its antiquity in Ireland is therefore unquestionable, and the period in which it was most used as an ornament on sepulchral monuments, appears from the inscribed tombstones at Clonmacnoise to have been during the ninth and tenth centuries, after which I have seen no example of it on such monuments. The latest is that on the tombstone of Maelfinnia, who was probably the abbot Maelfinnia, the son of Spellan, and grandson of Maenach, of Clonmacnoise, and whose death is recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, at the year 992, and in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters at the year 991. Of this tombstone I here annex an outline :

The inscription reads :

"OROIꞇ ꝺo maelꝼINNIa."

"A PRAYER FOR MAELFINNIA."

Another characteristic ornament of more palpable meaning which also occurs in some of our oldest churches, is that form of cross sometimes produced by the interlacing of two ovals, and at other times more complicated, being formed by the intersecting of four semi-ellipses and lines parallel to their major axes, of which an example occurring in the monastery church of Glendalough has been already

given at p. 264. Of the more simple of these ornaments there is
an example on one of the upper apertures of the Round Tower of
Roscrea; and though I do not recollect many examples of these
crosses on the inscribed tombstones, they are commonly introduced
as ornaments on the monumental stone crosses of the tenth century,—
as in the example of one of those crosses at Glendalough, given at
p. 266,—and they are also common in the illuminated ecclesiastical
manuscripts of still earlier date.

But there is another form of cross which is found on some of the
sculptured stones of the monastery church at Glendalough, which,
with slight variations, is not uncommon on the Irish inscribed tomb-
stones of the ninth and tenth centuries, and of which I here adduce
as an example that of Blaimac, abbot of Clonmacnoise, whose death
is thus recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum* at the year 896 :

"A. D. 896. blacmac, pṗincepṗ Cluana mac Noiṗ, .i. mac Caiṗceṽaich ṽo
bṗeżmainib, ṽ'ec."

"A. D. 896. Blathmac, chief" [Abbot] " of Clonmacnoise, i. e. the son of Tairce-
dach, of Breghmaine" [Brawney] " died."
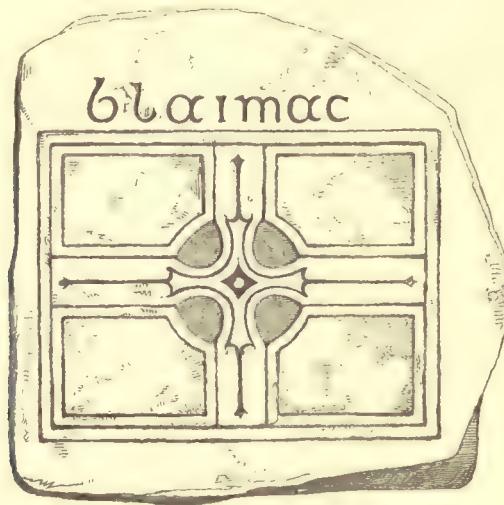
Another and more common ornament on our inscribed tombstones
anterior to the twelfth century, and which is equally common in
our most ancient ecclesiastical manuscripts of the earliest date, is that
boss-shaped figure formed of radiating eccentric lines, merging into
one another as they approach the margin, and leaving between them
pear-shaped spaces, generally three in number, but sometimes two or

four, or even a greater number. This ornament is usually found within a circle, which forms the centre of a cross carved on such monumental stones, and, like the *triquetra*, may possibly be symbolic of the Trinity. As an example of this ornament, in its most usual and simple design, I annex an outline of the tombstone of Flann-chadh, who was probably the abbot of Clonmacnoise of that name, whose death is recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, at the year 1003, and in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters, at the year 1002. The entry of his death in the latter annals is as follows:

" A. D. 1002. Flannchaḋ Ua Ruaiḃne, coṁapba Ciapain, mic an ɼ-ɼaoiɼ [ṿ'ecc]. Ṫo Chopca Moccha a ċenel."

" A. D. 1002. Flannchadh Ua Ruaidhne, comharba of Ciaran, son of the Artifex [died]. He was of the race of Corca Mogha."

The inscription reads:

<div align="center">

" OROIƬ ṪO FLANNChaṪh."

" A PRAYER FOR FLANNCHADH."

</div>

As an example of the more complicated figure of this design, I annex an illustration of the tombstone of the celebrated Suibhne Mac Maelhumai, one of the three Irishmen who visited Alfred the Great in the year 891, and whose death is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle and by Florence of Worcester, at the year 892, by Ca-radoc of Llancarvon at the year 889; and, in the Irish Annals, by the Four Masters at the year 887, in the *Chronicon Scotorum* and the Annals of Innisfallen at 890, and in the Annals of Ulster at the year 890 or 891, the entry in which I here give, as presenting the name nearly letter for letter the same as inscribed on the stone:

" A. D. 890, al. 891. Suibne Mac Maele humai ancopiɼa, eɼ ɼcpiba opɼimuɼ Cluana mac Noiɼ ṿopmiuiɼ."

" A. D. 890, or 891.   Suibne Mac Maele humai, anchorita et scriba optimus Cluana mac Nois, dormivit."

The inscription reads :

" OROIT DO SVIBINE MAC MAILAE HVMAI."
" A PRAYER FOR SUIBINE, THE SON OF MAILAE HUMAI."

It is to be regretted that the works of this celebrated person, whom Florence of Worcester calls " *Doctor Scotorum peritissimus*," have not been preserved to us, or at least are not found in Ireland, and, as Ware tells us, that even the titles of them are lost.

Such complicated combinations of this figure are not common on the inscribed tombstones, for amongst all those at Clonmacnoise, which I have drawn at various times, I have only met with two other examples, and of these one was of cotemporaneous date with that of Suibhne, and, as we may believe, the work of the same sculptor.   I allude to the tomb of the celebrated abbot and bishop, St. Coirpre Crom, who, according to the Irish annalists, died on the 6th of March, 899.   Like most monuments of this time, it is simply inscribed with the bishop's name, and the usual request for a prayer, thus :

" OR DO CORBRIV CHRVMM."
" A PRAYER FOR CORBRIU CROMM."

The other is thus inscribed:

"OR DO ChADGAN."

"A PRAYER FOR TADGAN."

This tomb was probably that of Tadhgan, chief of Teffia at the close of the ninth century, from whose eldest son, Catharnach, are descended the ancient family of O'Catharnaigh, of Kilcoursey, now Fox, and from whose second son, Duibhcen, the family of O'Duiginan derived their name and origin. The tomb of this Duibhcen is also at Clonmacnoise, and as it exhibits a good specimen of Irish monumental carving, of an earlier date than those preceding, and at the

same time furnishes a remarkable evidence of the truth of the Irish genealogies, I have been induced to insert a copy of it in this place. It will be seen that the inscriptions on this stone commemorate two persons, and should be read as follows:

2 U

" OROIT DO CONAING MAC CONGhAIL."
"OROIT DO DUBCEN MAC ThADGGAN."
"A PRAYER FOR CONAING, SON OF CONGAL."
"A PRAYER FOR DUBCEN, SON OF TADGGAN."

I have not been able to find in the Irish Annals an entry of the death of Dubcen, the son of Tadgan, whose name occurs in the second of these inscriptions, nor of his father, Tadgan; but the periods at which they flourished may be determined with tolerable accuracy from the records of the deaths of Agda, the son of Dubcen, prince of Teffia, who, it is stated in the Annals of the Four Masters, died in the chair of St. Kieran, after having spent a good life, in the year 979, or, according to Tighernach, in the year 980; and of his grandson, Gilla Enain, the son of Agda, who was slain in the year 977. The other inscription, which is less perfectly preserved, is obviously older, and cotemporaneous with the carvings; and, as it is in the highest degree improbable that Dubcen would have been interred in a grave appropriated to any but a predecessor of the same family, we should naturally expect to find the name in the upper inscription in the Irish annals at an earlier period, and among the princes of Teffia. Accordingly, on a reference to these annals, we find the death of Conaing, son of Congal, king of Teffia, recorded at the year 822 in the Annals of Ulster, and at 821 in the Annals of the Four Masters.

That many of the chiefs of Teffia should have been interred at Clonmacnoise is only what might naturally be presumed, from the celebrity of that place as a cemetery of the chiefs of the southern Hy-Niall race; and among other evidences of the connexion of this family with Clonmacnoise, we find in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 996, a record of the death of Dubthach, another son of Dubcen, and grandson of Tadgan, who was priest of Clonmacnoise; and from the following inscription upon the cumdach, or case of the MS. Irish ritual, preserved in the library at Stowe, we find that the artifex who made that case was another of the family, and a monk of Clonmacnoise:

"✝ OR DO DUNChAD U TACCAIN DO MUINTIR CLUANA DO
RIGNI."
"✝ A PRAYER FOR DUNCHAD O TACCAIN, OF THE FAMILY OF CLUAIN,
WHO MADE IT."

This Dunchad flourished previously to the middle of the eleventh

century, as appears from the other cotemporaneous inscriptions on
the case; and, it may be presumed, was a great grandson of Tadhgan,
—as the O prefixed to the name at this period must not be understood
as meaning grandson, but descendant, as the use of family names was
then generally established in Ireland. Yet it is probable that this
family ordinarily had their burial-place at the great rival monastery
of Durrow, which was anciently within their own territory, and
originally endowed, as Tighernach tells, for St. Columb, by their
ancestor, Aed, the son of Brendan, who died in the year 589. More-
over, we find from the Annals of the Four Masters and of Clon-
macnoise, that one of this race, Flann O'Tadhgain, was Erenach of
Durrow, where he died in 1022,—a clear proof of the continued
influence of the family in this monastery: and it is worthy of obser-
vation, that of the two monumental inscriptions yet remaining above
ground at Durrow, both apparently belong to chiefs of this family.
Of these, one bears the name of Cathalan, who was probably the son
of Catharnach, from whom the name O'Catharnaigh, the true family
name of the Foxes, was derived. The second may be ascribed with
greater certainty to a chief of this family, named Aigidiu, as no other
person of this name is referred to in the Irish annals. The period at
which he flourished is ascertained from an entry in the Annals of
Ulster at the year 955, and in the Annals of the Four Masters at
954, which records the death of Aedh, the son of Aicide, king of
Teffia, who was killed by the Danes of Dublin and Leinster. Of this
monumental stone I annex an illustration, as a further example of
the style of ornaments in use in Ireland in the ninth and tenth cen-

turies, and which may interest the reader, from its historical con-
nexion with those already given of other members of the same family.
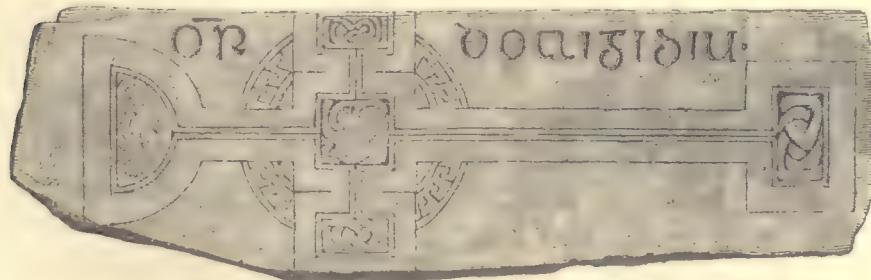
Examples of the use of the pear-shaped ornament in architecture have been already given in the description of the monastery church at Glendalough, p. 258, and the larger church at Rahen, p. 242. The ornaments now described,—together with the interlaced tracery, typical, as I conceive, of the cross, and which, with characteristic varieties, is found in ecclesiastical antiquities of every age previously to the thirteenth century,—are some of the principal varieties peculiarly in use in Ireland anterior to the eleventh century; and a characteristic example of their combination will be seen in the following outline of one side of the leather case made to hold, with its silver cover, the celebrated Book of Armagh, so well known to the readers of Irish ecclesiastical history.
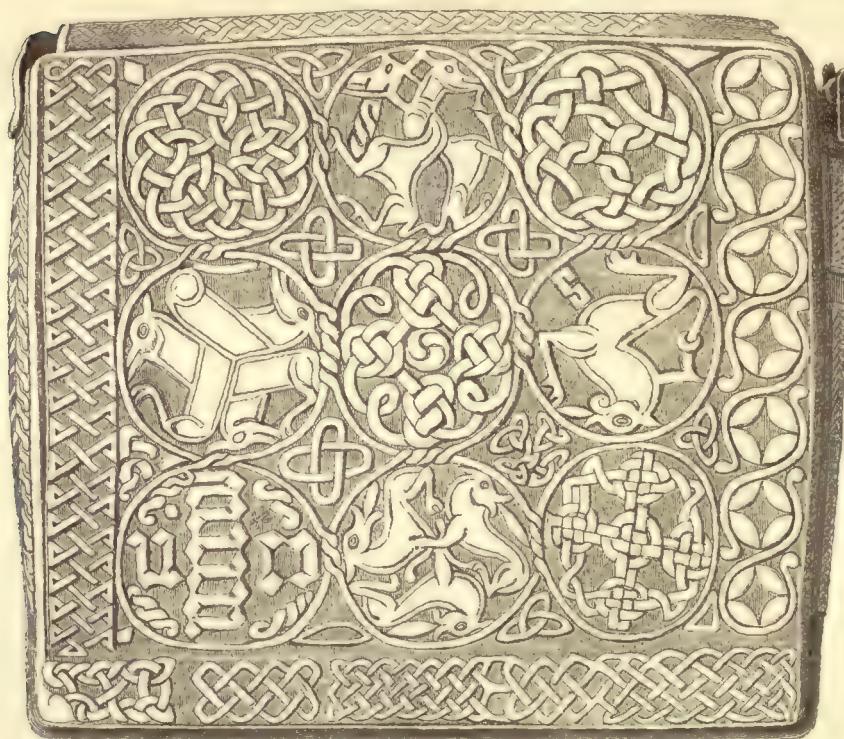
In the preceding illustration we are presented with the ornament called the *triquetra*, the interlaced cross of two ovals, the cross formed between four segments of circles within a circle, as well as several varieties of the interlaced tracery forming crosses.

As a specimen of the triplicate, pear-shaped ornament already described, I annex the following outline of the lower side, or bottom, of the same case :

I should remark, that the ornaments on this case are all in a kind of basso relievo, produced by stamping the leather,—a fact which may account for the irregularities which appear in their forms, and which would be produced by the unequal contraction of the leather in drying, after it had been in a moist or soft state when stamped.

The history of the very remarkable and interesting manuscript, of which this leather bag, or satchel, was the external case, is, I am aware, sufficiently known to many of my readers, and particularly those of the Academy, for whom I especially write ; but for others, it may not be unnecessary or uninteresting to state, that this manuscript was that celebrated book of the Gospels called the *Canoin Patraic*, or Patrick's Canons, which was considered of such inestimable value, that its safe stewardship became an hereditary office of dignity in a family connected with the church of Armagh, who derived their name, Mac Moyre, or son of the Stewart, from this circumstance, and as a remuneration for which they held no less than eight townlands in the county, still known as the lands of Bally Mac Moyre, or Mac Moyre's Town. So great, indeed, was the veneration in which this book, together with the crozier of Patrick, was held by the Irish, that, as St. Bernard tells us, in his Life of St. Malachy, it was difficult to persuade the people to receive or acknowledge any one as the rightful Archbishop of Armagh but the possessor of them.

" Porro *Nigellus* videns sibi imminere fugam, tulit secum insignia quædam ædis illius, textum, scilicet Euangeliorum, qui fuit beati Patritij, baculumque auro tectum gemmis pretiosissimis adornatum : quem nominant baculum Iesu, eo quod ipse Dominus (vt fert opinio) eum suis manibus tenuerit atque formauerit. Et hæc summæ dignitatis et venerationis in gente illa. Nempe notissima sunt celeberrimaq; in populis, atque in ea reuerentia apud omnes, vt qui illa habere visus fuerit ipsum habeat Episcopum populus stultus et insipiens."—*Vita Malachiæ*, cap. v.

The subsequent history of this book is comprised in the following

account of it, written by the celebrated antiquary, Humphry Lhwyd,
and published in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. i.

" Codex hic, ultra omne dubium, perquam antiquus est, sive manu ipsius S.
Patricii partim conscriptus, (uti habetur ad calcem folii 24ti,) sive sit, quod mihi
verisimilius videtur, alicujus posterioris ævi opus. Et forsan est ille ipse *Textus Evan-*
geliorum, quem divus Bernardus, in Vita Malachiæ, inter insignia Ædis Ardmachanæ
numerat, et *Textum ipsius S. Patricii* fuisse narrat. Ab Usserio et Waræo Liber
Ardmachanus, ab indigenis vero Liber Canonum S. Patricii nuncupatur, a Canonibus
concordantium inter se Evangelistarum, folio 26to incæptis, sic (ut opinor) nominatus.
Liber hic ab Hibernigenis magno olim habebatur in pretio, adeo ut familia illa,
vulgo vocata *Mac Maor*, Anglice Mac Moyre, nomen suum a custodiendo hoc libro
mutuatum habeat ; *Maor* enim Hibernice *Custos* est, et *Maor na Ccanon*, sive *Custos*
Canonum, tota illa familia communiter appellata fuit ; et octo villulas in agro . . . .
terras de Balli Moyre dictas, a sede Ardmachana olim tenuit, ob salvam hujus libri
custodiam ; in quorum manibus, multis jam retro sæculis liber hic extitit, usque dum
Florentinus Mc Moyre in Angliam se contulit, sub anno salutis humanæ 1680, ut
testimonium perhiberet, quod verear non verum, versus Oliverum Plunket Theologiæ
Doctorem, et regni hujus, secundum Romanos, Archipræsulem, qui Londini immerito
(ut creditur) furca plexus est. Deficientibus autem in Moyro nummis, in decessu suo,
Codicem hunc pro quinque libris sterl. ut pignus deposuit. Hinc ad manus Arthuri
Brownlowe gratissime pervenit, qui, non sine magno labore, disjuncta tunc folia debito
suo ordine struxit, numeros in summo libri posuit folia designantes, aliosque in mar-
gine addidit capita distinguentes, eademque folia sic disposita prisco suo velamine (ut
jam videre liceat) compingi curavit, et in pristina sua theca conservari fecit, una cum
bulla quadam Romani Pontificis cum eodem inventa. Continet in se quædam frag-
menta Vitæ S. Patricii a diversis authoribus, iisque plerumque anonymis, conscripta.
Continet etiam Confessionem S. Patricii, vel (ut magis proprie dicam) Epistolam suam
ad Hibernos, tunc nuperrime ad fidem conversos. Continet etiam Epistolam quam
scripsit Divus Hieronymus ad Damasum Papam, per modum Prooemii ad Versionem.
Continet etiam Canones decem, in quibus ostenduntur Concordantiæ inter se Evange-
listarum, ac etiam breves causas, sive interpretationes uniuscujusque seorsim Evange-
listæ, necnon Novum Testamentum, juxta versionem (ut opinor) Divi Hieronymi, in
quo reperitur Epistola illa ad Laodicenses cujus fit mentio ad Colossenses. In Epistola
prima Johannis deest versus ille, *Tres sunt in cœlo*, &c. Continet etiam Hebræorum
nominum quæ in singulis Evangeliis reperiuntur explicationes, una cum variis variorum
argumentis ad singula Evangelia, et ad unamquamque fere Epistolam seorsim referen-
tibus. Continet denique Vitam S. Martini Episcopi Turonensis, (avunculi, ut fertur,
S. Patricii,) a Sulpitio Severo conscriptam.—Nota quod in Evangelio sec. Matthæum,
desiderantur quatuor (ut ego existimo) folia, scilicet a versu tricesimo tertio capitis
decimiquarti, usque ad vers. 5, capitis xxi.—Nota etiam quod Epistolæ Apostolorum
non sunt eodem ordine dispositæ, quo vulgo apud nos hodierno die reperiuntur."—
Epist. Nunc. pp. lvii. lviii.

But though we have the high authority of St. Bernard for the
belief, at the time, that the Gospels in this work were those possessed,

or transcribed, by St. Patrick himself, the statement is as little entitled to credit as, we may well believe, that other one of the crozier having been originally that of our Lord. There is no part of the manuscript older than the close of the seventh century, or perhaps than the eighth; and the leather case, made for its protection, is of still later date, its exact age being fixed by the following entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 937, of which period its ornaments are, in my opinion, decidedly characteristic.

"A. D. 937. Canoin Paꞇꞃaic ꝺo cumꝺach la Oonnchaꝺ mac Flainn, ꞃi Eꞃenꝺ."

"A. D. 937. The *Canoin-Patraic* was covered by Donnchadh, son of Flann, King of Ireland."

It must not be supposed, however, that this leather case is itself the *cumdach* noticed by the annalists, and which, no doubt, like our other ancient cases for books, was formed of silver, and enriched with gems. This leather case was only the covering of that more precious box in which the manuscript was enshrined, but obviously cotemporaneous with it, and made as much for its preservation as to render it easy of carriage.
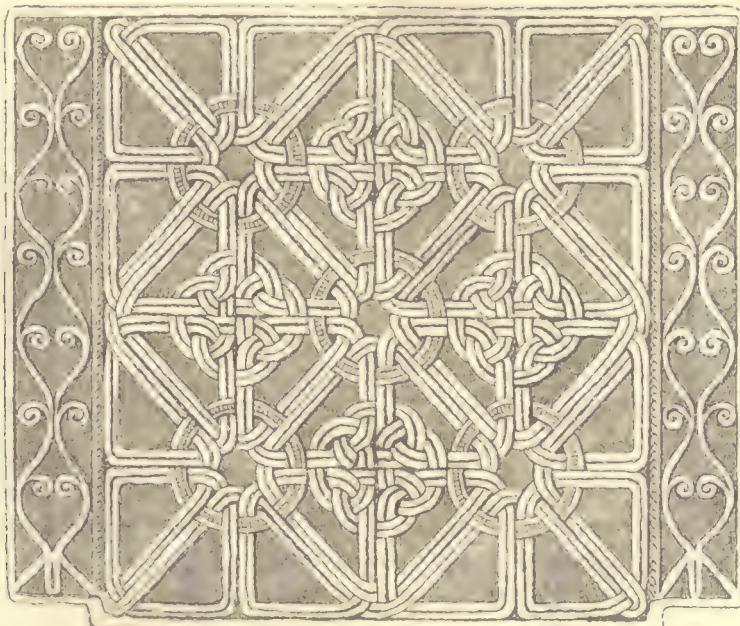
As a specimen of earlier and more beautiful work of this kind, I am tempted to present an outline of one of the sides of the leather

case of the shrine of St. Maidoc, or Aidan, the first bishop of Ferns, the age of which, in the opinion of some of the most skilful antiquaries of Great Britain, can hardly be later than the eighth century.

It will be observed that the whole of the ornament on this side is produced by the interlacing of a number of flat bands, having a line running down their centre, as well as five small circles, ornamented with a bead; and I should remark, that, unlike the case of the Book of Armagh, the ornaments are produced, not by a stamp, but by a carving in very low relief, or, as the French term it, *gravé en creux*.

The two leather cases from which the preceding illustrations have been copied, are, as far as I know, the only specimens of the kind remaining in Ireland, or, as I should suppose, in the British Islands; yet it cannot be doubted that such leather cases were anciently as common in Ireland as the sacred books, shrines, and other reliquaries, which they were designed to preserve, such cases being necessary, in consequence of the usage of the Irish, to carry the honoured memorials of their primitive saints from place to place on necessary or important occasions: and hence these relique covers are provided with broad leather straps fastened to them at each end, by which they could be suspended round the neck.

And these covers, as we may suppose, shared, in some degree, the veneration paid by the people to the sacred treasures which they contained. The reliquaries thus sent through the districts of the patron saints, most usually for the collection of dues or offerings to the church, were generally known by the name of *Minister*, a term signifying "a travelling relique," being compounded of the words mɪonn, *a relique*, and aɪ́ɼꞇɼe, *of journey*,—as it is explained in an old glossary in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1, 15, p. 975, though it would, with equal probability, appear to be derived from the Latin *ministerium*, as being employed for the service of the Church. But the leather cases made to carry such reliquaries, were known by the term polaɪɼe, which was applied, at least in later times, to a satchel for books, as it is thus explained in an old MS. Irish glossary preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 18, Polaɪɼe, .ɪ. aɪnm ꝺo ꞇeɪꝣ lɪubaɪɼ, "*polaire*, i. e. a name for a book satchel."

The original application of the word, however, to the leather cases in which the sacred books and reliquaries were carried, is proved by

our most ancient authorities. Thus, in the legend of St. Patrick's contention with the Magi at Tara, as given in the Tripartite Life of the saint, it is related how his favourite disciple, the boy Benen, escaped the machinations of Patrick's enemies, to whom he appeared as a fawn bearing a pack or budget on his back. And it is afterwards distinctly stated that the object in reality thus carried by Benen was Patrick's book of the Scriptures,—or in fact the Book of Armagh itself, for such this book was believed to be, at the time when this legend was written.

" Obtutibus enim ipsorum solùm apparuerunt octo cerui cum vno hinnulo, in cujus dorso videbatur aliqua sarcina jacere. Sic ergò mirificus vir socijque cum beato puero Benigno sacrum Bibliorum codicem in humeris gestante, per medios hostes salui & incolumes Temoriam vsque peruenerunt, saluifico orationis viri Dei præsidio, velut sacrâ ægide, muniti."—*Pars* I. cap. LX., *Trias Thaum.*, p. 126.

It may be objected that, in the preceding passage, there is no distinct reference to the *polaire*, or case in which the sacred volume was carried; but it is obvious that the book could not have been carried, as stated, on Benen's back, except in a case; and in an old Irish version of this legend, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, the case, or bag, carried by Benen on this occasion, is called the *polaire* of St. Patrick; and, indeed, I have no doubt that this was the word used in the original Irish of the Tripartite Life, which Colgan has translated *sarcina*. The passage to which I allude is as follows :

" Enloeᵹ ı n-a n-oıaıo, 7 én fıno fop a ᵹualaıno, .ı. ôınen pın, 7 polıpe Phaᴛpaıc fop a ṁuın."—Fol. 14, a, a.

" One fawn [appeared] behind them, and a white bird on his shoulder, i. e. this was Benen, and Patrick's *polire* on his back."

Thus also, in another version of this legend, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 18, p. 523, the same word is used, and glossed by a commentator :

" lapnooe ı n-a n-oeaᵹaıᵹ, 7 ᵹaıle fop a ᵹualaıno, .ı. Paᴛpaıc 7 a oċᴛap 7 ôenen ın-a n-oeaᵹaıᵹ, 7 a polaıpe [.ı. aınm oo ᴛeıᵹ lıubaıp] fop a muın."

" A fawn after them, and a bag on his shoulder, i. e. Patrick and his eight [*companions*], and Benen behind them, and his *polaire* [i. e. a name for a book satchel] on his back."

It would appear, moreover, from the following passage in the Annotations of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, that the *polaire*, as well as the *minister*, was an article in some degree necessary to the episcopal character, as it is enumerated among the ecclesiastical

presents given to Fiac, Bishop of Sletty, when Patrick conferred the
episcopal dignity upon him.   The passage is as follows :

" Ꝺubbeꞃꞇ ᵹꞃaꝺ n-eꝒꞃcoıꞃ ꝼoıꞃ, Conıꝺe eꝒꞃcoꝑ ınꞃın cıꞇaꞃ uoıꞃꞇneꝺ la �ledᵹ-
nıu, ⁊ ꝺubbeꞃꞇ Paꞇꞃıcc Cumꞇach ꝺu Ꝼıacc, aꝺon clocc ⁊ menꞃꞇıꞃ ⁊ bachall ⁊
poolıꞃe; eꞇ ꝼácab moꞃꝼeꞃeꞃ laıꞃ ꝺıa muınꞇıꞃ."

" He [Patrick] conferred the degree of bishop upon him [Fiacc], so that he was
the first bishop that was ordained among the Lagenians, and Patrick gave a *Cumtach*
[a box] to Fiacc, viz. [i. e. containing] a bell, and a *menstir*, and a crozier, and a
poolire; and he left seven of his people with him."

This same passage occurs in the MS. H. 3, 18, p. 526, glossing
the word meınıꞃꞇıꞃ by mınna aıꞃꞇıꞃ, *travelling relics,* but omitting,
probably through an error of the transcriber, the word baċall; thus:

" Ꝺo beꞃꞇ ꝺan Paꞇꞃaıc cumꞇaċ ꝺa Ꝼıacc, .ı. cloc, meınıꞃꞇıꞃ, .ı. mınna aıꞃꞇıꞃ,
polaıꞃe ⁊ ꞃoꞃaccaıb moꞃ-ꝼeıꞃeꞃ ꝺıa muınnꞇıꞃ leıꞃ."

" Patrick then gave Fiacc a *cumtach,* i. e. a bell, a *meinistir,* i. e. travelling relics, a
polaire, and left seven of his people with him."

And here I may remark, that the learned Colgan has committed
an egregious oversight in his translation of the original Irish of this
passage in the Tripartite Life, in which these articles are enume-
rated, namely, in rendering the word mınıꞃꞇıꞃ as if it were an
adjective in connexion with cloc, and, still worse, rendering the
word poolaıꞃe as the Epistles of St. Paul.

" Ecclesiam ædificauit primo S. Fiechus in loco, qui ex eius nomine *Domnach-Fiec,*
.i. Ecclesia Fieci postea appellata est : eique reliquit sacram supellectilem, cymbalum
nempe ministeriale, Epistolas Paulinas, et baculum pastoralem."—*Pars* 3, cap. XXII.
Trias Thaum., pp. 152, 153.

And I should remark that these words, *menstir* and *poolire,* in
the original passage in the Annotations of Tirechan, have received
an equally blundering, though different, interpretation in the Anti-
quarian Researches of Sir W. Betham, in which the first is rendered
" *a mitre,*" and the second " *a cloak* (*pallium*)." I am not, of course,
so unreasonable as to expect that the author of the *Etruria Celtica*
should have any acquaintance with historical facts of this late period ;
these do not lie in the way of his researches : but my late ingenious
friend, Mr. Edward O'Reilly, who translated this passage for him,
should have known that no allusion to the use of the mitre at this
period, or for some ages after, is found in any of our ancient autho-
rities,—for Archdall's statement as to the mitre of St. Ailbhe, which,
he says, was burned in 1123, is founded on an erroneous translation

of the Irish word *bearnan*, which was unquestionably applied to a
gapped, or broken, bell;—and he should also have known that, as
St. Bernard tells, and as the whole stream of our ancient ecclesiastical
history proves, the use of the *pallium* was unknown in Ireland till
the middle of the twelfth century. St. Bernard's words are: "Metro-
politicæ sedideerat adhuc et defuerat *ab initio* pallii usus."—*Vita
Malachiæ*, cap. 10.

Sir William Betham, indeed, tells us that the word *pallium*, by
which the word *poolire* in the original is rendered, " is applied to the
veil, as taken by a female, and means nothing more here than a cloak,
not a *pall*, as now understood." But where is the authority to show
that a cloak, which was not a *pall*, should be necessary to a bishop,
as well as a crozier and bell?—or does he wish us to suppose that the
cloak was intended as a veil for Fiach's wife ?

The prevalence of the use of these leather cases amongst the
ecclesiastics in Ireland anciently, may be inferred from the following
passage in the ancient life of St. Columbkille, preserved in the
Leabhar Breac, in the Library of the Academy, fol. 16, *b*, *b*.

" Oıр ba béр ɔoрum cрoṝṝa, 7 polaıṗe, 7 ṫıaᵹa leḃeṇ 7 aıome eclaṝtacba ɔo
ɔenum, ut ɔıxıt:

  " Senaıṗ .ccc. cрoṝṝa buaɔach,
   Hoıoррaɔ .ccc. ṫıṗṗaıt ɔo ba ɔıan,
   .C. polaıṗe án, anaṫach.
   Ṫa .c. bachall, la .c. ṫıaᵹ."

" For it was a habit with him to make crosses and *polaires*, and book satchels, and
ecclesiastical implements, *ut dixit* [*poeta*] :

  " He blessed three hundred miraculous crosses,
   He blessed three hundred wells which were constant,
   One hundred *polaires* noble, one-coloured,
   With one hundred croziers, with one hundred satchels."

It will be seen from the preceding passage, moreover, that in
addition to the *polaire*, or leather case for containing reliquaries or
sacred books, the ancient Irish ecclesiastics used bags or satchels,
known by the name *tiag*, for the ordinary carriage of books; and it
would appear, from several passages in the most ancient lives of the
Irish saints, that such satchels were also of leather,—as in the following
legend, which constitutes the eighth chapter of the second book of
the Life of St. Columba, by Adamnan:

<center>2 x 2</center>

" ALIUD miraculum æstimo non tacendum, quod aliquando factum est per contra-
rium elementum.   Multorum namque transcursis annorum circulis post beati ad
Dominum transitum viri, quidam juvenis de equo lapsus in flumine mersus, et mor-
tuus, viginti sub aqua diebus permansit, qui sicuti sub ascella, cadens, libros in pellicio
reconditos sacculo habebat, ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est
repertus, sacculum cum libris inter brachium et latus continens.   Cujus etiam ad
aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, folium Sancti COLUMBÆ Sanctis scriptum
digitulis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta, sed et putrefacta, inven-
tum est siccum, et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in scrinio esset reconditum."—
PINKERTON'S *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum*, pp. 111, 112.

A similar example occurs in the same Life, in the next chapter,
and many others might be adduced from other Lives ; but the evi-
dences already given appear to me sufficient to illustrate the antiquity
of those curious leather cases for sacred books and reliquaries, called
polaire by the Irish, as well as to show the difference between such
cases and the *tiagha*, or ordinary book satchels.   I shall, therefore,
dismiss the subject with the following characteristically Irish story,
which will, at least, serve to show the reverence which was paid to
the travelling reliquaries, the manner in which they were carried, and
the penalties which were inflicted for any dishonour or injury offered
them.   The passage occurs in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 10, *b*, *a*, and
in the Book of Leinster, fol. 239, *a*, from which, as an older authority,
it is here given.

" Fect va tanic Semplan, ḟacaṗt Tíṗi va glaṗ co Tiṗ Cṗoniṅ vo Licc an
ṗinnaċ ṗi toiṗcib, iṗ ano boi Ðiaṗmaiv oc glanav uṗoṗoċit a eoiżi 7 a ḟluaṗat 'n-a
laiṁ, luiv iaṗom a cú ḟo na cleiṗéib, co ṗo letṗav in ṗacaṗt.   Ro buail in
ṗacaṗt in coin iaṗṗin.   Ro buail imoṗṗo Ðiaṗmaiv in ṗacaṗt vi'n tṗluaṗait, coṗo
bṗiṗ meniṗtiṗ Coluim, ṗo bui ḟoṗ a muin.   Ðolluiv iaṗom Laċtain, comaṗba
Coluim, vo acṗa in żnima ṗin co ḟlaié h-Ua n-Ðṗona, .i. co Ruiven. mac Lainnén ;
co taṗtṗat h-Ui Ðṗona uii. cumala o Ðiaṗmaiv vo muintiṗ Coluim, 7 vo Laċtain,
7 vo ṗat Laċtain na uii. cumala ṗin vo aiṗéinnech Lemvṗomma, .i. vo Uamnach."

" On one time that Semplan, priest of Tir da glas, came on business to Tir Cronin
to Licc na sinnach, Diarmaid was clearing away the front-bridge of his house, having
his shovel in his hand, and set a dog at the clergymen, so that the priest was torn.
The priest then struck the dog.   Diarmaid struck the priest with the shovel, and
broke the *menistir* of Colum, which was on his back.   Lachtain, the comarb of Colum,
afterwards went to complain of this deed to the chief of Ui Drona, i. e. Ruiden, the
son of Lainnen ; and the Ui Drona gave [adjudged] seven *cumals*[a] from Diarmaid to
the people of Colum, and to Lachtain, and Lachtain gave these seven *cumals* to the
airchinneach of Lemdruim [Lorum, County Carlow] i. e. Uamnach."

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[a] The word *cumal* is explained in the commentaries on the Brehon Laws as three
cows, or an equivalent of that value.

Thus also, in the following record in the Annals of the Four Masters, we have an example of the expulsion of a chieftain from his lordship for dishonouring the *Canoin Phatraic*, or Book of Armagh :

" A. D. 1179. Ua Ruaḋacán, ticcheapna Ua n-Eachḋach, ḋo écc ḋo ġaloɲ tɲi n-oiḋḋi iaɲ n-a ionnaɲbaḋ, tɲe ɲapuġaḋ Canoine Páṫɲaicc ḋo, ġaɲ ɲoiṁe."

" A. D. 1179. O'Rogan, Lord of Iveagh, died of three nights' sickness, after his expulsion, for having violated the *Canoin-Patraic*."

To the preceding observations I have to add, that while this sheet was going through the Press, I have discovered the following curious passage in the fragment of Duald Mac Firbis's Glossary of the Brehon Laws, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which, more distinctly than any of the passages already given, explains the use to which the *minister* was applied :

" Miniɼteaɲ, .i. mionna aiɼoiɲ ḃíoɼ aɲ aiɼḋeaɲ iɼ in tuaiċ le taḃaiɲt mionn aɲ caċ."

" *Ministear*, i. e. travelling relics which are carried about in a district to administer oaths to all."

I may further remark that, from the use to which the *mionna*, or enshrined relics, were thus applied, the same word came to denote both a relic and an oath, and originated the verb *mionnaim*, I swear. The Irish Annals notice the use of the principal relics of Ireland, which were often transferred from their original localities, on solemn occasions, to distant places, in order that rival chieftains might be sworn upon them, to future peace and mutual fidelity ; and hence Mageoghegan, and the other old translators of the Irish annals, render the word *minna* of their originals by the English word *oathes*, as, " the coarb of St. Kieran with his *oathes*," " the coarb of St. Columb with his *oathes*;" by which they meant, the abbot of Clonmacnoise with his relics, &c. And, as must be well known to most of my readers, this ancient custom of swearing on the relics of the saints of the ancient Irish Church is still continued amongst the peasantry in many parts of Ireland, by whom it is often supposed that thieves would exonerate themselves from the guilt of which they were suspected, by a false oath on the holy Gospels, but would not dare to do so by an oath on one of these ancient reliquaries. And hence, also, we find the following curious inscription on an ancient reliquary in my own Cabinet, and which is in the form of a brass shoe or slipper, gilt and richly ornamented. This shoe was popularly known as St.

Bridget's slipper, and, no doubt, originally encased a real shoe, which was supposed to have belonged to the great patroness of Ireland. The inscription to which I have alluded is as follows, and clearly indicates the use to which the reliquary was applied :

"HOC-EST * JURAMENTVM NATVRALE *."

From the following inscriptions, also on this reliquary, we find that it was preserved in Loughrea, in the County of Galway, where there is still remaining, at a short distance from the Carmelite Friary, a small church dedicated to St. Bridget, in which, no doubt, this relic was preserved.   These inscriptions are :

"ᘓOCh ᖇEICh ANNO * DOMINI * 1410."
" S. * BRIGIDA VIRGO * KILDARIENSIS HIBERNIÆ * PATRONA."

And over a head in *relievo* there is the following inscription :

" S * IhOᕼ * BAPTIST."

Of other ornaments found on our ancient churches, numerous examples are also to be met with on the inscribed tombstones at Clonmacnoise, but of which I shall content myself with a single

example from one now in my possession, and which may be interesting as an instance of the simple customs of the times, the stone having been originally a quern, or hand-mill stone. This stone exhibits four of these ornaments, namely, the zig-zag, rope, bead, and Etruscan fret; and though it is not easy to fix its exact date, it will be suffi_ ciently evident, from the absence of a surname in the inscription, that it is at least anterior to the eleventh century. The inscription is simply the name SECHNASACH, which is not an uncommon one in

the Irish annals and pedigrees, and signifies one who shuns, or avoids; but the person whose name is here inscribed is probably the Sechnasach, " Priest of Durrow," whose death is recorded in Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise at the year 928, and in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 931.

I have now brought this Dissertation on the Irish churches to a conclusion. It has, indeed, extended to a length far beyond what I had originally intended, but not, I trust, greater than the subject demanded; for the ignorance of our antiquaries on this most important class of our architectural antiquities has been not only disgraceful in itself, but the fruitful source of all those fantastic and erroneous theories which have been advanced relative to the origin, uses, and age of the Round Tower Belfries, and other classes of ecclesiastical architectural remains, of which I have yet to treat.

That I may possibly err, in some instances, in the opinions offered as to the age of some of the examples of decorated architecture which I have adduced, I have already freely acknowledged; but the subject is now, at least, submitted to the learned on new grounds, and whatever may be their ultimate decision upon a matter so interesting, as illustrating the history of ecclesiastical architecture in Europe, my object must necessarily be attained—that of leading others to the discovery of truth—however I may myself have failed occasionally to see it.

SUBSECTION II.

ORATORIES.

THE class of antiquities of which I have next to treat, namely, the *duirtheachs*, or *dertheachs*, has been, to modern Irish writers, as much involved in mystery as even the Round Towers; and yet it is perfectly certain that, prior to the twelfth century, the buildings, thus designated, were a class of churches, or religious edifices, essentially differing from those noticed in our Annals under the appellation of *daimhliag*, as will appear from the following notices from the Annals of Ulster :

" A. D. 824. Lorcαc Mαɩʒɩ bɩle, co n-α ᴅeptɩʒɩb, ó Ʒentɩb."
" A. D. 824. The burning of Magh bile, with its *derthechs*, by the Gentiles [Danes]."
" A. D. 839. Lorcαó Clɩᴅoᴅ Mαchαe, co n-α ᴅepthɩʒɩb 7 α ᴅoɩmlɩαʒ."
" A. D. 839. The burning of Armagh, with its *derthechs* and daimhliag."

But, though the notices of the *duirtheachs*, as a distinct class of buildings, are as numerous in our Annals and other ancient authorities as those of the *daimhliags*, or stone churches, modern writers have failed to form a definite idea of the class of buildings which the term denoted, and consequently have given very inaccurate translations of the term, whenever it came in their way.   This will abundantly appear from the following examples :

In Peter O'Connell's MS. Irish Dictionary it is explained thus : " Ⅾúıｒｔｅａċ, a house of austerity, rigour, and penance."   In the Dictionaries of O'Brien and O'Reilly the word is thus explained : " Ⅾｅａｒｔｅａċ, a certain apartment in a monastery calculated for prayers and other penitential acts."   In the older Glossary of O'Clery, we find the name explained, " Ⅾúıｒｔｅａċ, .ı. ｔｅａmｐａｌｌ,"—" Duirtheach, i. e. a church."   Dr. O'Conor, in his translation of the Irish Annals, usually renders it by *Nosocomium*, as I have already shown in p. 121, and sometimes by *Hospitium pauperum*, *Hospitium peregrinorum*, and *Nosocomium peregrinorum*.   And he thus explains the term in a note in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 823 :

" *Glossaria* Hibernica confundunt *Deartach* et *Doimliag*, quas voces plane separant Annales Ultonienses ad ann. 839. ' *Dertighibh* ⁊ *Doimliag*.' *Deartach* proprie Nosocomium, seu Hospitium ad usum peregrinantium, *Doimliag* Ecclesiam principalem, seu Cathedralem significat."

As I have already shown, Colgan, who translates it *pœnitentium æde* [ædes], and *domus pœnitentium*, is nearer to the truth, as it does not appear that there was any other word in use amongst the Irish to designate a chapel for penitential prayer.   But, as I shall presently show, this explanation is too limited ; and, indeed, it would appear that Colgan had no accurate notion of the meaning of the word, as he sometimes translates it *ecclesia*, and sometimes, plurally, *sacris ædificiis*.—See his Annals of Kildare at the year 835, and his Annals of Armagh at the year 890.   But, that the word was understood by the Irish themselves to signify an oratory, or consecrated chapel for private prayer, will fully appear from the following passages in the Irish Annals :

" A. D. 804.   *Cell Achaidh cum oratorio novo ardescit.*"—Annal. Ult.

Thus given in Irish by the Four Masters, under the year 800, these annalists being usually in error a few years in their dates about this period :

" A. D. 800. Ceall achaió vo lorccaó, co n-a verchaig nui."

" A. D. 800. Ceall achaidh was burned, with its *new derthach*."

Again, in the Annals of Ulster at the year 808 :

" A. D. 808. *Ignis celestis percussit virum in oratorio Nodan.*"

Thus given in Irish in the Annals of the Four Masters :

" A. D. 804. Tene vo comiuó vo nim, lar ro marbaó vaoine i n-verchoig Aevain."

" A. D. 804. Fire came from heaven, by which people were killed in the *derthach* of Aedan."

And again :

" A. D. 815. *Oratorium Fobair combustum est.*"—Ann. Ult.

Thus in Irish in the Annals of the Four Masters :

" A. D. 812. Vertech Fobair vo lorcaó."

" A. D. 812. The *derthech* of Fore was burned."

This fact being, as I conceive, satisfactorily proved, it remains now to inquire what were the peculiar characteristics which distinguished the *duirtheach* from other ecclesiastical structures, whether in material, size, or use, or all these circumstances combined. First, then, of their material. On this point we might expect to find a satisfactory elucidation in the derivation given of the word by the old glossographers; but unfortunately it appears that its etymology was as doubtful to them as I have shown it to be to modern lexicographers. In the oldest authority of the former class, that of the vellum MSS., H. 2, 16, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, we are offered our choice of the following conjectural explanations :

" Vurchech, .i. vairvech, .i. vech varach; no veirchech, .i. vech i velgver vera; no vuairtech .i. vech a velgver vuair, focail .i. vuar, focal."

" *Durthech*, i. e. *dair-thech*, i. e. a house of oak ; or *deir-thech*, i. e. a house in which tears are shed ; or *duair-thech*, i. e. a house in which words are poured out ; i. e. *duar*, a word."

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that of these three etymological conjectures, the first is the most likely to be the true one; for, as we know that the word *daimhliag*, which literally signifies a house of stone, became the Irish name for the larger churches, which were usually of this material, it is in the highest degree probable that in the same manner the name *duirtheach*, literally a house of oak, would be applied by the Irish to designate the smaller chapels, or oratories of oak, if any were built of such material, which there is every reason to believe were originally, for the most part, of oak wood.

2 Y

Nor is it to be wondered at, that in the erection of structures for the use of religious persons, possessed of little or no wealth, a material always at hand, and of little cost, should be used where stone and lime cement might be remote, and consequently be obtained with cost and difficulty. And that such class of structures was frequently, if not generally, of this material, can be proved from a number of MS. authorities, from which I shall here select a few examples.

In an ancient tract of Brehon Laws, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 16, and also in the Book of Bally-mote, and which, amongst other subjects, treats of the different stipends given to poets, and the various artificers for their labours, the following curious entry is found, relative to the payment of the *ollamh saer*, or chief builder, who was required to be equally skilled in the art of building in stone and in wood, and of which the highest examples of his combined arts of stone-masonry and carpentry were the *daimhliag* and *duirtheach.*

" mᴀꝺ oꞁꞁᴀṁh ꞅuᴀꝺ ꞅᴀeiꞃ, ꞅᴀiꝣiꝺ co ꝼici ꞅeꞇ iꞃ ᴀ ꝺiꞃi, .i. mᴀꝺ ollᴀṁ oc ᴀ m-ƀiᴀ ꞃᴀioeċꞇ nᴀ ꞃᴀiꞃꞃi, .i. inꝺꞃᴀiꝣꞇeꞃ ꞃeꝺ 7 ꝼiċi i n-ᴀ einec-lᴀinn. ꝺo ᴀꞃ ꝼiċio iᴀꝺ-ꞃꝺe ꝺo'n ollᴀm ꞃᴀeiꞃ. ocuꞅ ꞇuꞃꞇuꝣᴀꝺ miꞅ ꝺo, .i. mi ᴀ lᴀn ꞅᴀeꞃᴀm ƀiꝺ 7 ꝼonᴀmꝺᴀ, uᴀiꞃ cio ciᴀn o ꝺliꝣꞃeꝺ in ꞇ-ollᴀṁ ꞃᴀiꞃ ni ƀuꝺ mo inᴀ ꞃin ꝺo ᴀ ꝺuᴀlꝣuꞃ ᴀ ꝼeꞇhᴀmlᴀchuꞃ, no ꞃᴀiꞃꞃi ilᴀꞃꝺᴀ ꝺo ƀeċ ᴀꝣi ᴀꞃ neiċliƀ exᴀmlᴀiƀ, ᴀꝺeiꞇiꝣ lᴀꞃ in uꝣꝺᴀꞃ ni ƀuꝺ mo ꝺo nᴀ cuꝺꞃomᴀ ꞃiꞃ in ollᴀṁ ꝼile, no ꞃiꞃ in ollᴀṁ m-beꞃlᴀ, no ꞃiꞃ in ꝼeꞃ leꝣino. coniꝺ é ni ꝺo ꞃoinꝺi in ꞇ-uꝣꝺᴀꞃ ꝺᴀ ꞃꞃim-ꝺᴀn ꝺo ƀeċ ᴀici i ꝼoċᴀ, .i. cloch ꞃᴀiꞃꞃi 7 cꞃᴀnn ꞃᴀiꞃꞃi, 7 in ꝺᴀꞃᴀ ꝺᴀn iꞃ uᴀiꞃle ꝺiƀ ꝺo ƀeċ ᴀici i ꝼoċᴀ, .i. ꝺᴀmliᴀꝣ 7 ꝺuꞃċech. ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ꝺeꝣ oꞃꝺo ꞃin, .i. ꞃé ƀᴀ ᴀ ceċꞇᴀꞃ ꝺe, 7 ᴀ ꝼeꞇhᴀmlᴀċꞇ ꝺo ꝼeꝣᴀꝺ ᴀꞃ nᴀ ꝺᴀnᴀiƀ ᴀile o ꞃin ᴀmᴀch, 7 cuꝺꞃumuꞃ ᴀ ꞃeꞃeꝺ ꝺo ƀeᴀn ᴀlloꝣ cᴀċᴀ ꝺᴀnᴀ ꝺiƀ, .i. ᴀ ꞃeꞃeꝺ ꝼein. ꞅe ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ iƀꞃoꝺᴀċꞇ, 7 ꞃé ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ coicꞇhiꝣiꞃ 7 ꞃé ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ muilleoꝺᴀċꞇ; ƀeᴀn ꞇꞃi ƀᴀ eꞃꞇiƀ ꞃin ꞃiꞃ nᴀ ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ꝺeꝣ ꝼuil ᴀici i ꝼoċᴀ, coniꝺ xu. ƀᴀ ꞃin. ceċꞃi ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ lon-ꝣᴀiƀ, 7 iiii. ƀᴀꞃcᴀiƀ, 7 iiii. ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ cuꞃċᴀ; ƀeᴀn ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ eꞃꞇiƀ ꞃin ꞃiꞃ nᴀ .xu. ƀᴀ ꞃomᴀinꝺ, coniꝺ .xuii. ƀᴀ. ceċꞃi ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ cꞃᴀnꝺ leꞃꞇꞃᴀ, .i. iᴀnᴀ, 7 ꝺꞃolmᴀċᴀ, 7 ꝺᴀƀċᴀ ꝺᴀꞃᴀch, 7 min-leꞃꞇᴀiꞃ oilċenᴀ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ ꞃuᴀmᴀiꞃeċꞇ; ƀo eꞃꞇiƀ ꞃin ꞃiꞃ nᴀ .xuii. ƀuᴀiƀ ꞃomᴀinꝺ coniꝺ xuiii. ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ eꝺchꞃᴀ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ eᴀiꞃliƀ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ cloċᴀnᴀiƀ; ƀo eꞃꞇiƀ ꞃin ꞃiꞃ in xuiii. m-ƀuᴀiƀ ꞃomᴀinꝺ, coniꝺ xix. m-ƀᴀ. ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ ꞃinꝺᴀiꝣeċꞇ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ cꞃoꞃᴀ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ cᴀiꞃꞃeċ; ƀo eꞃꞇiƀ ꞃin ꞃiꞃ nᴀ xix. m-ƀuᴀiƀ ꞃomᴀinꝺ, coniꝺ xx. ƀo. ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ ꞇhiꝣiƀ ꞃlᴀꞇ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ ꞃciᴀċᴀiƀ, 7 ꝺᴀ ƀᴀ ᴀꞃ ꝺꞃoċꞇiƀ; ƀo eꞃꞇiƀ ꞃin ꞃiꞃ in ꝼiċeꞇ ƀo ꞃomᴀinꝺ, coniꝺ ƀo ᴀꞃ ꝼiċeꞇ ꝺo'n ollᴀṁ ꞃᴀiꞃ ᴀmᴀil ꞃin, conᴀ m-ƀeċ ꞃin uile ᴀici ꝺ'elᴀꝺnᴀiƀ."—Col. 930.

" IF HE BE AN OLLAVE PROFESSOR OF TRADES, WHO IS EN-TITLED TO TWENTY COWS AS HIS PAY, i. e. if he be an ollave who possesses the mastership of trades, it is ordained that twenty-one cows be his pay. These are twenty-one cows for the Ollave of trades. AND A MONTH'S REFECTION TO

HIM, that is, a month is his full allowance of food and attendance, for although of old the Ollave tradesman was entitled to more than this, in reward for the versatility of his ingenuity, or for his perfect knowledge of dissimilar arts, still the author [of *this* law] refused to allow him more than the ollave in poetry, or the ollave in language, or the teacher. Wherefore what the author did was, to allow him two principal branches of the art as from the beginning, i. e. stone-building and wood-building, the most distinguished of these branches to remain as formerly, i. e. the *Damhliag*, and the *Durthech*. Twelve cows to him for these, i. e. six cows for each, and to examine his original pay for the other departments, and to take a sixth part of the established pay for each of these departments [when not exercised by one and the same person] as his pay. Six cows for *ibroracht* (making yew vessels?), and six cows for *coicthiges* (kitchen-building), and six cows for mill-building; take three cows from these, which added to the twelve cows which he has fundamentally, and it makes fifteen cows. Four cows for ship-building, and four cows for barque-building, and four cows for curach-building; take two cows from these, which added to the fifteen above, will make seventeen cows. Four cows for the making of wooden vessels, i. e. *ians* and *drolmachs* (tubs) and vats of oak, and smaller vessels in like manner, and two cows for *ruamairecht* (plough-making?); a cow from these, added to seventeen cows above, will make eighteen cows. Two cows for causeways, and two cows for cashels, and two cows for *clochans* (stepping stones); a cow from these, added to the eighteen above, will make nineteen cows. Two cows for carving, and two cows for crosses, and two cows for chariots; a cow from these to the nineteen above, makes twenty cows. Two cows for houses of rods, and two cows for shields, and two cows for bridges; a cow from these added to the twenty above, makes twenty-one cows for the Ollave builder, provided he has all his arts in proficiency."

It is greatly to be regretted that of the preceding curious passage, which throws so much interesting light upon the state of society in Ireland anterior to the twelfth century, but two manuscript copies have been found, and of these one is probably a transcript from the other, for it seems in the highest degree probable that by the occasional omission or change of a letter the sense of the original commentary has been vitiated. Thus where it is stated that six cows was the payment for kitchen-building, which is the same as that for building a *daimhliag*, or *duirtheach*, it would appear much more likely that the word originally used was *cloicthiges*, or belfry-building, which, we may assume, was a much more important labour than the other, and which, if the word be truly *coicthiges*, is omitted altogether, though, as I shall show in the succeeding section from another commentary on the Brehon Laws, ranked, amongst the Irish, as one of the most distinguished works of the *saer* or builder. But till some older or better copy of the passage be found, it must, of course, remain as of no authority in reference to the Round Towers; and I

have only alluded to it with a view to directing attention to the
MS. copies of the Brehon Laws not immediately within my reach.

The next authority to which I shall refer,—for it is too long for
insertion,—is an account of the building of a *duirtheach* of wood
for St. Moling of Tigh Moling, now St. Mullin's, in the County of
Carlow, the artificer being the celebrated St. Gobban, whose repu-
tation as a builder, under the appellation of Gobban Saer, is still so
vividly preserved in the traditions of most parts of Ireland, and of
whom, in the ancient life of St. Abban, as published by Colgan, it is
prophetically said, that his fame as a builder, in wood as well as stone,
will exist in Ireland to the end of time.

"Quidam famosissimus in omni arte lignorum et lapidum erat in Hibernia nomine
Gobbanus, cuius artis fama vsque in finem sæculi erit in ea."—*Acta SS.* p. 619.

This account is preserved in an ancient Irish Life of St. Moling,
written on vellum, now in the possession of Mr. Hardiman; and
though, like most of the stories in the Lives of the Irish Saints, it is
strongly marked by the legendary character of such works, still it
may be received as sufficiently authentic as to the material of the
building there erected, and which is distinctly stated to have been
wood. Thus, according to the legend, when the artificer demanded
the payment agreed on with Moling for his labour, namely, the full of
the *duirtheach* of rye, the saint bid him turn its mouth up, and it
should be so filled. This condition was at once complied with.

"Do beiṗ Ṡoban ṫpaċ eṫpe a lám 7 a moinṡ ṗaiṗ, co ṗo impoo in ṽaiṗċheach,
7 ní ṽeachaiṽ cláṗ aṗ a inaṽ ṽe, 7 ní ṗo cumṗcaiṽ ṽluéu claiṗ ṽiḃ ṗeach a céile."

"Goban laid hold of it by both post and ridge, so that he turned the duirtheach
upside down, and not a plank of it started from its place, nor did a joint of any of the
boards move from the other."

Again, from the following note in the *Felire Aenguis*, at the 4th
of April, we learn that the *duirtheach* of St. Derbhfraich of Druim
Dubhain, near Clogher, in Tyrone, the mother of St. Tighernach of
Clones, was a wooden structure. Derbhfraich flourished towards
the close of the fifth century.

"Deṗḃṗaich, maċaiṗ Ṫiṡeṗnaiṡ Cluana Ċoiṗ. Iṗ ṗṗia aṗbeṗṫ Coechoamaiṗ
Dṗoma Dubáin in ṗo, iaṗ ḟemiuṽ in cṗoinṽ ṽo ṽluiṡi eci oc ṽenum a ṽeṗṗéiṡe:

"'A Deṗḃṗaich,
A maċaiṗ Ṫhiṡeṗnaiṡ noeim,
Ċoeṫ ṽo chobaiṗ, naṗ ba mall,
Dluiṡ in cṗanṽ hi ṗail in ṫ-ṗaeiṗ.'

" Derbfraich, the mother of Tighernach of Cluain Eois. She is called Coechdamair of Druim Dubhain here, for having refused to split the timber at the erection of her *Duirtheach :*

> " ' O Derbhfraich,
> O mother of holy Tighernach,
> Go to help, be not slow,
> Split the tree along with the carpenter.' "

But the strongest evidences in favour of this conclusion, that the *duirtheachs* were usually of wood, are those supplied by the Irish Annals, which so frequently record the burning of this class of buildings by the Northmen, while the *daimhliags* escaped the flames. Of this fact I have already given several instances; and I shall only now add the following remarkable record, from the Annals of Ulster, which clearly shows that the *duirtheachs* at this period must have been generally of wood :

" A. D. 891. Uentur maʒnuꝛ ın ꝼeꝈıa Maꝛtını, con oaꝛꝛcaꝛ ꝼıo-áꝛ moꝛ ıꝛ naıb caıllıḃ, 7 con ꝛuc na oauꝛtaıʒı aꝛ a laṫꝛaıʒıb, 7 na éaıʒı olcena."

" A. D. 891. A great wind occurred on the festival of St. Martin, which prostrated a great quantity of trees in the woods, and carried the *duirtheachs* from their places, and the [other] houses likewise."

And lastly, that the custom of building oratories of wood was continued in Ireland even to the twelfth century, appears from St. Bernard's Life of Malachy, in which the following notice of the building of an oratory at Bangor by the latter is found :

" Porrò oratorium intra paucos dies consummatum est de lignis quidem leuigatis, sed aptè firmiterque contextum, opus Scoticum pulchrum satis. Et exinde seruitur Deo in eo sicut in diebus antiquis, simili quidem deuotione, etsi non pari numero."— Cap. V.

The modicum of praise which St. Bernard bestows on this oratory is of some interest, and we may well believe that such wooden temples were not wholly without ornament or beauty. That they were coloured with lime, or whitewash, appears certain from a passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, relating to the mystical significations of the colours used in the vestments of a priest, and in which the white, which was typical of purity, is compared to the colour of the calx or lime on the gable of a *duirtheach*.

" Iꝛ eao oo ꝼoꝛne ın ʒel ın tan ꝼeʒuꝛ ın ꝛacaꝛt ꝼaıꝛ, cuꝛa ımmoeꝛʒṫaꝛ ımme aꝛ ꝼele 7 naıꝛe, menıꝛ ʒenmnaıo taıtnemach a cꝛıoe 7 a menma, amaıl uan tuınoe, no amaıl chaılc ꝼoꝛ benochobaꝛ oauꝛtıʒe, no amaıl oaṫ ʒéıꝛı ꝼꝛı ʒꝛéın, cenach n-eꝛnaıl pecao, oo bıc no moꝛ, oo aıꝛꝛıꝛıum ın a cꝛıoe."—Fol. 54, now 44.

" What the white is intended for, when the priest looks upon it, is, that he should
blush at it with sensitiveness and shame, if he should not be chaste and pure in heart
and mind, like the froth of the wave, or like the *cailc* on the *bendchobar* of a *duirtheach*,
or like the colour of the swan before the sun ; without any kind of sin, small or great,
remaining in his heart."

But though it may thus be considered as certain that the *duir-
theachs*, or oratories, were usually of wood, and that their name was
originally significant of their material, in contradistinction from those
larger churches built of stone, it by no means follows that they were
always erected of this material, or even that the word would not be
applied to stone oratories, after its etymology had been popularly
forgotten. And that oratories were indeed erected of the latter ma-
terial, at a very ancient period, not only in districts where wood was
scarce and stone abundant,—as in the rocky islands of Aran, where
so many ancient structures of this kind still remain,—but also in dis-
tricts where wood was abundant, appears certain from various pas-
sages in our Annals. Of these, I have already referred (p. 144) to
that curious one in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 788, in which
the stone oratory at Armagh is spoken of, and from which we may
safely infer that the other *duirtheachs* there were not, at that period,
of this material. And a similar inference may, indeed, be drawn
from all the notices which we have of other oratories built of stone,
for if such buildings were usually of this material, it would have
been unnecessary to distinguish them in this manner.

A still earlier example of a stone oratory, in the neighbourhood
of Armagh,—one even coeval with St. Patrick himself, and of which
some ruins yet remain,—is preserved to us in St. Evin's, or the
Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, as translated by Colgan. The passage
is as follows :

" Vnam autem ex his *Crumtherim* appellatam, miræ virtutis virginem, ab aliis
segragauit, et in cella siue lapideo inclusorio in monte vulgò *Kenngobha* vocato, Ard-
machæ versus orientem vicino, inclusit : curamque tradidit S. Benigno, vt singulis
diebus ad vesperum de cœnula ei curaret prouideri."—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 163.

I might adduce additional examples, but these are sufficient for
my purpose ; and I shall only add, that such notices of stone oratories
clearly indicate that it was not the usual custom to erect such struc-
tures of this material, for if it were, there would be no necessity to
distinguish such as were so, in this manner.

2. SIZE.—That the *duirtheachs* were distinguished from the *daimhliags* as much by their inferiority of size, as difference of material, is quite obvious; and it is highly probable that, as the stone churches and other sacred edifices originally built by St. Patrick, became the models for subsequent structures of those classes, there may have been a similar model originally to regulate the size of the *duirtheach*. Such model, however, would be, in course of time, if not forgotten, at least occasionally deviated from, when the means, or other circumstances of the builders, made it necessary to do so. Thus, amongst the existing stone buildings of this class, as amongst many of the ancient parish and abbey churches, we find a great want of uniformity as to size; but their average may be stated to be about fifteen feet in length, and ten in breadth, interior measurement; and that this was about the usual size, we have an ancient evidence in a fragment of the Brehon Laws preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, p. 658, relating to the payment of artificers employed in the construction of *duirtheachs*, *daimhliags*, and *cloigtheachs*. But as I shall give the whole of this curious document in the following subsection, I need only refer to it here. Such is very nearly the internal measurement of the *duirtheach* at Glendalough, now popularly called the Priest's House, of which I have already given sufficient illustrations, p. 248, *et sequen.*, and also of several other stone oratories already noticed, as that of St. Mac Dara, on the island of Cruach Mic Dara, off the western coast of Galway, noticed in p. 190, and that of St. Cenannach, on the middle island of Aran, in the Bay of Galway, noticed at p. 189. And I may add, that the stone oratories on the great island of Aran are all either exactly of these dimensions, or very nearly so; as the Teampull Beag Mhic Duach, or the smaller church of St. Mac Duach, which is situated near the greater church of the same saint, called his Teampull Mor, and which is obviously of the same age; St. Gobnet's oratory, which measures externally eighteen feet in length, and thirteen feet and a half in breadth; Teampull na Sourney, which is nineteen feet six inches in length, and fifteen feet six inches in breadth; and the oratory of St. Benen, or Benignus, which is, externally, but fifteen feet in length, and eleven feet in breadth.

Such also is usually the size of the remarkable stone oratories in Kerry, built without cement, with the exception of that at Kil-

malkedar, which is sixteen feet four inches in length, and eight feet seven inches in breadth. The most beautiful of these oratories, that at Gallerus, described, with illustrations, at p. 133, is, however, exactly the prescribed measurement, and not ten feet in breadth externally, as there inadvertently stated.

In the general plan of this class of buildings there was an equal uniformity. They had a single doorway, always placed in the centre of the west wall, and were lighted by a single window placed in the centre of the east wall, and a stone altar usually, perhaps always, placed beneath this window. That such oratories, as well as the larger churches, were usually consecrated by a bishop, appears certain from a very ancient vellum MS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, giving the form in which a church, or *duirtheach*, was to be consecrated, and which, judging from the language, appears to be of very considerable antiquity; and many examples of such dedications occur in the lives of the Irish saints who flourished in Lombardy, Switzerland, and other parts of the Continent, in the seventh and eighth centuries, as published by Messingham, Colgan, Surius, and the Bollandists. From these lives we may also infer that the oratories erected abroad by these Irish ecclesiastics were similar in size and material to those in their native country,—as in the following example, from the Life of Columbanus, describing the oratory erected by him at Bobbio:

" Vbi etiam Ecclesiam in honorem almæ Dei genetricis, semperque Virginis Mariæ, ex lignis construxit ad magnitudinem sanctissimi corporis sui."—*Miracula S. Columbani Abbatis. Florilegium*, p. 240.

I should also remark, that, in those lives, such oratories are often designated by the term *oraculum*, a word which was also sometimes applied to oratories in Ireland, under the corrupted form of *Aireagal*, and anglicised Errigal,—as in *Aireagal Dachiarog*, now Errigal Keeroge, in the County of Tyrone, and *Aireagal Adhamhnain*, now Errigal, in Derry.

But, as I have already said, the *duirtheachs* were not always of these very circumscribed proportions, for it appears from several entries in the Irish Annals that they were, at least occasionally, of much greater size. Thus, in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 849, there is a record of the burning of two hundred and sixty persons in the *duirtheach* of Trevet, a number which certainly could not be

contained within a *duirtheach* of the ordinary proportions, and which would seem to require, not only a room of greater size, but that upper chamber which is found in some of the buildings which appear to belong to this class. Moreover, we are not without evidences to show that some of the *duirtheachs* ranked as of more importance than others in their immediate vicinity, as the epithet *mor*, or great, applied to them, clearly proves; and, as the same epithet, when applied to a stone church, was unquestionably intended to denote its greater size, as compared with the contiguous churches, so we must also conclude that it was applied to the *duirtheach* with a similar object. The following example of such evidences will, however, suffice. It is found in an account of the circumstances which occasioned the writing of a poem for the Galls, or foreigners of Dublin, by the celebrated Irish poet, Rumann, who has been called, by the Irish writers, the Virgil of Ireland, and whose death is thus entered in the Annals of Tighernach at the year 747 : "*Ruman Mac Colmain Poeta optimus quievit.*" It refers to the building of the *duirtheach mor*, or great oratory of Rathain Ua Suanaigh, now Rahen, in the King's County; and the original, which is preserved in an ancient vellum MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is said to have been copied from the Book of Rathain Ua Suanaigh :

" Rumuno, mac Colmain, .ı. mac pıg Laegaıpe, oo Clannaıb Neıll, pıg-pılıo Eıpeno, ıp é oo pıgne an ouan pa, 7 laıo luapcach aınm na h-aıpce ap a n-epnao. Ip é aobap ımoppu a oenma oo, .ı. oıa aılıepı caınıcc pé co Racan, ı n-aımpıp gopca móıpe. Ra bo meıpcı la luéc an baıle a cuıoechc oo'n baılı, con ann a oubpacap ppıp ın paep, po buı ıc oenum ın oupcaıgı moıp, oıulcao oo oenum ppıp ın pep n-oána ; conıo ann ac bepc ın paep ppı pep oıa muıncıp, epıg a n-agaıo Rumuıno, 7 abaıp ppıp na cıcceo oo'n baılıu, no co n-oepnao pé pano ı m-bıa áıpım na pıl oo clapaıb puno, oo chum ın oupcaıgı ; conıo ann oo poın-pıom ın pano pa :

> " ' A mu coımoıu ! cıo oo oén-pa,
> Ppıp ın aobup mup pa ?
> Cuın bup aıcoı popceım olucu,
> Na x.ceo cláp pa ?'

" Ipeo pın po buı oo clápaıb ano, .ı. mıle cláp, 7 ní po pécao oıulcao ppıp ap pın, ó pa paıllpıg Oıa oo, cpıa n-a éıcpı, ın lín cláp po buı oc un paep.

" Oo poıne móp ouaın oo Gallaıbh Acha clıach ap pın a cecóıp, 7 a oubpacap na Gaıll, co ná cıbpıcíp luach a ouaıne oo ; conıo ann oo poın-pıom ın pano ıpopaıc, co n-ebaıpc :

> " ' M'eppa maoaıl ooneoch oo gena,
> 7 ap peın bepac-pa eınech oo pgena.'

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" Co ʊuccaʊ a bρeʈh ϝéin ʊo aρ ρin ; conιʊ ρí bρeʈh ρucρum, .ι. pinʒinʊ cech ʊnoch Ƽaιll, 7 ʊa pínʒinn cech ʊé-Ƽaιll, co ná ϝριch acu Ƽall naċ ʒuc ʊá pinʒinʊ ʊo, áρ niρ ϝιu ρe Ƽall ʊíb ʊnoch Ƽall ʊo ραʊ ϝριρ ϝéin ιʒιρ, co n-ebρuʒaρ ϝριρ na Ƽaιll ιnʊ ϝaιρʒe ʊo molaʊ, co ϝinʒaíρ ιn ʊáιι bunu buι aιcʒe. Conιʊ ann ρo mol-ρom ιn ϝaιρʒe, 7 ρé aρ meιρce, co n-ebuιρ.

<div align="center">" ' Cínpʈhιne móρ aρ muιʒ Ƚιρ.'</div>

" Co ʒuc-ρom ιmoρρu ιn eʒáιl ρin leιρ co Cell belaιʒ, aρ Muιʒ Conρʒanʒιn, aρ ba ʊo cellaιb Ua Suanaιʊ ιn cell ρin, 7 Maʒ Conρʒanʒιn uιle. Caċ maʒ ʊan, 7 ceċ ϝeρann ʊá ρéιʒeʊ Conρʒanʒιn ba ρe Mucuʒu. Conιʊ ʊo Conρʒanʒιn aιnmnιʒʒeρ ιn maʒ. Iρ aṁlaιʊ buι cell belaιʒ an ʒan ρin, 7 uιι ρρáιʒʒe ʊo Ƽallaιb ann, 7 aρ a meιʒ ʊo ραʒ Rumunn ʒριan a eʒála ʊι, 7 ʒριan ʊo ρcoιl, 7 ʒριan leιρ ϝéin co Raιʈhen ; conιʊ ann ιρ maρb, conιʊ aʊnucʈ a n-enleabaιʊ ρe h-Ua Suanaιʒ, aρ méʊ a anóιρe la Ðιa 7 la ʊuιne."—*Laud.* 610, fol. 10, *a*, col. 1, 2.

" Rumann, son of Colman, i. e. the son of the King of Laegaire, of the race of Niall, royal poet of Ireland, was he that composed this poem, and *Laidh Luascach* is the name of the measure in which he composed it. He came on his pilgrimage to Rathan in a time of great dearth. It was displeasing to the people of the town that he should come thither, and they said to the architect, who was making the great *duirtheach*, to refuse admittance to the man of poetry. Upon which the builder said to one of his people, ' Go meet Rumann, and tell him that he shall not enter the town, until he makes a quatrain, in which there shall be an enumeration of what boards there are here for the building of the *duirtheach*. And then it was that he composed this quatrain :

<div align="center">" ' O my Lord ! what shall I do
About these great materials ?
When shall be seen in a jointed edifice
These ten hundred boards ?'</div>

" This was the number of boards there, i. e. one thousand boards ; and then he could not be refused [*admittance*], since God had revealed to him, through the poetic inspiration, the number of boards which the builder had.

" He composed a great poem for the Galls of Ath cliach (Dublin) immediately after, but the Galls said that they would not pay him the price of his poem ; upon which he composed the celebrated distich, in which he said :

<div align="center">" ' If any one wish to refuse me, let him,
And on him I will take revenge of daggers.'</div>

" Upon which his own award was given him. And the award he demanded was a *pinginn* from every bad Gall, and two *pinginns* from every good Gall, so that there was not found among them a Gall who did not give him two *pinginns*, because none of them deemed it worth while to be styled a bad Gall [for the price demanded]. And the Galls then told him to praise the sea, that they might know whether his was original poetry. Whereupon he praised the sea, while he was in a state of inebriety, and composed [the poem beginning]

<div align="center">" ' A great tempest on the plain of Lear,' [i. e. the sea].</div>

" He then carried this wealth with him to Cell Belaigh, in Magh Constantine, for this was one of the churches of Ua Suanaigh, and the whole of Magh Constantine

belonged to him. For every plain and land which Constantine had cleared belonged to St. Mochuda; so that the plain was named after Constantine. At this time Cell Belaigh had seven streets of Galls in it; and Rumann gave the third of his wealth to it, from its size, and a third to schools, and he kept a third with himself at Rathain, where he died, and was buried in the same bed [i. e. tomb] with Ua Suanaigh, for his great honour with God and man."

It is not necessary to the value of the preceding extract that it should be considered as authentic history in every respect, for its authority, as to the materials and more than ordinary size of the *duirtheach* at Rahen, can hardly be doubted, though some of the facts stated, in connexion with its erection, may be legendary, and opposed to chronological history; and that they are so, would seem, indeed, to be the fact. Thus, it can hardly be true that Rumann was interred in the same grave with O'Suanaigh, as the latter, according to the accurate Annals of Tighernach, did not die till 763, unless we suppose a tomb to have been made for O'Suanaigh more than sixteen years previously. And again, it is difficult to believe that Rumann's poem, in praise of the sea, was written, as stated, for the Galls of Dublin, if by Galls we are to understand the Scandinavian invaders, as we find no allusion to their devastations or settlements in Ireland, in the Irish Annals, previously to the year 794. Yet the poem ascribed to Rumann is unquestionably of very great antiquity, and may be the composition of that poet, though not written on the occasion stated. And, as the Irish applied the word Galls to all foreigners, those alluded to may not have been the Danes, but the Saxons, who, as we learn from Venerable Bede, infested Ireland long previously. At all events, the story told in connexion with this poem, which seems obviously to be the tradition preserved at Rahen, with respect to the poet Rumann's connexion with that place, is, on many accounts, of high interest, as furnishing an evidence, hitherto unknown, of the fact stated in some of the oldest Irish calendars, but which I, in common with Dr. Lanigan, had heretofore doubted, namely, that a Briton, named Constantine, was abbot at Rahen, and whose memory was there venerated on the 11th of March. In the Festilogy of Ængus this Constantine is set down as *Rex Ratheniæ*, which, as Colgan understands, did not mean that he was king of the place, but that having abdicated his kingdom, he became a monk there, or, as other calendars state, abbot. So the Calendar of Cashel, as translated by

Colgan, has, " *S. Constantinus ex Britannia ortus Abbas de Cul Rathain Mochuddæ in regione de Delbhna Ethra in Media.*"   The Martyrology of Tallaght, " *Constantini Britonis, vel filij Fergussii de Cruthenis.*"   Marian Gorman.   "*Constantinus Brito:*" and the Scholiast of Marian adds : " *Constantinus filius Fergussij de Cruthenis oriendus ; vel iuxta alios, Brito ; Abbas de Rathenia S. Mochudæ.*"   So also the Martyrology of Donegal has the same words ; and Cathal Maguire has the following notice of him : "*Constantinus Rex Britonum regnum abdicauit : et peregrinationis causa, venit Ratheniam tempore S. Mochuddæ.   Fuit enim Comorbanus* (successor) *S. Mochuddæ Rathenia, et ante Rex Albaniæ : vel est Constantinus filius Fergussij de Cruthenis oriendus.*"—See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 574, 575.

It would be foreign to my purpose to inquire more minutely into the history of this distinguished person, who, whatever may have been his country, there can be little doubt, was really located at Rahen or its vicinity, though not, as stated, at so late a period as to have been the successor of St. Mochuda, who was driven from Rahen in the year 630,—at least if he be, as Dr. O'Conor supposes, the Constantine noticed in the Annals of Ulster at the year 587, and in those of Tighernach at the year 588, in these words,—" *Conversio Constantini ad Dominum,*" and to whom Hector Boethius seems to allude in his History of Scotland, L. 9, where he says : " *Pænitentem, abdicato regno, secessisse in Hiberniam, ibique, tonso capite, Christi militiæ se præstitisse.*"

The passage is moreover curious for its reference to the seven streets inhabited by the Galls, in the town of Cell Belaigh, as well as for the allusion to the *pinginns*, or pennies, at this early period ; and I may mention, as a curious fact, that in my own time there has been found, in the immediate vicinity of Rahen, not only an extensive hoard of pennies of the Saxon chief monarchs of the ninth century, but also, subsequently, a considerable number of the pennies of Egbert, 801–837,—circumstances which would seem to indicate that Saxons were established in this locality at an early period.

To return, however, from this digression.   It is from a consideration of the greater size of some of the *Duirtheachs* than of others that I am inclined to refer to this class not only such curious buildings as Declan's Dormitory at Ardmore, in the County of Waterford,

and Molaisi's House on Devenish Island, in Fermanagh—buildings of very contracted dimensions—but also those similar buildings, though of larger size, at Kells and Glendalough,—the first called St. Columb's House, and the second St. Kevin's,—which have habitable apartments between the stone roof and the coved ceiling of the oratory. That all these buildings are of a remote antiquity their architecture sufficiently shows; and that they may have been erected by the celebrated personages whose names they bear, I see no good reason to doubt. The great difference between some of these buildings and those which are unquestionably *duirtheachs* is, that they combined within them, under the same roof, the double object of an oratory and a dwelling,—a difference not very essential, and which might have owed its origin to local circumstances. And the greater size of St. Columb's House at Kells, and St. Kevin's at Glendalough, might be attributable to the rank of the illustrious ecclesiastics for whom they were erected.

Should it be objected that St. Kevin's House at Glendalough, unlike that of St. Columb at Kells, had all the features which characterize a church for public worship, as nave, chancel, sacristy, and belfry, the answer is, that it certainly had not all these features originally; the chancel, with its connecting arch, and sacristy, are obviously subsequent additions, as an examination of the structure clearly shows; and it is extremely probable that the small, round, turret-belfry, placed upon the west gable of the nave, was also added at the same time. Illustrations of these curious structures will be given in a subsection following, headed HOUSES.

3. USE.—It can scarcely be questioned that this class of buildings were originally erected for the private devotions of their founders exclusively; and if there were any doubts of this, they would be removed by the fact that, in the immediate vicinity of such oratories, we usually find not only the cells, or the ruins of them, which served as habitations for the founders, but also the tombs in which they were interred. And it is worthy of observation that in the great island of Aran, in the Bay of Galway,—called Ara na Naomh, as O'Flaherty says, from the multitude of saints interred there,—such oratories and tombs usually belong to the most distinguished of the saints of Ireland, who passed into it to spend the evening of their life in prayer and penance, and to be interred there: and hence, I

think, such structures came, in subsequent times, to be used by devotees as penitentiaries, and to be generally regarded as such exclusively. Nor is it easy to conceive localities better fitted, in a religious age, to excite feelings of contrition for past sins, and of expectations of forgiveness, than these, which had been rendered sacred by the sanctity of those to whom they had owed their origin. Most certain, at all events, it is, that they came to be regarded as sanctuaries the most inviolable, to which, as our annals show, the people were accustomed to fly in the hope of safety,—a hope, however, which was not always realized.

SUBSECTION III.

BELFRIES.

THE class of buildings of which I have now to treat, and which gave origin to this lengthened Inquiry, though only holding the places of accessories to the principal churches in Ireland, have yet, from the peculiarity of their form, and the wild theories which have been promulgated respecting their age and uses, been regarded as objects of greater interest and importance than even the ancient churches themselves, or, indeed, than any other class of ancient monuments remaining. The inconclusiveness of the arguments and evidences which have been adduced to sustain the various theories assigning them a pagan origin, have been amply discussed in the first Part of this Inquiry, and to those who have accompanied me through that investigation, as well as through the preceding sections in this Part, I can hardly imagine that it will appear necessary to occupy much space now with evidences to prove either their Christian origin, or the uses to which, by Christians, they were applied. I, at least, am persuaded that to any one having a tolerable acquaintance with medieval architecture, a sight of a few of these remains, or of accurate detailed drawings of them, would be alone sufficient to convince him, not only of their Christian date, but of the primary purposes for which they were constructed. But, as I have to write not only for such persons, but for those also who are less instructed in such knowledge, and, as a consequence, are, for the most part, imbued with prejudices difficult to be removed, it is necessary that I should present them with such more direct evidences, on these points, as must necessarily lead their minds to a conviction of the truth.

Previously, however, to my entering on those evidences, I feel it necessary to impress on the memories of those who may still cling with tenacity to the theory of the pagan origin of these structures, a summary of the facts which, in refutation of that theory, I conceive I have already established.

1. That not even the shadow of an historical authority has been adduced to show that the Irish were acquainted with the art of constructing an arch, or with the use of lime cement, anterior to the introduction of Christianity into the country; and further, that though we have innumerable remains of buildings, of ages antecedent to that period, in no one of them has an arch, or lime cement, been found.

2. That in no one building in Ireland assigned to pagan times, either by historical evidence or popular tradition, have been found either the form or features usual in the Round Towers, or characteristics that would indicate the possession of sufficient architectural skill in their builders to construct such edifices.

3. That, previously to General Vallancey,—a writer remarkable for the daring rashness of his theories, for his looseness in the use of authorities, and for his want of acquaintance with medieval antiquities,—no writer had ever attributed to the Round Towers any other than a Christian, or, at least, a medieval origin.

4. And lastly, that the evidences and arguments tendered in support of this theory by Vallancey and his followers,—excepting those of the late Mr. O'Brien and Sir William Betham, which I have not thought deserving of notice,—have been proved to be of no weight or importance.

In addition to these facts, the four which follow will be proved in the descriptive notices of the ancient churches and towers which will constitute the Third Part of this Inquiry.

1. That the towers are *never* found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical foundations.

2. That their architectural styles exhibit no features or peculiarities not equally found in the original churches with which they are locally connected, when such remain.

3. That on several of them Christian emblems are observable; and that others display, in their details, a style of architecture universally acknowledged to belong to Christian times.

4. That they possess, invariably, architectural features not found in any buildings in Ireland ascertained to be of pagan times.

For the present, however, I must assume these additional facts as proved, and will proceed to establish the conclusions as to their uses originally stated; namely, I. that they were intended to serve as belfries; and, II. as keeps, or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables, were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged could retire for security, in cases of sudden predatory attack.

These uses will, I think, appear obvious to a great extent, from their peculiarities of construction, which it will be proper, in the first

place, to describe. These Towers, then,—as will be seen from the annexed characteristic illustration, representing the perfect Tower on Devenish Island in Lough Erne,—are rotund, cylindrical structures, usually tapering upwards, and varying in height from fifty to

perhaps one hundred and fifty feet; and in external circumference, at the base, from forty to sixty feet, or somewhat more. They have usually a circular, projecting base, consisting of one, two, or three steps, or plinths, and are finished at the top with a conical roof of stone, which, frequently, as there is every reason to believe, terminated with a cross formed of a single stone. The wall, towards the base, is never less than three feet in thickness, but is usually more, and occasionally five feet, being always in accordance with the general proportions of the building. In the interior they are divided into stories, varying in number from four to eight, as the height of the Tower permitted, and usually about twelve feet in height. These stories are marked either by projecting belts of stone, set-offs or ledges, or holes in the wall to receive joists, on which rested the floors, which were almost always of wood. In the uppermost of these stories the wall is perforated by two, four, five, six, or eight apertures, but most usually four, which sometimes face the cardinal points, and sometimes not. The lowest story, or rather its place, is sometimes composed of solid masonry, and when not so, it has never any aperture to light it. In the second story the wall is usually perforated by the entrance doorway, which is generally from eight to thirty feet from the ground, and only large enough to admit a single person at a time. The intermediate stories are each lighted by a single aperture, placed variously, and usually of very small size, though in several instances, that directly over the doorway is of a size little less than that of the doorway, and would appear to be intended as a second entrance.

In their masonic construction they present a considerable variety: but the generality of them are built in that kind of careful masonry called spawled rubble, in which small stones, shaped by the hammer, in default of suitable stones at hand, are placed in every interstice of the larger stones, so that very little mortar appears to be intermixed in the body of the wall; and thus the outside of spawled masonry, especially, presents an almost uninterrupted surface of stone, supplementary splinters being carefully inserted in the joints of the undried wall. Such, also, is the style of masonry of the most ancient churches; but it should be added that, in the interior of the walls of both, grouting is abundantly used. In some instances, however, the Towers present a surface of ashlar masonry,—but rarely laid in

courses perfectly regular,—both externally and internally, though
more usually on the exterior only; and, in a few instances, the lower
portion of the Towers exhibit less of regularity than the upper parts.

In their architectural features an equal diversity of style is obser-
vable; and of these the doorway is the most remarkable.   When the
Tower is of rubble masonry, the doorways seldom present any deco-
rations, and are either quadrangular, and covered with a lintel, of a
single stone of great size, or semicircular-headed, either by the con-
struction of a regular arch, or the cutting of a single stone.   There
are, however, two instances of very richly decorated doorways in
Towers of this description, namely, those of Kildare and Timahoe.
In the more regularly constructed Towers the doorways are always
arched semicircularly, and are usually ornamented with architraves,
or bands, on their external faces.   The upper apertures but very
rarely present any decorations, and are most usually of a quadran-
gular form.   They are, however, sometimes semicircular-headed, and
still oftener present the triangular or straight-sided arch.   I should
further add, that in the construction of these apertures very frequent
examples occur of that kind of masonry, consisting of long and
short stones alternately, now generally considered by antiquaries as
a characteristic of Saxon architecture in England.

The preceding description will, I trust, be sufficient to satisfy
the reader that the Round Towers were not ill-adapted to the double
purpose of belfries and castles, for which I have to prove they were
chiefly designed; and keeping this double purpose in view, it will,
I think, satisfactorily account for those peculiarities in their struc-
ture, which would be unnecessary if they had been constructed for
either purpose alone.   For example, if they had been erected to
serve the purpose of belfries only, there would be no necessity for
making their doorways so small, or placing them at so great a dis-
tance from the ground; while, on the other hand, if they had been
intended solely for ecclesiastical castles, they need not have been of
such slender proportions and great altitude.   I shall now proceed to
a consideration of the evidences which have forced this conviction
upon my own mind.   And first, with respect to their original use
as belfries.

. 1. It is most certain that the Irish ecclesiastics had, from a very
early period, in connexion with their cathedral and abbey churches,

campanilia, or detached belfries, called in the Irish annals, and other ancient authorities, by the term cloigṫeaċ.

2. It is equally certain that, in all parts of Ireland where the Irish language is yet retained, these Towers are designated by the same term, except in a few districts, where they are called by the synonymous term cloġáṛ, or by the term cuilṡṫeaċ,—which, as I have already shown, is only a corrupted form of cloigṫeaċ, by a transposition of letters very usual in modern Irish words.

3. It is also certain that no other building, either round or square, suited to the purpose of a belfry, has ever been found in connexion with any church of an age anterior to the twelfth century, with the single exception of the square belfry attached to a church on Inis Clothrann, or Clorin,—an island in Lough Ree,—and which seems to be of earlier date.

4. And lastly. It is further certain that this use is assigned to them by the uniform tradition of the whole people of Ireland; and that they are appropriated to this use, in many parts of the country, even to this day.

To facts so demonstrative of this primary purpose of the Towers, it is not easy to imagine an objection of sufficient weight to invalidate them, nor have any been advanced. It has, indeed, been urged by several, that their internal diameter at top is too small " for a bell of moderate size to oscillate in ;" and by Dr. O'Conor, and others after him, that the ancient Irish belfries must have been of wood, because the annalists state that, like the churches, they were frequently burned by the Northmen. Of these objections, however, the first is refuted by the fact that bells of larger size than any which the ancient Irish ever possessed, are hung in many of the Towers at the present day; and the nullity of the second objection has been already fully demonstrated at p. 64.

I may, moreover, add here,—and particularly as the passage to which I am about to refer, had escaped my memory when I was noticing Dr. O'Conor's arguments in the First Part of this Inquiry, —that Dr. O'Conor, as far as this point is concerned, has refuted his own arguments, and, indeed, acknowledged the appropriation of the Towers, at a very early period, to the uses which I assign to them, as their original ones. This will fully appear by a comparison of the opinions stated in the following passage, which appears as a note in

his Annals of Tighernach, p. 89, with the opinions already quoted from his *Prolegomena*, p. 49 ; the former published in 1826, and the latter in 1814, and which will show that within this period Dr. O'Conor's opinions must have undergone a very material change.

" Hæc a quodam vetere Hibernense scripta fuere, qui Turres Ecclesiasticos Hibernorum, eorumque intentum, ac usum noverat, atque ab Anachoretis, Orientalium more viventibus, et campanas, aliasque res Sacras, Libros et Thesauros custodientibus, habitabantur ; utpote a petra constructi ab imo ad summum, quia Ecclesiæ, aliaque ædificia Hibernica, cum e ligno constructa essent, facillime et frequentissime combure-bantur. Ante Campanilium usum invectum, constructi fuere turres isti, referente Gratiano Lucio, pag. 133. Postea tamen usus inolevit, ut campanis in eorum culmine appensis, campanilium vices gererent."

But, if there be any who may still doubt that the Irish *cloictheachs* were stone structures, and distinct buildings from the churches, they must be convinced of the fact by the following very curious passage, which occurs in a vellum manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, p. 653. This passage is, unfortunately, but a fragment of a Commentary on a Brehon Law, relative to the payment of artificers for the erection of the three chief buildings, which are usually found grouped together in ecclesiastical establishments, namely, the *duirtheach, daimhliag*, and *cloictheach*, and hence it should be premised that, as well from the want of the original law, which it was intended to elucidate, as from the technical character of the rules laid down, it is by no means easy to arrive at a clear understanding of its entire meaning. But this is a matter of little consequence to the present inquiry, as the passage will clearly show, what is essential to my purpose, that the belfry was a distinct building, constructed of stone ; and that there was a law regulating not only the price of its construction, but determining its height, as proportioned to the *daimhliag*, or stone church :

" Mara ouréac .u. croizio n-oec, no ir luża inar, .i. cuic craizio .x. in a fac, 7 .x. craizio in a lecec, ir ramairc ar cac craizeo carrna oe, no ar cac craizeo co lec ar fuc ; cona éuiże aine rin : 7 mara éruioe flinneo, ir bo ar cac croizeo carrna oe, no ar cac croizeo zu lec ar fuc. Mara mo e ina .u. croizio .x. ra-mairc ar oa crian croizio carrna oe, no ar croizeo ar uc : co na éuzi aine rin. Mara éuiże flinneo, bo ar oa crian croizio carrna oe, no ar croizeo ar uc.

"Loż na n-ouréac oo rer olizio rin ; ocur a crian oo elaoain, 7 crian oo aobur, 7 a crian oo aobur, 7 a crian oo biuo, 7 oo friécnam, 7 oo zobnib ; 7 fo'n comac re recar a ler zabeino aichrezéar rin ooib, 7 lec in crin oo zoibnib anaenur, .i. rereo ; in .ui. aili a poino ar oo icer biao 7 friéznam, aili .x. ceccar

ὁe ; ⁊ ꝺa ꝑaɪḃ ꝑeann na ꝑecaꝑ a leꝛ ᵹoḃanꝺ, ɪꝑꝑoɪnꝺ aꝛ ꝺo annꝛɪꝺe ɪꞇeꝛ bɪaꝺ ⁊ ꝼꝛɪꞇhᵹnam. Maꝛa ᵹnɪɪnꝛaɪꝺ aᵹ a ꝑecaꝑ a leꝛ ꞇɪꝛ ⁊ ac na ꝑecaꝑ ᵹoḃanꝺ, ꞇꝛɪan ꝺ'elaꝺunn, ⁊ ꞇꝛɪan ꝺo ꞓɪꝛ, ⁊ ꞇꝛɪan ꝺ'aꝺḃuꝛ, ⁊ ꝺo bɪuꝺ, ⁊ ꝺo ꝼꝛɪꞓᵹnam; a leꞇ ꝑꝺe ꝺ'aꝺḃuꝛ anaenuꝛ, .uɪ. ; ɪn .uɪ. aɪlɪ ꝺo bɪuꝺ ⁊ ꝺo ꝼꝛɪꞇhᵹnam, .ɪ. aɪlɪ .x. ꝺo ceꞓꞇaꝛ ꝺe.

" In ꝺamlɪaᵹ : maꝛa ꞓuᵹe ꝛlɪnneḃ ꝼuɪl aɪꝛ, comloᵹ e ⁊ ɪn ꝺuꝛꞇaꞓ ɪꝛ cuꞇꝛuma ꝑɪꝛ. Maꝛa ꞓuɪᵹe aɪne ꝼɪl aɪꝛ, ɪn ꞇ-aɪnm ꝑaɪnne ᵹaḃuꝛ ɪn cloꞓ ɪn a cꝛann, ᵹuꝑuḃ e ɪn ꞇ-aɪnm ꝑaɪnne ꝛɪn ꝺa lan-loᵹ beꝛ ꝼaɪꝛ; ⁊ ɪn ꞇ-aɪnm ꝑaɪnne ᵹaḃuꝛ ɪn cꝛann ɪn a cloɪc ᵹuꝑuḃ e ɪn ꞇ-aɪnm ꝑaɪnne ꝛɪn ꝺo leꞓ-loᵹ beꝛ ꝼaɪꝛ, ⁊ ɪꝛ e ꝑaɪnn ꝑaꞇhuꝛ aꝛ na anmannaɪḃ ꝑaɪnne ꝛɪn ɪn ꝑoɪnn ꞇeɪꞇ oᵹ un ꝺuꝛꞇhaꞓ.

" In cloɪcꞇech : a ɪchꞇuꝛ ꝑꝺe ꝺo ꞇomuꝛ, a ꞇomuꝛ ꝑꝺe ꝛe h-ɪꞓꞇuꝛ ɪn ꝺaɪmlɪaᵹ ꝛe n-a cuꞇꝛumaꝺe, ⁊ ɪn ɪmaꝛcꝛaɪꝺ a ꞇa aꝛ a ꝼaꞇ, ⁊ aꝛ a leꞓeꝺ ɪn ꝺaɪmlɪaᵹ o ꝛɪn ɪmach o choꞇomuꝛ ɪn cloꞇꞇɪᵹe ɪmaꞓ, ɪꝛa ꝑɪaᵹaɪl ꝑꝺe ꝛe aɪꝺe ɪn cloꞓꞇɪᵹe; ⁊ ꝺa ꝑaɪḃ ɪmaꝛcꝛaɪꝺ aɪꝛ, .ɪ. aꝛ aɪꝺe ɪn cloꞓꞇɪᵹe ꝑɪꝛ ɪn ꝺaɪmlɪaᵹ, ɪꝛ comoꝛ loᵹ ꝑɪꝛ, ɪn cuꞇꝛuma loɪᵹɪꝺeꞓꞇa ꝛɪn ꝺo ꞇabaɪꝛꞇ aꝛ ɪn cloꞓꞇech."

" If it be a *duirtheach* of fifteen feet, or less than that, that is, fifteen feet in its length, and ten feet in its breadth, a heifer for every foot of it in breadth, or for every foot and a half in length ; this *is* when the roof is of rushes : but if the roof be of *slinn*[a] [shingles], it is a cow for every foot of it in breadth, or for every foot and a half in length. If it be more than fifteen feet, a heifer for [every] two-thirds of a foot of it in breadth, or for [every] foot in length ; this *is* when the roof is of rushes : if the roof be of shingles, a cow for [every] two-thirds of a foot of it in breadth, or for [every] foot in length.

" That is the price of the *duirtheachs* according to law ; and a third of it for trade [i. e. for the builder], and a third for materials, and a third for diet, and for attendance, and for smiths ; and it is according to the right of the smiths when they are required, that [third] is apportioned between them ; and half the third to the smiths alone, that is, a sixth ; the other sixth to be divided into two parts between diet and attendance, one-twelfth to each of them ; and if it be an apportionment *for a work* in which the smith is not required, to divide it [the third] into two parts between diet and attendance. If it be a work for which land is required [i. e. the site of which must be purchased], and for which a smith is not required, a third for trade, and a third for land, and a third for materials, and for food, and for attendance ; the half of that [last third] for materials alone, [that is] a sixth ; the other sixth for diet and for attendance, that is a twelfth for each of them.

" The *daimhliag :* if its covering be of shingles, it is of equal price with the *duirtheach*, which is proportioned to it. If its covering be of rushes, the proportion which stone [work] bears to wood [work] is the proportion of full price that shall be for it ; and the proportion which wood [work] bears to stone [work] is the proportion of half price that shall be for it; and these proportions will be distributed according to the rule applied to the *duirtheach*.

" The *cloictheach :* its base to be measured ; that [again] to be measured with the base of the *daimhliag* for [determining] its proportions ; and the excess of the length and breadth of the *daimhliag* over it [i. e.] over the measurement of the *cloictheach*,

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[a] Slinn is now used to denote *slates*, but the word is rendered *shingles* by Mageoghegan. The use of slates for roofing seems to be of no great antiquity in Ireland.

that is the rule for the height of the *cloictheach ;* and if there should be an excess, i. e. in the height of the *cloictheach* compared with the *daimhliag*, which is of equal price with it, a proportionate excess of price is to be paid for the *cloictheach.*"

Difficult of explanation as the preceding passage is, we may at least safely infer from it that the *cloictheach*, or belfry, was a distinct building, constructed of similar materials with the *daimhliag*, and having its height and the expense of its erection determined by a certain rule bearing on its usual proportion to that of its accompanying church. When this proportion was observed, the expense of building each was the same; and when the height of the Tower exceeded that specified, its expense was increased accordingly.

It is not, of course, necessary to my purpose, to attempt an explanation of the rule for determining the height of the belfry; yet, as a matter of interest to the reader, I am tempted to hazard a conjecture as to the mode in which it should be understood. It appears, then, to me, that by the measurement of the base of the Tower, must be meant its external circumference, not its diameter; and, in like manner, the measurement of the base of the *daimhliag* must be its perimeter, or the external measurement of its four sides. If, then, we understand these terms in this manner, and apply the rule as directed, the result will very well agree with the measurements of the existing ancient churches and towers. For example, the cathedral church at Glendalough, as it appears to have been originally constructed,—for the present chancel seems an addition of later time,— was fifty-five feet in length and thirty-seven feet in breadth, giving a perimeter of 184 feet. If from this we subtract the circumference of the Tower, at the base, or foundation, which is fifty-two feet, we shall have a remainder of 132 feet, as the prescribed height for the latter. And such, we may well believe, was about the original height of this structure; for, to its present height of 110 feet, should be added from fifteen to eighteen feet for its conical roof, now wanting, and perhaps a few feet at its base, which are concealed by the accumulation of earth around it. In cases of churches having a chancel as well as nave, the rule, thus understood, seems equally applicable; for example, the church of Iniscaltra gives a perimeter of 162 feet, from which deducting forty-six feet, the circumference of the Tower, we have 116 feet as the prescribed height of the latter; which cannot be far from the actual original height of the Tower; for, to its present height of

eighty feet must be added ten or twelve feet for the upper story, which is now wanting, fifteen feet for its conical roof, and a few feet for a portion concealed at its base.

Additional evidences on this primary purpose of the Round Towers would, I think, be superfluous; and I shall therefore proceed, without further delay, to a consideration of the evidences which have led me to conclude that these buildings were designed to combine with their primary object of belfries the secondary, though not less original one, of ecclesiastical keeps. Previously, however, to entering on these evidences, I should premise that they are by no means of so direct a character as those adduced in support of my first conclusion. But though only inferential, they will, I trust, be found scarcely less weighty.

1. That the Round Towers were designed, in part, for ecclesiastical castles, as well as belfries, must, as I think, necessarily be inferred from some of the peculiarities found almost universally in their construction, and particularly in their small doorways placed at so great a height from the ground. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this obvious mode of securing safety is a common one in ancient castles; but I should observe, that the most ancient military towers subsequent to Roman times, found in the British Isles, and which are built with stone and lime cement, are invariably of this round and lofty character, having their doorways small, and considerably elevated from the ground, and their floors composed of wood. Such were the castles of Launceston, in Cornwall; of Brunless, in Brecknockshire; of

Dolbaddern, in Carnarvonshire, &c. And even the Saxon, or Norman, castle of Conisborough, in Yorkshire, preserves, in some degree, the same peculiarities.

As an instance of this remarkable agreement of the British castles with the Irish Round Towers, I annex an outline of the castle of Brunless, in its present state, taken from King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 32, a work in which much curious information will be found relative to the ancient British castles. If we restore the outline of this castle to its probable original height, it

will be found to be almost identical, in most of its features, with several of our Irish Towers, as shown in the annexed outlines of the existing Round Tower of Clondalkin, and of the Tower of Rosscarbery, copied from an ancient seal of the diocese, as published in Harris's *Ware*.

Mr. King is of opinion that this tower, or castle, as well as others of the same description, was erected by the Silures, or Damnonii, during the occupation of the island by the Romans; and that its form was derived from the Phœnician or Carthaginian traders : but as the origin of the form of our Irish Round Towers shall be inquired into at some length in the concluding section of the Third Part of this work, I will not occupy the reader's time with any remarks on it in this place. I deem it important, however, to state that Mr. King had no doubt that these British castles were designed for treasuries and places of refuge ; and that, though their inside, or timber work, might be " burnt and refitted over and over again," they could, in no other way, be injured by fire.
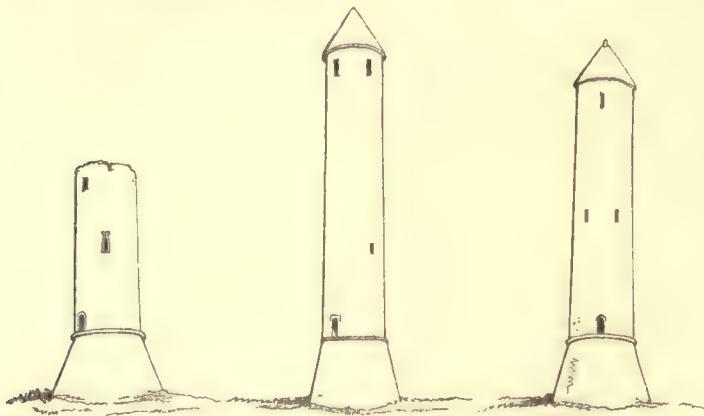
2. This secondary purpose may be still further inferred from the fact, that many of the remaining doorways of the Towers exhibit abundant evidences of their having been provided with double doors; and I may remark that this was in itself sufficient to satisfy the mind of the most accomplished and scientific architect this country has given birth to, the late Mr. William Morrison, that this was one of the purposes for which the Towers were designed. Having directed his attention to an examination of some of the Towers,—with a view not only that I might have the advantage of his judgment as to their

construction, but also with the hope of satisfying him that my opinions, as to their uses, had not been erroneous, as my lamented friend had previously believed,—I was favoured with the valuable opinion result- ing from such examination,—" that the means resorted to for the pur- pose of preventing forcible entry, namely, by means of double doors, fully establish their design for places of safety and defence." The opinion which I have now quoted occurs in a letter addressed to me from Roscrea, in 1832. On his return to Walcott, his residence, near Bray, shortly after, my friend favoured me with a letter, containing a sketch, from the interior, of the doorway of the Tower of Roscrea, as
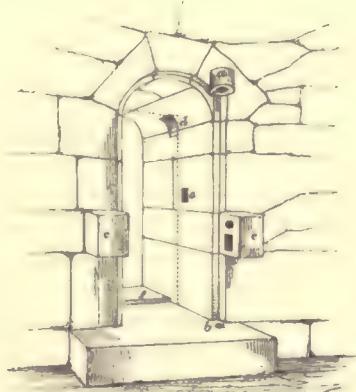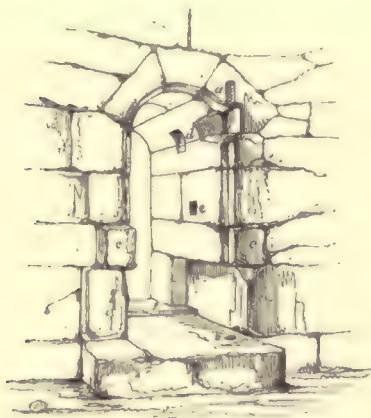
it now exists, and another, with a section, of the same doorway re- stored, for the purpose of exhibiting the manner in which this door-

way had been provided with double doors. Of these interesting sketches it affords me great pleasure to lay copies before my readers, as well as the explana- tions which accompanied them.
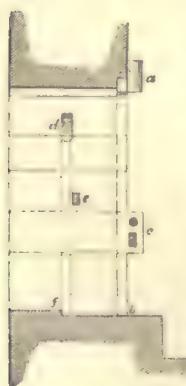
In the first the letter *a* exhibits a semicircular groove, being the remains of a stone socket-hole, since chiselled off, but leaving the section of the original circular hole.

In the second,—a restored view,—the same letter exhibits a projecting stone socket to receive the upper iron of the door.

b. Pivot hole.

c. Projecting stones, to receive iron bolts.

d. Aperture in a stone at either side of the doorway, to receive a moveable door, placed in time of siege.

e. Bolt hole.

f. Rabbet, or stop, to receive the door, and prevent it from being pulled out.

The letter which accompanied these sketches is in itself so curious and characteristic of the inquiring mind of its author, that I feel reluctant in abridging it, and shall therefore present it to the reader in its original integrity.

" MY DEAR PETRIE,

" I am really ashamed at not having ere now sent you the sketches ; but, in truth, I have been so tormented at once with business and ill health, that it was out of my power to do so; you now have them in *a sort of way*, which your knowledge of the subject and ingenuity will, I trust, enable you to unravel. I have made you two *views* of the doorway, as it is ; and a restoration, showing what I conceive to have been its original state. The value of this specimen, as it strikes me, is the proof it affords, first, that the Towers have been, at a certain and very remote period, employed as places of defence, or safety, which is fully established by the means here resorted to, to prevent forcible entry ; and secondly, and most important, that at a *subsequent* period those defences have been designedly removed, owing either to the increased security of the country, or the increased veneration shown to its religion: it may be that its members were desirous of thus evincing their confidence and security ; or it might be, that a successful spoliator thus deprived the possessors of the means of future defence against renewed attack. But be that as it may, it affords, I should think, a satisfactory refutation of the argument founded on the occasional absence of such defences : having, from whatever cause, been here *carefully* removed, it is fair to infer that like motives have induced a similar removal elsewhere, thus accounting for [their] occasional absence.

" Believe me, dear Petrie,

" Your's very faithfully,

" WILLIAM MORRISON.

" WALCOTT, *Thursday*, 19 [*July*], 1832.

" P. S.—At Rattoo, as I remember, the bolt-holes for fastening the exterior, and removeable door exist, whilst there does not remain any apparent means of hanging, or securing, the interior door ; further, I believe, the inner jambs are not chiselled to receive a door ; it must, however, be presumed, that where the exterior door, placed necessarily in an innermost position, was deemed indispensable, that the interior one, which could occasion no inconvenience, and have effectually answered *any purpose of a door*, would not be omitted ; if you conceive it hung *within* the interior face of the wall from projecting sockets of stones, subsequently removed, the difficulty is got over. It may be urged that the Towers are unprovided with offensive means of defence ; but to employ such means might have been held inconsistent with the religious character of their possessors,—or such a garrison might have been unwilling to excite increased irritation in its assailants ; or, which is most likely, a sufficient means of

offence was thought to be afforded by the upper windows, as the door alone could be pregnable, and a stone falling seventy feet would be no soothing application to a Dane's back."

Amongst the letters of my friend I find another, which I consider worthy of publication, not only as affording another example of the custom of double doors in the Towers, but also as giving his valuable opinion on the fact that the Tower and its accompanying church are cotemporaneous structures. The buildings described in this letter are, the church and Round Tower of Dysart, in the County of Limerick.

" NEWCASTLE, *Wednesday*, 29 [*May*, 1832].

" MY DEAR PETRIE,

" I hope you will consider the promptness with which I have attended to your commission, as some proof of the satisfaction it affords me to contribute, in any manner within my power, to your wishes. On reaching Limerick yesterday I immediately set out for Dysart, as my first object, whence it is distant twelve miles, of which I found it necessary to walk the last four across the country. The accompanying sketches will, I believe, afford you all the information which you can require. The construction of the Tower at Dysart is quite similar to that at Rattoo, only differing in the quality of the material, which is somewhat more massive ; it bears a strong resemblance to the Etruscan masonry of Italy, a mode of building likewise adopted in some of the early Greek churches, of which you have a good representation in one of the plates of the 'Unedited Antiquities of Attica.' The adjacent church is, manifestly, coeval with the Tower, the mode of building and the forms perfectly corresponding. The coverings of its opes are gone, but from what remains there can be no doubt of their having been finished as those of the Tower, the entrance being semi-circularly arched, and the windows either arched or covered with horizontal lintels of long stone.
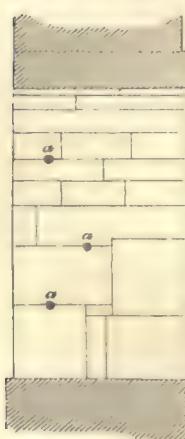
" You observe that the Tower is divided into stories, as at Rattoo, but with this difference, that here there is a window to each story, and that the intermediate corbelle stones are omitted.

" The door of entrance bears you out in your opinion, and establishes the fact of the Tower having been employed occasionally as a place of defence. There are, you observe, bolt-holes for *double* doors (*a, a, a*, with corresponding ones opposite), the one exterior of the other, but there is not any apparent means for the hanging of the door itself ; the form of the ope, however, would supply this seeming deficiency; narrowing to the exterior a timber frame might have been inserted, and wedged to the *inside*, to which the door might have been hung, with leather hinges. The narrowing of the ope would itself prevent the frame being drawn out ; and the bolts and wedges insured its not being driven in.

" There is no appearance of more than the one church in the *immediate* vicinity; about half a mile off there is another, but it is of a much later period,—pointed opes, splayed reveals, &c.

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" You shall hear from me again from Carlow, if I can obtain the information you require there.

<div align="center">" Your's ever,</div>

<div align="right">" WILLIAM MORRISON."</div>

I have annexed a copy of his sketch of the section of this door-way, as a necessary illustration of the description in the preceding letter; and sketches of the details of the Tower will be found in the Third Part of this work.

To this portion of my evidences I do not feel it necessary to add another word.

3. An examination of our ancient literature leads strongly to the conclusion that the Irish people so generally recognized this use of the Round Towers as a primary one, that they but very rarely applied to a tower, erected for defence, any other term but that of *cloictheach*, or belfry. Thus, for example, in an Irish translation of an old Life of Charlemagne, preserved in the Book of Lismore, we find the term *cloictheach* thus applied:

" Do bí Iapla na Lauvaine a n-impepecṫ an impep ro, 7 do fuaċaiġ in ṫ-impep he an a beṫ oipeac ṫpocuipeaċ, 7 do ċuip in ṫ-impep mopan ecla ann an a feabup; innup ġup ċeiṫ in ṫ-iapla 7 a ben a nġlennṫaiḃ fapaiġ 7 a coillṫiḃ oiampa, 7 do ponpaṫ cloicṫeac óoiḃ fein a n-a coioeloaip an ecla il-ṗiapṫ in fapaiġ. Do chuaió in ṫ-impep oimain ro do oenaṁ fiaoaiġ a fapaiġ fein, 7 ṫapla chum cloicċiġ an iapla ro h-e ir in n-oíġċi, 7 do b' eicin do comnuiġi do óenum ann in oiġċi ri. Do bí ben in iapla ṫoppaċ, 7, ġió do bí, do pinoi. umla 7 fpiċoluṁ an impepi 7 a muinnṫepi in oiġṫi rin."—Fol. 119, b, a.

" The Earl of *Laudaine* [*Lauden?*] lived in the empire of this emperor, and the emperor hated him on account of his being upright [and] merciful, and the emperor was much afraid of him for his goodness; so that the earl and his wife fled into desert valleys and into solitary woods, and made for themselves a *cloictheach*, in which they slept, through fear of the many monsters of the forest. This vain emperor set out to hunt in his own forest, and happened [to arrive] at the *cloictheach* of this earl in the night; and he was obliged to tarry there for the night. The wife of the earl was pregnant, and, although she was, she did homage to and attended upon the emperor and his people [on] that night."

In the following example from an ancient tract in the *Leabhar Breac*, we find the word *cloictheach* applied synonymously with ṫop, to a tower.

" ba mop, epa, oiumup 7 aoclop 7 bocapach in piġ cholaiġ rin, uaip ir e oop ġni in oiumup ná oepnao pemi piam, .i. ṫop aipġiṫ oen-ġil do oenam do fein; 7 ba oepmaip meṫ 7 leṫaṫ 7 aipoe in ṫuip rin, 7 ba h-aipoe h-e inoáṫ ṫiġe in baile o ein imach, i n-a cloicṫech ġel-apo. Ro puioiġeo iapum ġemma ġloinoe 7 leaġa loġmapa ano: 7 do piġne in pi puioiuġao opoa do buoein immullach in ṫuip rin.

lap pin epa oo pigne h-imagin 7 oeilb n-alaino n-ingancaig chappaic cecheppiaca na gnene ano."—Fol. 108, *a, a.*

" Great, indeed, was the pride, vanity, and pomp of this sensual king [Castroe, king of the Medes and Persians], for it is he who performed an act of pride, [such as] was never accomplished before, i. e. he erected for himself a tower of bright silver ; and great was the size, and breadth, and height of that tower, which was higher than all the other houses of the town, being a bright lofty *cloictheach.* Brilliant gems and precious stones were afterwards placed in it : and the king made for himself a golden throne on the top of that tower. After that he made an image, and beautiful, wonderful representation of the four-wheeled chariot of the sun there."

And lastly, that these double purposes, for which I contend that the Towers were erected, were recognized by the Irish to a very late period, may be inferred from a passage in the ancient Registry of Clonmacnoise, as translated from the original Irish for Sir James Ware, by the celebrated antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis, and which is now preserved in the British Museum. In this Registry the great Round Tower of Clonmacnoise, popularly called O'Rourke's Tower, which, according to this authority, was erected by Fergal O'Rourke, is called " a small steep *castle* or *steeple*, commonly called in Irish *claicthough.*" The entire of the passage will be found, in connexion with the description of this Tower, in the Third Part of this work.

4. It may be clearly inferred, from several records in the Irish annals, that the Towers were used for the purpose of safety and defence. One of the most important of these records, as given by the Four Masters, has been already quoted in the examination of Dr. O'Conor's theories, in the First Part of this work ; but I feel it necessary to repeat it here from the various annals, as signally supporting the hypothesis under consideration. The passage I allude to is as follows :

" A. D. 949. Cloicceach Slaine oo lopcao oo Ʒallaib Aċa cliaċ: bacall ino eplama 7 cloc ba oeċ oo clocaib ; Caenechaip fepleiginn, 7 rochaioe imbe, oo lopcao."—*Annals of Ulster.*

Thus rendered in the old translation of these annals in the British Museum :

" A. D. 949. The steple of Slane burnt by y⁰ Gent [Gentiles] of Dublin ; and burnt y⁰ Saints Crostaff and a ston" [correctly *bell*] " most p'tious of stones" [correctly *bells*]; " Cinaoh and a great number about him burnt, being the Lector."

This event is thus recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum,* which is a condensed copy of the Book of Clonmacnoise, corrected, in its chronology, from the Annals of Tighernach :

" A. D. 950. Cloıȝċeaċ Slaıne ꝺo loꞃȝaꝺ ꝺo ȝenċıb co n-a lán ꝺo ꝺoınıb ann, .ı. ım Conecaꞃ ꝼeꞃleȝınn Slaıne."

" A. D. 950. The *cloigtheach* of Slane was burnt by the Pagans, with its full of people in it, i. e. with Conecar, the reader of Slane."

Thus rendered by Mageoghegan in his translation of the original Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 945 :

" A. D. 945. The steeple of Slane was burnt by the Danes, which was full of worthy men, and relicks of saints, with Kennyagher, Lector of Slane."

The same passage is thus given more fully in the Annals of the Four Masters, into which it was evidently transcribed from the original Annals of Clonmacnoise.

" A. D. 948. Cloıċċheċ Sláıne ꝺo loꞃccaꝺ ꝺo Ʒhallaıb, co n-a lán ꝺo ṁıonnaıb aȝuꞃ ꝺeȝꝺaoınıb, ım Chaoınechaıꞃ ꝼeaꞃ léıȝınn Slaıne, aȝuꞃ baċall an eꞃlaṁa, aȝuꞃ clocc ba ꝺeach ꝺo ċloccaıb."

" A. D. 948. The *cloictheach* of Slane was burnt by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Caoinechair, Reader of Slane, and the crozier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells."

The preceding passages relate to a Tower which no longer exists. Those which follow relate to Towers still remaining. The first relates to the Tower of Kells, and is given as follows in the Annals of Tighernach :

" A. D. 1076. Muꞃċaꝺ ua Ƒlaınꝺ h-Uı Maelꞃechlaınꝺ ꝺo maꞃbaꝺ la h-Amlaım, mac Maelan, ꞃı Ʒaılenȝ, ı cloıċċeach Cenanꝺꞃa a mebuıl, 7 a maꞃbaꝺ ꝼén ꝼo ceꝺoıꞃ ꞇꞃe ꝼıꞃꞇ Coluım Cılle, la Maelꞃechlaınꝺ, mac Concobaıꞃ."

" A. D. 1076. Murchad, grandson of Flann O'Maelsechlainn, was treacherously killed by Amlaff, son of Maelan, king of Gaileng, in the *cloictheach* of Kells, who was himself slain immediately after, through the miracle of Columbkille, by Maelsechlainn, the son of Conchobhar."

The same event is thus recorded in the Annals of Ulster :

" A. D. 1076. Muꞃchaꝺ, mac Ƒlaınꝺ, h-Uı Maelꞃechlaınꝺ, ꞃı Ꞇeṁꞃach ꝼꞃı ꞃé ꞇꞃı n-oıꝺċe, ꝺo maꞃbaꝺ ı cloıcꞇıch Cheanannꞃa ꝺo mac Maelan, ꞃı Ʒaılenȝ."

Thus rendered in the old translation of these Annals in the British Museum :

" A. D. 1076. Murch. mᶜ. Floin O Melachlin, king of Tarach, being 3 nights in the steeple of Kells, was killed by Maolan's sonne, king of Galleng."

The same event is also entered by the Four Masters evidently from the Book of Clonmacnoise :

" A. D. 1076. Muꞃchaꝺ mac Ƒloınn, Uı Maoıleachlaınn, ꝺo ṁaꞃbaꝺ, ı ȝ-cenꝺ ꞇeoꞃa n-oıꝺċe co n-a laıb ıaꞃ n-ȝabaıl ꞃoꞃlaṁaıꞃ Ꞇeṁꞃaċ, ı ȝ-cloıcꞇeach Cenannꞃa, ꞇꞃe ꝼeıll, la ꞇıȝeꞃna Ʒaılenȝ, .ı. la h-Aṁlaoıb, mac mıc Maolaın ; aȝuꞃ a maꞃbaꝺ

ríoe feιn fo chéoóιp, τρια fepτaιb Oe aʒuρ Colaιm Cιlle, la Maolρeachlaιnn, mac Concobaιp."

Thus rendered by Mageoghegan, in his translation of the original Annals of Clonmacnoise :

" A. D. 1076.   Murrogh Mac Flyn O'Melaughlyn, that reigned king of Meath but three days and three nights, was killed by Amley Mac Moylan, prince of Gaileng, in the borders of Leinster.   He was killed in the steeple of Kells ; and afterwards the said Amley was killed immediately by Melaughlyn Mac Connor O'Melaughlyn, by the miracles of St. Columb, who is Patron of the place."

The notice which I have next to adduce relates to the burning of the Round Tower of Monasterboice, in the County of Louth.   It is thus given in the *Chronicon Scotorum :*

" A. D. 1097.   Cloιʒτech Maιnιρτρech oo loρcao ʒuρ an ρcριρτρα ann."
" A. D. 1097.   The *cloictheach* of Mainistir was burnt, with the manuscripts there."

It is thus better given in the Annals of Ulster :

" A. D. 1097.   Cloιcτech Maιnιρτρech co n-a lebρaιb, 7 ταιρceoaιb ιmoaιb oo loρcao."

Thus correctly translated by Dr. O'Conor :

" A. D. 1097.   Campanile Monasterii (Butensis), cum suis libris et rebus pretiosis pluribus, combustum."

And thus in the old translation in the British Museum :

" A. D. 1097.   The steeple of Manistrech, with the books and much goods, thereat to be kept, burnt."

The event is thus similarly entered in the Annals of the Four Masters :

" A. D. 1097.   Cloιcτheach Maιnιρτρeach, ' .ι. Maιnιρτρeach ouιτe,' co leabρaιb aʒuρ co o-ταιρceoaιb ιomoaιb, oo loρccao."

" A. D. 1097.   The *cloictheach* of the Monastery, ' i. e. of Monasterboice,' with many books and treasures, was burnt."

The passage I have next to adduce relates to the burning of the *cloictheach* of Trim, a Tower which does not now remain.   It is found in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen :

" A. D. 1127.   Sluaʒ móp le Concúbap mac Feaρʒaιll h-Uι Zoćluιnn, ocuρ lé τuaιρʒeaρτ Eιριonn oo'n Mhíoe ; ʒuι loιρʒ ριao α Cρum [αć Cρuιm, in margin], ιoιρ ćloιcćech ocuρ τeampull, ʒo n-a lán oo oaoιnιb ιnnτa."

Thus rendered in the translation of these annals, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, which was made by Theophilus O'Flannagan :

" A. D. 1127.   A great hosting by Connor Mac Farrell O'Loghlinn, together with

the northern people of Ireland, to Meath ; they burnt the steeple and church of Trim, and both full of people."

And thus by the venerable Charles O'Conor, in his translation of these annals, now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy :

" A. D. 1127.   Conor, son of Feargal O'Lochluin, marched at the head of a great Army of the forces of the North of Ireland, into Meath ; they burnt the steeple and church of Ath Truim, in which was a great number of people."

And thus in an old translation of certain Munster Annals, as quoted by Archdall in his *Monasticon:*

" A. D. 1127.   Conor, the son of Feargal O'Lochluin, and the northern forces, burnt the Steeple and Church of the Abbey of Trim, both of which were filled with unfortunate people, who had fled thither for safety."

Again, in the Annals of the Four Masters, the following passage occurs, relative to the existing Round Tower of Ferta, in the county of Kilkenny :

" A. D. 1156.   Eochaіὸ Ua Cuınn, an τ-apὸ-ṁaıξıρτep, ὸo loρccaὸ ı ξ-cloıc-τhech na Peρτa."

" A. D. 1156.   Eochaidh O'Cuinn, the Chief Master, was burnt in the *cloictheach* of Ferta."

The last notice, in reference to this subject, which I have to adduce, relates to the Round Tower of Telach Ard, near Trim, which fell about the year 1764. It occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters :

"A. D. 1171.   Cloıcτheach Τelcha Αıpὸ ὸo loρccaὸ la Τıξeapnán Ua Ruaıpc, co n-a lán ὸo ὸaoınıὸ ann."

" A. D. 1171.   The *Cloictheach* of Telach Ard was burnt by Tighearnan O'Ruairc, with its full of people in it."

The various evidences which I have now adduced must, I think, furnish a sufficient answer to the only objection which has been urged against the use of the Round Towers as places of safety and defence, and satisfy the most sceptical inquirer, that such was one of the primary objects for which they were erected. Nor should it be forgotten that, even without an acquaintance with such historical evidences, the very nature of their construction alone has led several distinguished inquirers to regard such purpose as the primary and only one. Thus, Colonel Montmorency, in his Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Origin and primitive Use of the Irish Pillar-tower, remarks :

" The Pillar-tower, as a defensive hold, taking into account the period that produced it, may fairly pass for one of the completest inventions that can well be imagined.

Impregnable every way, and proof against fire, it could never be taken by assault. Although the abbey and its dependencies blazed around, the Tower disregarded the fury of the flames ;—its extreme height,—its isolated position, and diminutive doorway, elevated so many feet above the ground, placed it beyond the reach of the besieger. The signal once made, announcing the approach of a foe, by those who kept watch on the top, the alarm spread instantaneously, not only among the inmates of the cloister, but the inhabitants were roused to arms in the country many miles round. Should the barbarian, in the interval, before succour arrived, succeed in ransacking the convent, and afterwards attempt to force his entrance into the Tower, a stone, dropped from on high, would crush him to atoms."—pp. 65, 66.

Thus also the judicious Sir Walter Scott, in his Review of Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots, in the forty-first volume of the Quarterly Review, 1829 :

" It is here impossible to avoid remarking, that at Abernethy and at Brechin there are still in existence two of the round towers, of which so many occur in Ireland. Abernethy is said, by uniform tradition, to have been the capital of the Picts, and Brechin in the same district (now the county of Angus) was certainly a place of early importance. In Ireland there exist nearly thirty of these very peculiar buildings, which have been the very *cruces antiquariorum*. They could not have been beacons, for they are often (at Abernethy in particular) placed in low and obscure situations, though there are sites adjacent well calculated for watch-towers. They could not be hermitages, unless we suppose that some caste of anchorites had improved on the idea of Simon Stylites, and taken up their abode in the hollow of such a pillar as that of which the Syrian holy man was contented to occupy the top. They could hardly be belfries, for though always placed close or near to a church, there is no aperture at the top for suffering the sound of the bells to be heard. Minarets they might have been accounted, if we had authority for believing that the ancient Christians were summoned to prayers like the Mahometans by the voice of criers. It is, however, all but impossible to doubt that they were ecclesiastical buildings ; and the most distinct idea we are able to form of them is, from the circumstance that the inestimably singular scene of Irish antiquities, called the Seven Churches in the County of Wicklow, includes one of those round towers, detached in the usual manner, and another erected on the gable end of the ruinous chapel of St. Kevin, as if some architect of genius had discovered the means of uniting the steeple and the church. These towers might, possibly, have been contrived for the temporary retreat of the priest, and the means of protecting the 'holy things' from desecration on the occasion of alarm, which in those uncertain times suddenly happened, and as suddenly passed away. These edifices at Brechin and Abernethy, however, were certainly constructed after the introduction of Christianity, and were, in all probability, built in imitation of the same round towers in Ireland, under the direction of the Irish monks who brought Christianity into Scotland. We may notice, however, that the masonry of these towers is excellent, and may be held, in some sort, to bear witness to the popular tradition, that the Picts were skilful in architecture."—pp. 147, 148.

And lastly, the able and learned John Pinkerton recognizes the

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principle of defence as an original object in the construction of these
Towers, though he considered their use as belfries as the primary
one.   Speaking of the Round Towers in Scotland, he thus writes in
the advertisement prefixed to the new edition of his Enquiry into
the History of Scotland, published in 1814:

" There was probably a round tower at Dunkeld, as at Abernethy and Brechin,
&c."

" That these round towers were belfries is sufficiently evident, from the simple cir-
cumstance of their having windows, or openings at the usual height, necessary to emit
the sound of a bell. Separate belfries are not uncommon in many countries, and even
in some parts of England at this day ; and must have been necessary for security,
when the rude churches were of wood. When the cathedral of Brechin was built,
the round tower was preserved as a memorable relic, like the chapel of St. Regulus,
close by the cathedral of St. Andrews."—pp. ix. and x.

In the confident belief that I have now satisfactorily established
the two primary and essential objects for which the Round Towers
were erected, I proceed to a consideration of the grounds on which I
rest the arguments for my third conclusion, namely, that they may,
very probably, have also been occasionally used as beacons, and watch-
towers.

It will be observed that I put this conclusion forward only as a
probability, and it is but fair that I should acknowledge that a most
careful examination of our ancient Irish manuscripts has led to no
discovery that would give it certainty. Yet, the probability of their
having been occasionally used for such a purpose seems to me by no
means a weak one, for, in the first place, the very fact of their having
been used as places of defence and safety, coupled with their great
height and aptitude for such a purpose, almost necessarily leads to
the conclusion that they would be used as watch-towers, and perhaps
signal towers, at least in times of trouble.

In like manner, if we consider the usages of the monastic esta-
blishments, to which these Towers belonged, the hospitality and
protection which they afforded to travellers and strangers, in times
when roads were few, and the country generally covered with wood,
we will find it difficult to resist the conviction that the Towers would
be used at night as beacons to attract and guide the benighted tra-
veller or pious pilgrim to the house of hospitality or prayer.   Their
general fitness for such a purpose must be at once obvious; and
this fitness seems, in a great degree, to have led the learned Doctor

Lingard to the opinion that our Irish Round Towers were chiefly, if not exclusively, intended for this purpose. In a passage in his Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,—for calling my attention to which I acknowledge myself indebted to my respected friend, Dr. Hibbert Ware, of York,—he makes the following remarks on the uses of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish detached Towers:

" The church at Ramsey was ornamented with two towers, one at the western entrance, and another in the centre of the transept, supported by four arches.—Hist. Rames., c. 20. The tower of the new church at Winchester was at the eastern extremity.—Wolst., p. 630. But I conceive that originally the towers were distinct from the churches, like the celebrated Round Towers that are still remaining in Ireland. Thus a tower had been erected before the western entrance of the *old* church at Winchester, as we learn from Wolstan.

> " ' Turris erat rostrata tholis quia maxima quædam
> Illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi,' &c.
> <div align="right">*Act. SS. Ben.* vol. ij. p. 70.</div>

" If I may be allowed a conjecture on a subject which has exercised the ingenuity of many writers, I conceive such towers to have been originally built at a short distance from the church, that the walls might not be endangered by their weight, and that they were not considered merely as an ornament, but used as beacons to direct the traveller towards the church or monastery. Lights were kept burning in them during the night. At least such was the fact with respect to the new tower at Winchester, which, we learn from Wolstan, consisted of five stories, in each of which were four windows looking towards the four cardinal points, that were illuminated every night.—Wols., p. 631." See p. 479, second edition : Newcastle, 1810.

In this opinion of the learned English historian, my friend Dr. Hibbert Ware entirely concurs, as communicated to me in the following memorandum in the year 1836 :

" Mr. Petrie mentioned to me that he had not seen the comments of Mr. [Dr.] Lingard on the Anglo-Saxon churches and the towers incidental to them. I have copied his remarks on this subject, which many years ago appeared to me the only rational theory on the subject which I had read. But I am now taught to consider the Round Towers as being devoted to other uses besides affording beacon lights during the evening to direct the traveller to the church or monastery. Yet, at the same time, I am not disposed to renounce the opinion that this might have been one, and not the most subordinate, of the miscellaneous uses to which the building of these structures was rendered subservient."

I have only to add, that I am indebted to another friend,—the late Mr. Matthew O'Conor, of Mount Druid,—for directing my attention to the following curious reference in Mabillon's *Iter Germanicum*—a work of which, unfortunately, there is no copy in any of the

public libraries in Dublin—to a *pharus*, or beacon-tower, at the Irish Monastery of St. Columbanus, at *Luxovium*, now *Luxeuil*, in Burgundy, and which seems to give some support to the conclusion I have thus hypothetically advocated :

" *Luxovium.*

" Cernitur prope Majorem Ecclesiæ Portam Pharus, quam Lucernam vocant, cujus omnino consimilem vidi aliquando apud Carnutas. Ei usui fuisse videtur, in gratiam eorum, qui noctu ecclesiam frequentabantur."

I have now to enter on a question of perhaps greater difficulty than any of those already examined, namely, as to the probable eras of the erection of the Towers, and which I have assumed to have been at various periods between the fifth and thirteenth centuries.

The great difficulty which I have to contend with, arises chiefly from the general absence of distinct notices of buildings in the ancient lives of the Irish saints, and the extreme meagreness of the Irish annals anterior to the tenth century. Thus, in the latter, the first notice which occurs of a *cloictheach*, or Round Tower, is that at the year 950, relative to the burning of the *cloictheach*, or Round Tower of Slane, as already given at p. 373 ; and the earliest authentic record of the erection of a Round Tower is no earlier than the year 965. This record is found in the **Chronicon Scotorum**, and relates to the Tower of Tomgraney, in the County of Clare,—a Tower which does not now exist, but of which, according to the tradition of the old natives of the place, some remains existed about forty years since. The passage is as follows :

" A. D. 965. Copmac h-Ua Cıllín, ɔo uıb b-Fıaċpaċ Cıóne, comopba Cıapaın 7 Comaın 7 comopba Cuama Ӡpene ; 7 ap aıӡe ɔo ponaɔ τempul mop Cuama Ӡpene, 7 a claıӡτeaċ. Sapıenſ 7 ſeneχ eτ epıſcopuſ.—quıeuıτ ın Chpıſτo."

Thus translated by Colgan, who seems to have found it in his copy of the Annals of the Four Masters, though that part of it relating to the erection of the church and tower is not given in the Stowe copy of those annals, as published by Dr. O'Conor, or in the MS. copies of them preserved in Dublin :

" A. D. 964. Cormacus Hua-Killene, Comorbanus SS. Kierani, Coemani [Comani], et Cronani, Episcopus, sapiens, vir valdè longæuus, qui extruxit Ecclesiam de Vuaim-grene" [Tuaim-grene]" cum sua turri, decessit."—*Acta SS.*, p. 360, *b*.

But, though the Irish annalists preserve to us no earlier notices of the Round Towers than these now adduced, the many references

which occur to those buildings, as existing in the tenth and eleventh
centuries, sufficiently prove that they were common in the country
at an earlier period; and, moreover, their early antiquity may be
fairly inferred from the frequent allusions to them which occur inci-
dentally in our oldest manuscripts. Thus, in the ancient Life of
Christ,—preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*,—which is unquestionably
older than the eleventh century, the following allusion to the height
of the Towers occurs in relation to the star which guided the eastern
kings to Bethlehem :

"Ꞇanic iaꞃum uioi na .xii. miꞃ ꞃꞃi .xii. la ; 7 oin ba h-aiꞃoi ina cloicꞇech h-í
ꞃemaino."—Fol. 60, *a, a.*

" It [the star] came afterwards a journey of the twelve months in twelve days ;
and it was higher than a *cloicthech* before us."

Thus also, in a tract of much higher antiquity, entitled *Imraimh
Curaich Mailduin*,—the Wandering of the Curach of Maelduin, the
illegitimate son of an Irish chief, in the seventh century,—the fol-
lowing passage occurs, from which it can be fairly inferred, that a
belfry, separate from the church, existed at Kildare before his time.
Copies of this tract are preserved in the Library of Trinity College,
Dublin, and in the British Museum :

"Ꝺo Ꞓoꞅanacꞇ Ninaiꞃ oo Maelouin aꞃ m-bunaouꞃ. Ꞔilell Ꞔceꞃ Ꞔꞅa a
aꞇaiꞃ ; ꞇꞃenꞃeꞃ eꞃioe 7 oaꞅlaeꞓ 7 ꞇiꞅeꞃna a ceneoil ꞃen. Maccailleꞓ, 7 ban-
aiꞃcinneꞓ Cille cailleaꞓ a maꞇaiꞃ. Iꞃ amlaio oin ꞃoꞃcaemnacaiꞃ a compeꞃꞇ ꞃom.
Ꝼeꞓꞇuꞃ oo luio ꞃi Ꞓoꞅanacꞇa ꞃoꞃ cꞃeiꞓ n7 inꞃuo ilꞓenoaoaꞓ 7 Ꞔilell Ocaiꞃ Ꞔꞅa
ina comaiꞇeꞓꞇ, 7 ꞅabꞃao ounao a ꞃleib ano. Ꝺai cell cailleꞓ a comꞃocuꞃ iꞃ an
maiꞅin ꞃin, .i. Cell oaꞃa a n-oiu. Meoon aioꞓi iaꞃam ó ꞃo an caꞓ oo imꞇeꞓꞇ iꞃ
ounao, luio Ꞔilell oo'n cill, 7 iꞃ e ꞇꞃaꞇh ꞃon ꞇanic an ban-aiꞃcinoeaꞓ oo bein
ꞓluiꞅ na cille oo iaꞃmeiꞃꞅe, ooꞃcuiꞃ oo Ꞔilell, 7 ꞅabaiꞃ Ꞔilell a láiꞏ laiꞃ, 7 oo
oaꞇꞃaꞃcaiꞃ, 7 oo ꞅni coibliꞅi ꞃꞃia; 7 aꞃbeꞃꞇ an cailleꞓ ꞃꞃiꞃ: 'ni ꞃeꞅoa,' ol ꞃi,
'aꞃ compuc, aꞃ iꞃ amꞃiꞃ compeꞃꞇa oam.'"—H. 2, 16, col. 370.

" Maelduin was of the Eoganacht Ninais as to his origin. His father was Ailell
Acher Agha, a mighty man and goodly hero, and lord of his own tribe. A young nun,
and [who was] the Ban-airchinneach of a church of nuns, was his mother. In this
manner, then, was he begotten. On one occasion, the king of Eoghanacht set out to
prey and spoil many territories, and Ailell Acher Agha in his company, and they
encamped in a certain mountain. There was a church of nuns near that place, i. e.
Kildare at this day. At midnight, when all remained quiet within the camp, Ailell
went to the church, and this was the time when the Ban-airchinnech came [out] to
ring the bell of the church for midnight prayer. She met Ailell, and Ailell took her
to him, and laid her down, and cohabited with her ; and the nun said to him : 'not
fortunate,' said she, 'our meeting, for this is my time for conception.'"

The next passage which I have to adduce is of still more importance than the preceding, and should properly have been inserted
amongst the evidences adduced to prove that the Towers were
erected as places of safety, inasmuch as that it shows that they were
regarded in the light of sanctuaries, which should on no account be
violated.   This passage is found in an authority of unquestionable
antiquity, namely, a poem addressed to Aedh Oirdnighe, monarch of
Ireland from 799 to 819, by the celebrated poet Fothadh, usually
called Fothadh na Canoine, or of the Canon, and who obtained
from that monarch the exemption of the clergy from military service.
Copies of this poem are preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish
Academy, and in the valuable manuscript in the Library of Trinity
College, called the Book of Leinster ; and it would appear to have
been addressed to Aedh Oirdnighe on the occasion of his inauguration.   The passage, as found in the Book of Leinster, is as follows :

> " Cipe oo ɼne ɪn ṅɼaɪc
> ƀɪo mop a mela ouɪc,
> Mao oɪa paɼba a oɪn
> l cɪɼ pɪɼ no ċluɪc."—H. 2, 18, fol. 106, *b, b.*

> " He who commits a theft,
> It will be grievous to thee,
> If he obtains his protection
> In the house of a king or of a bell."

Thus again, in a tract of the Brehon Laws, called *Seanchus beag,*
preserved in the Book of Lecan, on the duties and rewards of the
seven ecclesiastical degrees, the following account of the duties of
the *aistreoir,* or *aistire,* occurs :

" Cɪpcpeoɪp, .ɪ. uap aɪcpeoɪp, .ɪ. uapal aċpeoɪp, ɪn can ɪp cloc cloɪcċɪɼe; no,
aɪpcpeoɪp, .ɪ. ɪpɪl aɪċpeoɪp, ɪn can ɪp lam-ċloc," &c.—Fol. 168, p. *b,* col. 2, line 32.

"*Aistreoir,* i. e. *uas aitreoir,* i. e. noble his work, when it is the bell of a *cloictheach;*
or, *aistreoir,* i. e. *isil aithreoir,* (i. e. humble or low his work) when it is a hand-bell."

A different reading of this commentary is quoted in O'Reilly's
Irish Dictionary under the word aɪpcpeoɪp, which he explains, " an
officer whose duty it was to ring the bell in the steeple of the church.
The lowest of the seven degrees of ecclesiastical officers."   And as
it more clearly defines the duties of this officer, and identifies the
name with *Ostiarius,* I avail myself of it here.

" Cɪpcpeoɪp, i. e. aɪpcpeaċ a ċpeoɪp, i. e. beɪm cluɪc, no eaċpopaċc ; no, uaɪpcpeoɪp ɪn can ap cloc cloɪɼċɪɼe ; no ɪpcpeoɪp, i. e. ɪppeall aɪċpeoɪp, ɪn ɪp lȧṁ-
cloc."

" *Aistreoir*, i. e. changeable his work, i. e. to ring the bell, or use the keys ; or, *uaistreoir* (high his work) when the bell is that of a *cloictheach;* or *istreoir*, i. e. low his work, when it is a hand-bell."

Thus also, in another version of this commentary, in a vellum MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin :

" Ꝏꞃτꞃeoιꞃ, .ι. aιꞃτꞃeach a ėꞃeoιꞃ aꝓ beιm chluιꝓ ⁊ aꝓ oꞃloꝓaꝺ τempaιll ; no, uaιꞃτꞃeoιꞃ, .ι. uaιꞃ bιꞃ a τꞃeoιꞃ, ιn τan ιꞃ cloꝓ cloꝓėιꝺ ; no, ιꞃτꞃeoιꞃ, .ι. ιꞃel a ėꞃeoιꞃ, ιn τan ιꞃ lamchloꝓ."—H. 3, 18, fol. 94.

" *Aistreoir*, i. e. changeable his work in ringing the bell and opening the church ; or, *uaistreoir*, i. e. high his work, when it is the bell of a *cloictheach ;* or, *istreoir*, i. e. low his work, when it is a hand-bell."

In like manner, in another tract of the Brehon Laws, entitled, *Aithgedh Eicis*,—the Punishments of the Eicis, or Professional Classes,—preserved in an ancient vellum MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the following allusion to the belfry occurs :

" Ꝏιτheꝺ aeꞃa ecolꞃa τꞃoꞃcaꝺ, ⁊ aꝓaꝺ ιaꞃam naꝺ nꝓeba a paιτeꞃ náċ a cꞃeꝺo, ⁊ naꝺ τeτ ꝺo ꞃacaꞃꝥaιc, ⁊ ꝺo aubaιꞃτ ; maꝺ aeꞃ ꝓꞃaιꝺ, no aeꞃ cꞃeιꝺme ιm τoιꝓ a cluιcc, no ιm coιꞃ a alτoιꞃe, ⁊ aꝓaꝺ naꞃo oιꝥꝥꞃιċeꞃ ꝥuιꞃꞃι, ⁊ naꝺ m-benτeꞃ cloc ꝺo τꞃaċaιb."

" The punishment of the people of a church is fasting, and afterwards a restraint that they say not their *pater* nor their *credo*, and that they go not to communion, nor to the offering ; if they be the *aes graidh* [ecclesiastics], or the *aes creidmhe* [religious] about the house of their bell, or at the foot of their altar, and the restraint is, that they [the former] offer not on it, and that they [the latter] ring not a bell for [canonical] hours."

From the preceding notices it appears certain that one of the principal duties of the *aistire*—a name obviously formed from the Latin *ostiarius*—was to ring the bell in the *cloictheach*, or Round Tower ; and, if it can be shown that the office of *aistire* existed in the Irish Church under St. Patrick, in the fifth century, a not improbable inference may be drawn that bell-towers were then in existence, as otherwise this duty could not have been performed. Now it is perfectly certain not only that bells, of a size much too large for altar bells, were abundantly distributed by St. Patrick in Ireland, as appears from his oldest Lives,—those preserved in the Book of Armagh,—but also, that the office of *aistire* existed in his time, as even the name of the very person who held this office is preserved. Thus, in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which is supposed to have been originally written, partly in Irish and partly in Latin, by his disciple St. Evin, in the sixth century, and which has been translated

by Colgan, we find in the list of the various persons who composed the household of St. Patrick, at Armagh, the name " *Sanctus Senellus* de *Killdareis*, Campanarius;" and from the prose tract treating of those persons, preserved in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, we find this Sinell called "his *aistiri.*"

"Sınell Cıllı Aıpıp, a aıpcıpı."—*L. Ballymot.* fol. 119, *L. Lecan.* fol. 44.
"Sinell of Cill Airis, his aistiri."

And that the word *aistire* as above given, was understood by the Irish in the sense of bell-ringer, appears from the poem of Flann of Monasterboice, which enumerates the household of St. Patrick, and which was written in the tenth century, and evidently drawn by the writer from the most ancient authorities then extant:

"Sınell, a ḟeap beın ın cluıc."—*Lib. Ballymot., et Lecan. ibid.*
"Sinell, the man of the ringing of the bell."

It may, indeed, be objected, that if bell-towers had been erected in St. Patrick's time, it is scarcely possible but that some notice of such structures would be found in the ancient Lives of that saint. But it should be remembered that the only passage in those Lives which gives any notice, in detail, of the group of buildings which constituted a religious establishment in his time, is one found in the Tripartite Life relating to the establishment at Armagh, and of this, unfortunately, we have only Colgan's translation; and hence, though there is a passage in this account which might very well apply to one of the primary purposes of the Round Towers, but little weight can be attached to it, till the original be found. The passage is as follows:

"Istis namque diebus sanctissimus Antistes metatus est locum, & jecit funda-
menta Ecclesiæ Ardmachanæ juxta formam, & modum ab Angelo præscriptum. Dum
autem fieret hæc fundatio, & metatio formæ, & quantitatis Ecclesiæ ædificandæ, col-
lecta synodus Antistitum, Abbatum, aliorumque vniuersi regni Prælatorum: & facta
processione ad metas designandas processerunt, Patricio cum baculo Iesu in manu
totum Clerum, & Angelo Dei, tanquàm ductore & directore Patricium præcedenti.
Statuit autem Patricius juxta Angeli præscriptum quod murus Ecclesiæ in longitudine
contineret centum quadraginta pedes (fortè passus); ædificium, siue aula maior tri-
ginta; culina septem & decem; *Argyrotheca, seu vasarium, vbi supellex reponebatur,
septem pedes.* Et hæ sacræ ædes omnes iuxta has mensuras sunt postea erectæ."—
Trias Thaum., p. 164.

But, whatever uncertainty there may be as to the existence of these buildings in St. Patrick's time, there can, I think, be little, if

any doubt, that they were not uncommon in the sixth and seventh centuries. Of this fact we have a striking evidence in the architectural character of many of the existing Towers, in which a perfect agreement of style is found with the original churches, when such exist. As a remarkable instance of this, I may point to the church and tower at Kilmacduagh, the tower and churches of Glendalough, and many others, which it is unnecessary here to name. Nor can I think the popular tradition of the country is of little value, which ascribes the erection of several of the existing Towers to the celebrated architect, Goban, or, as he is popularly called, Goban Saer, who flourished early in the seventh century; for it is remarkable that such a tradition never exists in connexion with any Towers but those in which the architecture is in perfect harmony with the churches of that period, as in the Towers of Kilmacduach, Killala, and Antrim. And it is further remarkable, that the age assigned to the first buildings at Kilmacduach, about the year 620, is exactly that in which this celebrated Irish architect flourished.—See page 348. It is equally remarkable that though the reputation of this architect is preserved in all parts of the island, in which the Irish language is still spoken, yet the erection of the oldest buildings in certain districts in the south and west of Ireland is never ascribed to him, the tradition of these districts being that he never visited or was employed on buildings south-west of Galway, or south-west of Tipperary. I have already alluded to the historical evidences which prove that the Goban Saer was no imaginary creation, however legendary the memorials remaining of him may be considered; and I may here add, that it would appear from a very ancient authority, namely, the Dinnsenchus, preserved in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, that he was the son of a skilful artisan in wood, if not in stone also; and that this artisan was, if not a foreigner, at least very probably of foreign extraction, and thus enabled to introduce arts not generally known in the country; and further, that the Goban himself was probably born at Turvy, on the northern coast of the County of Dublin, which, it is stated, took its name from his father, as being his property, and which, as he was not a .person of known Milesian origin, it is but fair to infer he received as a reward for his skill in mechanical art. This passage, the text of which is corrected from the two copies, is as follows:

3 D

" Cpaiʒ Cuipbi ca n-ap po h-ainmniʒeo ?   Nın͞. Cuipbi Cpaʒmap, acaip ʒo-
bain c-Saeip, iʃ é poour peilb iʃ in popbbai.   Iʃ é pin pocepoao upcup oia biail a
Culaiʒ an biail ppia aiʒio in cuile, cona í po anao in paipʒe, 7 ni chiʒeao caipiʃ.
Ni peaʃ a ʒenealach painopiuo, acc munip aen ou na cepbaoacaiб ac pullaoap a
Cempaiʒ piap in pab n-iloanach[a] pil i n-Oiampaib Ͼpeʒ.   Unoe Cpaiʒ Cuipbe
oicicup.

>   " Cpaiʒ Cuipbi cupcbaiб a ainm,
>   Oo peip uʒoaip pim apnaiom ;
>   Cuipbi Cpaʒmap, óʃ cac cpaiʒ,
>   Acaip ʒpaomap ʒup ʒobain.

>   " A cuaiʒ oo celʒao iap pcup,
>   An ʒilla menʒeach mop oub,
>   O Chulaiʒ in biail m-buioi
>   Ppiʃ in m-benann mop cuile.

>   " Cian noo cuipeao a cuaiʒ oe,
>   An muip ní cuile caippʃi ;
>   Cio Cuipbi éeap na cuaich cpen,
>   Ni peʃ cá cuan a cinel ;

>   " Minab oo'n c-pil oeʒoaip oub,
>   Luio a Chempaiʒ la laec Luʒ,
>   Ni peʃʃ a can, ppi oáil oé,
>   Peʃ na cleap o Chpaiʒ Chupbi."

" Traigh Tuirbi, whence was it named ? Not difficult.   Tuirbi Traghmar, the father
of Goban Saer, was he who had possession in that land. He was used to throw casts of
his hatchet from Tulach in bhiail [i. e. the hill of the hatchet], in the direction of the
flood, so that the sea stopped, and did not come beyond it. His exact pedigree is not
known, unless he was one of those missing people who went off with the polytechnic
Sab, who is in the *Diamars* [Diamor, in Meath], of Bregia. *Unde* Traigh Tuirbe
dicitur.

>   " Traigh Tuirbi, whence the name,
>   According to authors I resolve ;
>   Tuirbi of the strand, [which is] superior to every strand,
>   The affectionate keen father of Goban.

>   " His hatchet was used to be cast after ceasing [from work] ;
>   By this rusty large black youth,
>   From the yellow hill of the hatchet
>   Which the mighty flood touches.

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[a] In the copy preserved in the Book of Lecan, fol. 260, *b*, *b*, piap an pab n-iloa-
nach, reads la Luʒ Lampaoa, i. e. with Lugh of the Long Hand. He was a Tuatha
De Danann monarch, A. M. 2764, according to O'Flaherty's chronology ; but the story
of his going away from Tarah, with a number of his people, has not yet been disco-
vered.

" The distance he used to send his hatchet from him,
 The sea flowed not over it;
 Though Tuirbi was southwards in his district mighty,
 It is not known of what stock his race ;

" Unless he was of the goodly dark race,
 Who went from Tara with the heroic Lugh,
 Not known the race, by God's decree,
 Of the man of the feats from Traigh Tuirbi."

It is not, of course, intended to offer the preceding extract as strictly historical : in such ancient documents we must be content to look for the substratum of truth beneath the covering of fable with which it is usually encumbered, and not reject the one on account of the improbability of the other; and, viewed in this way, the passage may be regarded as in many respects of interest and value, for it shows that the artist spoken of was not one of the Scotic, or dominant race in Ireland, who are always referred to as light-haired; and further, from the supposition, grounded on the blackness of his hair and his skill in arts, that he might have been of the race of the people that went with Lughaidh Lamhfhada from Tara,—that is of the Tuatha De Danann race, who are always referred to as superior to the Scoti in the knowledge of the arts,—we learn that, in the traditions of the Irish, the Tuatha De Dananns were no less distinguished from their conquerors in their personal than in their mental characteristics. The probability, however, is, that Turvy was a foreigner, or descendant of one, who brought a knowledge of art into the country not then known, or at least prevalent.

I should add, also, that we have, at least, one historical authority which, to my mind, satisfactorily proves the erection of a Round Tower in the sixth century, namely, in the Life of St. Columba, written about the year 680, by St. Adamnan, and which is found in the fifteenth chapter of the third book of this life. The chapter, with its original heading, as published by Pinkerton in his Lives of the Scottish Saints, from a MS. of the twelfth century, preserved in the British Museum, is as follows :

" CAP. XV. *De Angelo Domini, qui alicui fratri, lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi, in* Roboreti Campo *opportune tam cito subvenerat*[a]."

" ALIO in tempore vir sanctus dum in tuguriolo suo scribens sederet, subitò ejus immutatur facies, et hanc puro de pectore promit vocem, dicens: 'Auxiliare, auxiliare.'

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[a] Cumin, c. 10.

Duo verò Fratres ad januam stantes; videlicet Colgius filius Cellachi, et Lugneus Mocublai, causam talis subitæ interrogant vocis; quibus vir venerabilis hoc responsum dedit, inquiens : 'Angelo Domini, qui nunc inter vos stabat, jussi, ut alicui ex Fratribus de summo culmine magnæ domus lapso tam citò subveniret, quæ his in diebus *Roboreti Campo* fabricatur.' Hocque sanctus consequenter intulit famen, inquiens. "Valde admirabilis et penè indicibilis est angelici volatus pernicitas, fulgureæ, ut æstimo, celeritati parilis. Nam ille cœlicola, qui hinc à nobis nunc illo viro labi incipiente avolavit, quasi in ictu oculi priusquam terram tangeret subveniens, eum sublevavit ; nec ullam fracturam, aut læsuram ille qui cecidit sentire potuit. Quàm stupenda hæc inquam velocissima et opportuna subventio, quæ dicto citius tantis maris et terræ interjacentibus spatiis tam celerrimè effici potuit !' "—*Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum*, &c., p. 169.

I should state, that the important heading prefixed to this chapter is not found in some of the editions of the work previously published, —as in the first, published by Canisius in 1604, from a vellum MS. preserved in the monastery of Windberg; nor in that of Messingham, in 1624, which is but a reprint of the former ; nor in that of the Bollandists ;—but it is found in the better edition of Colgan, which is taken from an ancient vellum manuscript, preserved at Augia (Aux), in Germany, and which agrees with the manuscript in the British Museum, except that the phrase " *de monasterii culmine rotundi*," is printed " *de monasterii culmine rotundo*." This difference is, however, of little importance, as the real question is, what the author could have meant by either " *monasterii culmine rotundo*," or *monasterii culmine rotundi*. Not, certainly, that the monastery itself had a rotund roof, because we know that the monasteries of those days were a collection of small and detached cells, each devoted to a single monk ; and certainly not that the church had one, as it appears from the notice in the text of the chapter that the *culmen* was that of the *magna domus;* and besides, from the quadrangular forms of all the Irish churches of this period, they could not have admitted of a dome roof. But more than all, supposing it were from the roof of the church that the monk was falling, or from any other building, such as we know to have existed in connexion with the monasteries of this period, the Tower excepted, where would have been the danger, to escape which, the miraculous interposition of an angel would have become necessary ? Surely not to prevent him from a fall of twelve feet or so, which is the usual height of the side walls of the abbey-churches of this period ; nor from the roofs of either the abbot's house

or monks' cells, which, though usually round, were seldom, if ever, of a greater height than twelve feet, and from which, having rarely upright walls, there could have been no serious danger in falling. In short the miracle, to be a miracle at all, requires the supposition that the round roof on which the brother was at work must have been that of a building of great altitude, and from which a fall would be necessarily productive of certain death,—such a building, in fact, as a Round Tower, which was the only one of the kind the Irish had, either in those days, or for many ages afterwards.

I should remark that the same legend forms the tenth chapter of the Life of Columba by the abbot Cumian, which was written about the year 657; but it is of little value to the question, as the important phrase, both in the original heading and the text, is simply " *de culmine domus*." But I may add, that several passages, both in this Life and in that by Adamnan, allude in such a manner to the use of bells, for summoning the brotherhood to religious worship, as would lead directly to the inference that belfries must have existed in St. Columba's time. Take, for example, the following passage from the eighth chapter of the first book of the Life of Columba by Adamnan :

" In tempore alio, hoc est, post multos a supra memorato bello annorum transcursus, cùm esset vir Sanctus in *Hyona* insula, subito ad suum dicit ministratorem, Cloccam pulsa : cujus sonitu Fratres incitati, ad Ecclesiam ipso Sancto Præsule præeunte ocyus currunt, ad quos ibidem flexis genibus infit. ' Nunc intente pro hoc populo, et AIDANO rege Dominum oremus, hac enim hora ineunt bellum.' "—*Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum, &c.*, edit. Pinkertone, p. 65.

But, though I am thus disposed to assign this early antiquity to some of the existing Towers, I have no doubt that the great majority of them were erected in later times, and more particularly, as their ornamented architecture indicates, in the ninth and tenth centuries. The destructive ravages of the Danes would have rendered the re-erection or restoration of such structures necessary, especially at the close of the latter century; and, as I shall show in the Third Part of this Inquiry, many of the Towers afford sufficient evidence, in the various styles of masonry, and difference of material, which they exhibit, that they have been in part rebuilt in times long subsequent to that of their original foundation. Nor are we wholly without authorities—historical authorities—for such restorations. Thus Keating informs us, that the *cloictheach*, or Round Tower of Tomgraney,

which, as I have shown, was erected in 964, was repaired by the
monarch Brian Borumha; and from an ancient fragment, supposed
to be a part of Mac Liag's Life of that king, preserved among the
manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, it would ap-
pear that this powerful monarch erected, or, at least, restored for the
clergy, no less than thirty-two of these structures:

" ба laιρ оо сumоаιзιоо сеаllа 7 есаlρа, 7 оо ροnτα оаιmlιас, асuρ сlοιс-
čιзι, 7 оυρčιзι, ιnnčι."

" By him were founded cells and churches, and were made *daimliacs*, and *cloic-
theachs*, and *duirtheachs*, in it" [Ireland].

> And again :

" Iρ е Ѣριаn τuс .uíí. mаιnιρτρеаċа еιτιρ аιòmе 7 еallаċ 7 ѓеаρоnn аmаċ ;
7 оá ċlоιстеаċ τριċατ ; 7 ιρ lаιρ ро оаιnзnеаò аn τ-оρо ρορоа ; 7 ιρ ρι а lιnn
τuсао ρlоιnnτе аρ τuρ, 7 оuτhаòа оо nа ρlоιnnτе, 7 оо ριnnе сριċаιρеċτ саċа
τuаιċе, 7 заċа τριċа сео ; 7 ιρ ρι а lιnn ро h-оιρnеаò зρаòа ρlаċа, 7 ριlιò, 7
есlаιρι. Iρ е Ѣριаn umоρρа nаċ τаρо еρа ѓоρ еаlаòаιn о оιоċе а зеinеаṁlаιз со
h-оιòċе а òаιρ."

" It is Brian that gave out seven monasteries, both furniture and cattle and land ;
and thirty-two cloictheachs; and it is by him the marriage ceremony was confirmed ;
and it is during his time surnames were first given, and territories [were allotted] to
the surnames, and the boundaries of every lordship and cantred were fixed ; and it is in
his time the degrees of chief, and poet, and ecclesiastic, were appointed. It is Brian
also that never refused science from the night of his birth to the night of his death."

The state of the country preceding the usurpation of Brian, and
the necessity for such reforms and improvements by that monarch as
are alluded to in the preceding notice, are very well illustrated by
the following passage in Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of
Clonmacnoise, under the year 996, which is the date of Brian's ac-
cession, according to the chronology of that work, but which should
be the year 1002, according to the more correct chronology of Tigh-
ernach :

" A. D. 996.   Bryan Borowe took the kingdome and government thereof out of the
hands of King Moyleseaghlyn, in such manner as I do not intend to relate in this place;
he was very well worthy of the Government, and reigned twelve years the most famous
king of his time [or] that ever was before or after him, of the Irish nation, for Man-
hood, Fortune, Manners, Laws, Liberality, Religion, and other many good parts, he
never had his peere among them all, though some Chroniclers of the Kingdom made
comparisons between him and Conkedcagh, Conaire More, and King Neale of the
Nine hostages ; yett he in regard of the state of the Kingdome when he came to the
government thereof was judged to bear the bell allways from them all.   At his first
entrie into the Kingdome, the whole Realme was overrunn and overspread every

where by the Danes : the Churches, Abbeys, and other religious places, were by them quite rased and debased, or otherwise turned to vile, base, servile, and abominable uses. Most of all, yea almost all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and those that were of any accoumpt, were turned out of their Lands and Livings without any hope of recovery or future redresse, yea some of the best sort were compelled to servitude and bounden slavery, both Human Lawe and Gods fear were sett aside. In sume it was strange how men of any fashion cou'd use other men as the Danes did use the Irish-men at that time. But King Bryan Borowe was a meet salve to cure such festered Soares, all the phissick in the world cou'd not help it else where, in a small time he banished the Danes, made up the Churches and Religious houses, restored the nobility to their Antient patrimony and possessions, and in fine brought all to a notable reformation."

In addition to the devastations of the Northmen, the original Towers must, from the nature of their structure, have often suffered, or been destroyed from natural causes, as lightning and tempests ; and of such casualties we have a remarkable record in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, as translated by Mageoghegan, and which is particularly valuable, as indicating the number of structures of this kind that was in Ireland in the tenth century :

" A. D. 981.   There was such boisterous winds this year that it fell down many turrets, and amongst the rest it fell down violently the steeple of Louth and other steeples."

I am further persuaded that some of the Towers were erected as late as the twelfth century, as their architectural characteristics sufficiently prove : and it is not improbable that the great Round Tower of Clonmacnoise, which is so remarkable for the beauty of its masonry, may be of this late period; for though the Registry of Clonmacnoise, a document of the fourteenth century, ascribes the erection of this Tower to Fergal O'Rourke, king of Connaught, about the middle of the tenth century, yet, as I have already shown, in treating of the church at the same place, called *Teampull Finghin*, Part II., pp. 267, 268, that document is of a character too apocryphal to entitle it to much weight, when opposed to the authentic annals of the country.   The passage in the Registry, relative to the erection of this Tower, as translated from the original Irish for Sir James Ware, by the celebrated Duald Mac Firbis, is as follows :

" And the same O'Ruairk of his devotion towards ye church undertook to repair those churches, and keep them in reparation during his life upon his own chardges, and to make a Causey, or Togher from ye place called Cruan na Feadh to Iubhar Conaire, and from Jubhar to the Loch ; and the said Fergal did perform it, together with all other promises y^t he made to Cluain, and the repayring of that number of

Chapels or Cells, and the making of that Causey, or Togher, and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish Claicthough, in Cluain, as a memorial of his own part of that Cemetarie : and the said Fergal hath made all those Cells before specified in mortmain for him and his heirs to Cluain ; and thus was the sepulture of the O'Ruairks bought."

It might be inferred, however, from the following entry in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, that this Tower was of much later date than that ascribed to it in the Registry :

"A. D. 1124.   Cn cloicτeach móp Cluana Mac Noιp v'opbuv la Ɉιolla Cpιpτ h-Ua Maoιleoιn, ⁊ la Τoιpόealδaċ h-Ua Conċupaιp."

"A. D. 1124.   The great *cloictheach* of Clonmacnoise *was finished* by Giolla Christ O'Malone, and by Turlogh O'Conor."

Thus also in a similar entry in the Annals of the Four Masters at the same year :

" A. D. 1124.   Popbaὸ cloιccτιġe Cluana Mac Noιp la h-Ua Maoιleoιn co-ṁapba Chιapaιn."

" A. D. 1124.   The finishing of the *cloictheach* of Clonmacnoise by O'Malone, successor of St. Ciaran."

Dr. O'Conor, indeed, translates the preceding entry as if it only recorded the covering or roofing of the Tower, thus :

" A. D. 1124. Operimentum Campanilis Cluanæ Mac Nois factum per O'Maloneum, Vicarium Ciarani."

But though it is possible that the annalists intended to record the making or restoration of the roof only, the verb popbaὸ, which they employ, properly signifies *to finish*, or *complete*.   However, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that an ecclesiastical establishment of such high importance for many centuries earlier, and the seat of a bishopric at least from the ninth century, should have been without an abbey or cathedral belfry till so late a period : and this improbability will appear stronger when we call to mind that one of the inferior churches of the place had its own little *cloictheach*, as I have already shown, of a much earlier date, and that one of its abbots was the erector of the *cloictheach* of Tomgraney nearly two centuries previously : and it is therefore not likely that this abbot would have left Clonmacnoise without such a usual and necessary appendage, if it had been previously wanting.   I am, therefore, of opinion that the great *cloictheach* of this place was erected at least as early as the year 908, when the *daimliag mor*, or cathedral, standing opposite it, in the usual position, was erected by the monarch Flann O'Melaghlin and

the abbot Colman ; and I think it most probable that the fact relative to its erection by Fergal O'Rourke, as stated in the Registry, was only a tradition founded on the circumstance of the O'Rourkes having their place of sepulture near it ; and, consequently, that the entry in the annals only relates to a subsequent restoration of it, rendered necessary by some accidental circumstance not recorded.

That this Tower was, indeed, repaired at a period long subsequent to its erection, there is abundant evidence in the masonry of the building itself, the upper portion being of coarse jointed masonry of limestone, while the greater part of the tower below it is of close jointed ashlar sandstone ; and besides, it is quite obvious that the Tower, when such restoration was made, was reduced considerably in its original height, as proportioned to its circumference. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that this restoration is of still later date than that recorded by the annalists at the year 1124, as we find the following entry in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and the Annals of the Four Masters, relative to the destruction of the top of the Tower by lightning, in the year 1135.

" A. D. 1135. Ceine ᵱaiᵹnéin ᴅo béim a chinᴅ ᴅo cloicceach Cluana mac Nóiᵱ, aᵹuᵱ ᴅo collaᴅ cloicceaᴄ Ruiᵱ Cᵱé."

" A. D. 1135. Lightning struck its roof off the *cloictheach* of Clonmacnoise, and pierced the *cloictheach* of Roscrea."

But, be this as it may, we have a decisive evidence in the Annals of the Four Masters to prove that this Tower of Clonmacnoise, if not the smaller one also, was appropriated to the use of a belfry, and known by the same name as originally, so late as the year 1552, when Clonmacnoise was plundered by the English garrison of Athlone,—an event of which the tradition of the place still preserves, with all its details, as lively an impression, as if it had been only of recent occurrence. It is thus pathetically recorded:

" A. D. 1552. Innᵱaᴅ 7 oᵱccain Cluana mac Noiᵱ la Ᵹallaib Ccía luain, 7 na cluicc móᵱa ᴅo bᵱeiᴄ aᵱ an ᵹ-cloicceᴄeaᴄ. Ní ᵱo ᵱaccabaᴅ ᵱoᵱ clocc beaᵹ na móᵱ, iomaiᵹ, ná alcóiᵱ, na leabaᵱ, na ᵹemaᴅ, ᵱiu ᵹloine h-i b-ᵱuinneoicc ó balla na h-eccailᵱi amaᴄ naᴄ ᵱuccaᴅ eiᵱce. ᴅa cᵱuaᵹ cᵱa an ᵹnioᵯ ᵱin, inᴅᵱaᴅ caᴄᵱaᴄ Ciaᵱain, an naoᵯ eᵱlaiᵯ."

" A. D. 1552. Clonmacnoise was plundered and devastated by the Galls (English) of Athlone, and the large bells were carried from the *cloictheach*. There was not left, moreover, a bell, small or large, an image, or an altar, or a book, or a gem, or even

glass in a window, from the wall of the church out, which was not carried off. Lamentable was this deed, the plundering of the city of Ciaran, the holy patron."

But, whatever may be the period of the erection of the great Tower of Clonmacnoise, I have found a decisive evidence of the erection of many Towers, as late as the middle of the twelfth century, in the following curious and important entry in an ancient Antiphonarium, formerly belonging to the cathedral church of Armagh, but preserved in Ussher's collection of manuscripts (Class B, Tab. I. No. 1), in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. I should add that the age of the original of this entry is obviously that of O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, whose death it was intended to record, and that the authenticity of the facts enumerated is unquestionable.

" Kal. Ian. .u. p. l. x. Anno Domini m.c.lxx. Oꞃaꝺ aꞃ Ohonnchaꝺ h-Ua Ceꞃbaill, aꞃ aiꞃo-ꞃiȝ Ciꞃȝiall, laꞃ a n-ꝺeꞃnaꝺ leabuꞃ Cnuic na n-Cꞃꞇal a Luȝmaꝺ, ⁊ pꞃim-lebuiꞃ uiꞃꝺ bliaꝺnaiꝺe, ⁊ pꞃim-leabuiꞃ aiꝼꝼꞃinn. Iꞃ e ꝺon an an-ꞃi céꝺna ꞃo cumꝺaiȝ an mainiꞃꞇiꞃ uile iꞇiꞃ cloić ⁊ cꞃann, ⁊ ꞇuc cꞃić ⁊ ꝼeꞃanꝺ ꝼꞃia, ꝺo ꞃaić a anma a n-anoiꞃ Póil ⁊ Peꞇuiꞃ. Iꞃ leiꞃ ꝺon ꞃo h-aćnuiȝeꝺ an eaȝluꞃ a ꞇiꞃ Oiꞃȝiall, ⁊ ꝺo ꞃonaꝺ eꞃȝoboiꝺe ꞃiaȝulla, ⁊ ꞇucaꝺ an eaȝluꞃ ꝼoꞃ comuꞃ eꞃcoiꞃ. Iꞃ 'n a aimꞃiꞃ ꞃo ȝabaꝺ ꝺećṁaꝺ, ⁊ ꞃo ꝼaemaꝺ ꞃoꞃaꝺ, ⁊ ꞃo cumꝺaiȝꞇea ecalꞃa, ⁊ ꝺo ꞃonća ꞇeampaill ⁊ cloicꞇiȝi, ⁊ ꞃo h-aćnuaiȝꞇea mainiꞃꞇꞃe manać ⁊ cananać ⁊ cailleć n-ꝺub, ⁊ ꝺo ꞃonaić neiṁeꝺa. Iꞃ iaꞇ ꞃo co ꞃe ȝꞃeꞇa ꝺo ꞃonaić ꝼꞃia ꞃaić, ⁊ ꞃe ꞃiȝe i ꞇiꞃ Ciꞃȝiall, .i. mainiꞃꞇeꞃ na manać ꝼoꞃ bꞃu ꝺoinne iꝺeꞃ cloić ⁊ cꞃann aiꝺṁe, ⁊ libꞃa ⁊ cꞃić ⁊ ꝼeꞃanꝺ i ꝼil .c. manać ⁊ ꞇꞃi .c. conuenꞃ ⁊ mainiꞃꞇeꞃ cananać Ꞇeꞃmainꝺ Ꝼeićin ⁊ Mainiꞃꞇeꞃ cailleć, ⁊ ꞇeampoll moꞃ Ꞇeꞃmainn Ꝼheicin, ⁊ ꞇeampoll Leꞃća Ꝼeićin ⁊ ꞇeampoll ✱ ✱ ✱ ."

" Kalend. Januar. v. feria, lun. x. Anno Domini m. c. lxx. A prayer for Donnchadh O'Carrol, supreme king of *Airgiall*, by whom were made the book of *Cnoc na n-Apstal* at Louth, and the chief books of the order of the year, and the chief books of the mass. It was this great king who founded the entire monastery both [as to] stone and wood, and gave territory and land to it, for the prosperity of his soul, in honor of [SS.] Paul and Peter. By him the church throughout the land of Oirghiall was re-formed, and a regular bishoprick was made, and the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop. In his time tithes were received, and the marriage [ceremony] was assented to, and churches were founded, and temples and *cloicteachs* were made, and monasteries of monks, and canons, and nuns were re-edified, and *nemheds* were made. These are especially the works which he performed, for the prosperity [of his soul] and reign, in the land of *Airghiall*, namely, the monastery of monks on the bank of the Boyne [both as to] stone and wooden furniture, and books, and territory and land, in which [monastery] there are one hundred monks, and three hundred conventuals, and the monastery of canons of *Termann Feichin*, and the monastery of nuns, and the great church of *Termann Fheicin*, and the church of *Lepadh Feichin*, and the church of ✱ ✱ ✱ ."

In conclusion, I have only to add, that it would appear probable, from the following record in the Annals of the Four Masters, that at least one Round Tower was erected so late as the year 1238, at Annadown, in the County of Galway:

"A. D. 1238.   Cloicceaċ Eanaıġ oúın oo ȯénaṁ."

"A. D. 1238.   The *Cloictheach* of Eanach duin was erected."

As there is no belfry now remaining at Annadown, it may be uncertain whether this *cloictheach* was of the usual ancient round form, or of the quadrangular shape, and connected with the church, as generally adopted in Ireland at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion; but if it be remembered that this Tower is mentioned as a distinct structure, and that its locality was one still peculiarly Irish, while, on the other hand, the square belfry never appears as a distinct structure, it will be scarcely doubted that this was a tower of the original Irish kind, and if so, probably one of the last of its class erected in the kingdom.

But whether this *cloictheach* of Annadown was of the regular Round Tower form or not, it cannot be doubted that some of the Towers existing, or recently so, and particularly those attached to the churches, were of a date but little anterior to the thirteenth century, as that of Trummery, in the County of Antrim, and the Tower which was attached to Trinity Church at Glendalough, and those at Dungiven and Tamlaghtfinlagan, in the County of Londonderry, of all which descriptions will be given in the Third Part of this Inquiry. Such deviations from the ancient custom of keeping the belfries detached from the churches are in themselves sufficient evidences that they belong to a later period, and their architectural peculiarities in all these instances satisfactorily prove the fact. In like manner, it might be inferred that the round turret belfries placed upon the churches, of which there are two or three examples remaining, are also of comparatively recent date, and indicate the transition to the more modern and general usage with respect to belfries; and this inference would be sustained by a passage of great antiquity in the Life of St. Moling, preserved in the Book of Leinster, a compilation of the twelfth century. This passage occurs in a prophecy attributed to the saint, who, it is stated, had had a vision, in which it was revealed to him that he himself was the person predestined to bring about the abolition

of an oppressive tax called the *Borumha Laighean*, which the people
of Leinster had for centuries paid to the royal family of Tara, but
which had been remitted for a time by the reigning monarch, Fin-
nachta Fleadhach.   But the king coming afterwards into Leinster,
with a numerous army, to enforce its payment, was met by St. Moling,
who told him of his vision, and predicted, in the following verses,
what impossibilities and strange occurrences should take place be-
fore this revelation would be nullified :

> " Coṅbaṗ caiṗṅʒe aṗ ꝺaiṗʒe ꝺonna,
>   Coṅbaṗ ꞇonna aṗ ʒlaṗṗ linne,
>   Coṅbaṗ cloċeiʒe óṗ cella,
>   Niṗaṗ ella aiṗlinʒe."

> " Until rocks grow upon brown oaks,
>   Until boisterous waves be on green pools,
>   Until *cloictheach* be [placed] over churches,
>   This vision shall not prove delusive."

But, though this ancient passage clearly indicates the general and
prevailing custom of the country, in the seventh century, as to the
separateness of the belfries from the churches, it does not necessarily
follow that no example of their junction had existed in St. Moling's
time, as it should, perhaps, be rather inferred that a knowledge of
the existence of some such example, considered as a singularity, had
suggested the improbability of such a general innovation ; or, that the
verses were fabricated at a period, when the tribute referred to was
reimposed, and when the innovation had been, to some extent, adopted.

But, however this may be, some of the specimens of Round Tower
belfries, placed upon the churches in Ireland, indicate a very early
antiquity ; and though, possibly, they may not be in every instance
coeval with the churches on which they are placed, they can hardly
be of a date long subsequent to them.   At all events, examples of
belfries upon the churches must have been familiar to the Irish in
the ninth century, as we find that, at least, one such, and most pro-
bably a round one,—as the Lombard steeples usually were,—was
erected on the church of St. Columbanus, at Bobbio, when the abbot
Agilulfus, who flourished between the years 883 and 905, re-erected
that church, as appears from the following passage in the *Miracula S.
Columbani Abbatis*, cap. 1.

" Ipsam denique eandem Ecclesiam venerabilis Abbas *Agilulfus* ex lapidibus struxit,

turrimque super eam ædificauit, et campanas in ea fecit pendere, sicut nunc cerni-
tur."—*Fleming, Collectanea Sacra*, p. 245.—*Florilegium*, p. 240.

This is a question, however, which will be more particularly con-
sidered in connexion with the remaining examples of such church
towers in the Third Part of this Inquiry.

From the preceding evidences it will be perceived, that in deter-
mining the respective ages of the several Round Towers in Ireland,
we must be almost entirely guided, as in the case of the early
churches, by their architectural details,—always comparing such de-
tails with those of the churches whose dates are determined, or may
be fairly presumed ; and such an examination will constitute a pro-
minent feature in the Third Part of this Inquiry. But, as the publi-
cation of that Part must be some time distant, it may be desirable
that I should adduce here a few characteristic examples of the various
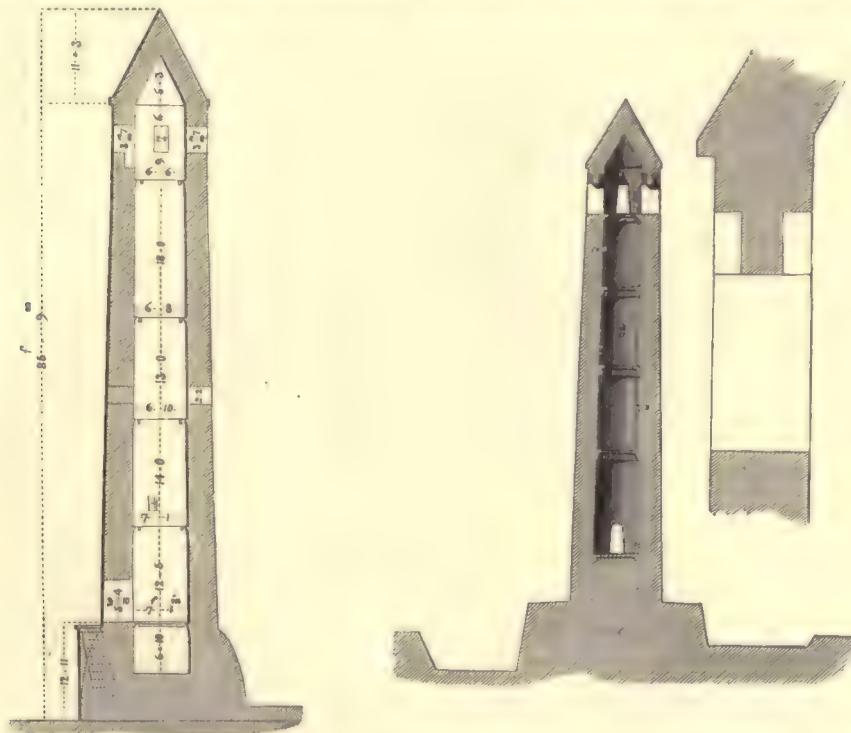
styles exhibited in the Towers, and from which a tolerably accurate
opinion may be formed as to the respective ages of their erection ;
and that I should also more fully illustrate, by a few sections, their
internal construction. On this latter point, however, the two illus-

trations above will suffice.   The first exhibits the internal construc-
tion and measurements of the Round Tower of Clondalkin, near
Dublin; and the second, the internal construction of the Tower of
Rattoo, in the County of Kerry,—both Towers of high antiquity.

It will be perceived that the Tower of Clondalkin has a singular
projecting base, which is nearly thirteen feet in height, and com-
posed, in great part, of solid masonry.   I have already shown, how-
ever, at page 368, from an ancient seal, that the Tower of Roscarbery,
in the County of Cork, which does not now remain, had a similar
base, and that, in this respect, both these Towers resembled the
ancient round castle of Brunless, in Brecknockshire.   Above the base
the Tower of Clondalkin measures forty-five feet in circumference,
and, with the exception of the chiselled stones round its doorway,
it is altogether constructed of common rubble masonry, of the calp
limestone of the district.   The apertures are all quadrangular, the
jambs of the doorway inclining, as in those of the oldest churches.

The church of Cluain Dolcain, according to Colgan,—*Acta Sanc-
torum*, page 677 (correctly 573),—owes its origin to St. Mochua, who
was its first abbot, and flourished early in the seventh century.   It
subsequently rose to the rank of a bishop's see, and became a place
of great celebrity.   Of its original ecclesiastical edifices the Tower
alone remains.   There are, indeed, in its immediate vicinity, some
ruins of a church, which has obviously been of some architectural
importance ; but it appears certain, from drawings made in 1780,
when it was more perfect than it is at present, that it was a struc-
ture of the thirteenth century.   A large cross of granite, without
ornament, a usual accompaniment of our earliest ecclesiastical esta-
blishments, is still to be seen in the churchyard.

The Tower of Rattoo, which, like that of Clondalkin, is still per-
fect, is remarkable for being placed on a terrace or platform con-
nected with a causeway, which extends in a line opposite its doorway,
as shown in the ground-plan on next page.   The Tower is formed of
roughly-squared, hammered sandstone, the entrance doorway alone
being chiselled.   It measures forty-seven feet nine inches in circum-
ference at its base, and ninety-two feet in height, the wall being three
feet ten inches in thickness at the doorway.   The doorway is semi-
circular-headed, the arch being formed of three stones, and it is
ornamented with a flat band, nine inches in breadth.   It is five feet

four inches in height, one foot eight inches in width below the arch, and two feet one inch at the sill. The Tower is divided into six stories, that at the top containing, as usual, four large apertures facing the cardinal points. These apertures have sloping jambs, and are, externally, angular-headed, but are quadrangular internally. The
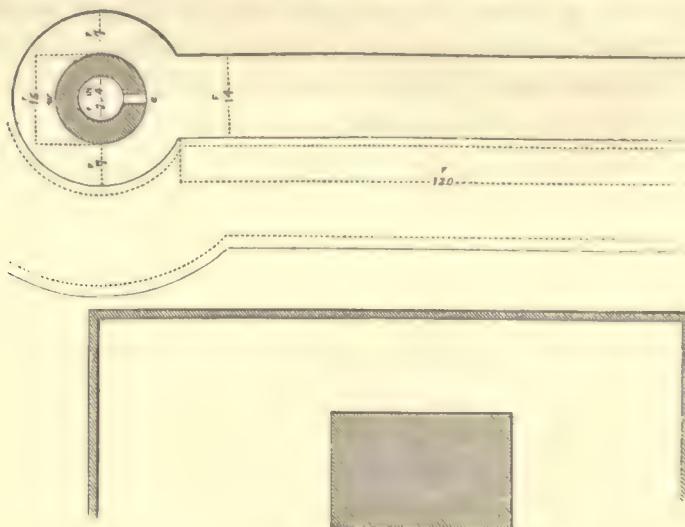
intermediate stories between the uppermost and the second, or door-way story, are each lighted by a single aperture; but, in consequence of the Tower being enveloped in ivy, their exact situations cannot be determined, with the exception of one in the fifth story, lately exposed by a storm, and which is angular-headed, and faces the east. The lowest story is filled up to the level of the doorway. It will be perceived from the section above given, that between the floors of each of the stories, rough corbel stones project from the wall about the middle of its height; and this is not an uncommon feature in the interior of the Towers, such corbel stones, in one example—that of the Tower of Ardmore, in the County of Waterford—being sculptured with animal and human heads, and other ornaments. My late ingenious friend, Mr. William Morrison, suggested to me that these corbels might possible be for the purpose of fixing ladders to join the stories, as shown in the annexed outline; but a more probable conjecture, to my mind, is, that they were intended as supports for shelves, on which to place the precious things deposited in the Towers.

But little is known of the history of the ecclesiastical establishment to which this Tower belonged, beyond the fact that it was, at an ancient period, the seat of a bishopric, the boundaries of which were defined at the Synod of Rath Breasail in or about the year 1118; and that, according to the tradition of the country, there were anciently seven churches at the place. Its ancient name was *Rath Muighe tuaiscirt*, i. e. the rath, or earthen fort of the northern plain; the word *tuaiscirt* being added to distinguish it from *Rath Muighe deiscirt*, now Rattas.—See p. 169.

This Tower is now popularly known by the name *Giolcach*, by which is understood a bell-house, and which is obviously a local corruption of *cloigtheach*, or *cloictheach*. According to the local tradition of the place, there was a silver bell placed in the upper story of the Tower, and which had a remarkably sweet tone,—and this bell is now concealed in the adjacent River Brick, into which it was thrown for safety during the "troubles." It cannot, however, be now found, though, as it is said, it used formerly direct attention to its locality, by occasionally emitting melancholy tones.

In the neighbourhood of the Tower there are ruins of two churches,

North

East

South

West
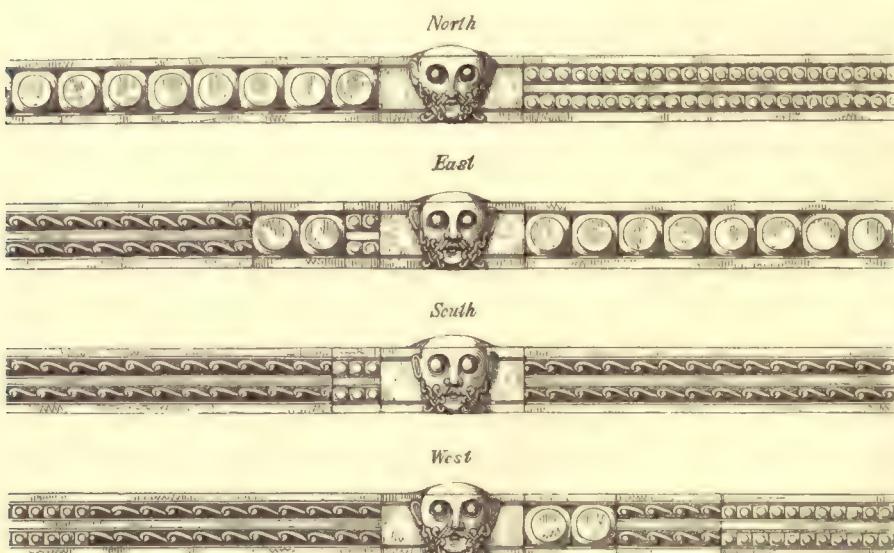
neither of which, however, is of an antiquity at all approaching that of the Tower, and do not demand any particular notice in this place.

I should have noticed, in connexion with the preceding general

remarks on the construction of the Towers, that the division into stories is sometimes marked externally by set-offs ; and in one instance, the Tower of Ardmore, by bands or belts. With a single exception, however, they present no ornament externally, except in their doorways and upper apertures. I allude to the Round Tower of Devenish, which has a richly-sculptured band or cornice, placed immediately beneath its conical roof, the whole of which is represented in the preceding illustration.

I must defer, however, an inquiry into the age of these sculptures, as leading to a digression that would be somewhat irrelevant here, and which I therefore reserve for the Third Part of this Work.

Having premised thus much, relative to the general form and construction of the Towers, I have next to notice their details ; and of these the doorways are the most important, as enabling us to determine, by their architectural features, the respective ages of the Towers to which they belong.

The oldest Towers are obviously those constructed of spawled

masonry and large hammered stones, and which present simple quadrangular and semicircular-arched doorways, with sloping jambs, and

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little or no ornament, perfectly similar to the doorways of the earliest churches. As an example of the quadrangular doorway, with inclined jambs, and large lintel, I have given, on the preceding page, an illustration of the doorway of the Round Tower of Drumbo, in the County of Down.

This doorway, which, as well as the other parts of the Tower, is constructed of spawled rubble masonry of the limestone of the country, measures five feet eight inches in height, two feet six inches in breadth below the lintel, and two feet ten inches at the sill stone, which is now destroyed, and the wall is four feet in thickness. It is at present only about four feet above the level of the ground, which has been much raised by interments about it, so that there is no doubt that its elevation was originally at least eight or ten feet The foundations of the original church, which are situated twenty-four feet to the south-east of the Tower, only remain, but they are enough to enable us to determine that it was a simple quadrangle, measuring forty-five feet in length, and twenty in breadth. The erection of this church is ascribed to St. Patrick in the oldest Lives of that saint, and a St. Mochumma was abbot here about the beginning of the seventh century.
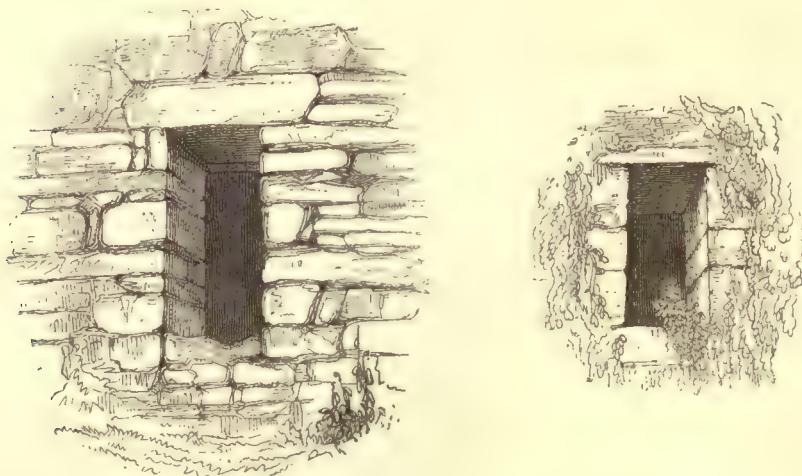
I have already stated that many of the Towers have in their second story an aperture placed directly over the entrance doorway, but little inferior to it in size, and which might be considered as a

second doorway. Such second apertures, when the original doorway is quadrangular, are always of the same form,—as shown in the annexed illustrations of the lower and upper doorways of the Round Tower of Swords. The lower doorway is at present but three feet above the level of the ground, and measures six feet in height, two feet in width at the top, and two feet two inches at the bottom. The second aperture, which is twenty feet from the ground, is four feet in height, and two feet in width. The church of Swords owes its origin to the great St. Columbkille, and was originally erected previously to the year 563.

As a similar example of the quadrangular doorway, but of better masonry, I subjoin an illustration of the doorway of the Round Tower
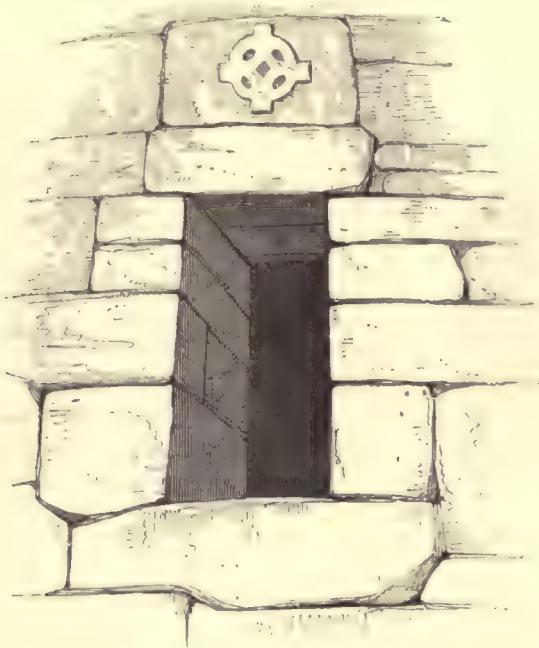
of Antrim. This doorway, which is placed at an elevation of about twelve feet from the ground, is constructed of large blocks of coarse-grained basalt found in the neighbourhood, many of the stones extending the entire thickness of the wall, which is three feet three inches. It is but four feet four inches in height, one foot ten inches in width at the top, and two feet at the bottom.

This doorway is remarkable in having a pierced cross within

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a circle, sculptured in *relievo* on the stone immediately over the lintel, somewhat similar to that on the lintel of the doorway of St. Fechin's church at Fore, of which I have given an illustration at p. 174; and such sculptures appear to me to furnish a strong evidence that both churches and towers were regarded as sanctuaries.

It is remarkable that though the foundation of the church of Antrim is ascribed—perhaps erroneously,—to St. Mochaoi, a cotemporary of St. Patrick's, who died, according to the Irish annalists, in the year 496, the popular tradition of the country ascribes the erection of the Tower to the celebrated builder called Goban Saer, who flourished in the seventh century.

As examples of early semicircular-headed doorways, without ornament, and in which the arch is formed by cuttings in the horizontal

stones, I annex engravings of the doorways of the Towers of Kilmacduagh, in the County of Galway, and of Glendalough, in the County of Wicklow, both, as there is little doubt, erected early in the seventh century.

The doorway of the Tower of Kilmacduagh, which is placed at an elevation of twenty-six feet from the ground, is constructed of large blocks of limestone of the district, and measures six feet ten inches in height, and two feet ten inches in width at the sill; and the wall is four feet four inches in thickness.

I have already stated, at p. 176, that the great church of Kilmac-
duagh was erected about the year 610, for St. Colman Mac Duach,
by his kinsman, Guaire Aidhne, king of Connaught; and the perfect
similarity of the masonry of the Tower to that of the original portions
of the great church, leaves no doubt of their being cotemporaneous
structures. In the popular traditions of the country the erection of
both is assigned to the Goban Saer, and these traditions are not falsi-
fied by being at variance with the known period at which he
flourished.

The doorway of the Tower of Glendalough, it will be perceived,

has a perfect similarity of form and style of construction to that of the
Tower of Kilmacduagh; and it is not unlikely that both are the work
of the same eminent builder, with whose era the erection of the great
church of Glendalough would very well synchronise. It is placed at
an elevation of about ten feet from the present level of the ground,
which, however, is now considerably raised by old interments. It is
constructed of blocks of granite, chiselled, though the wall of the
Tower generally is formed of rubble masonry of the mica slate of
the adjacent mountains,—and in this circumstance it resembles the

doorways of several of the churches in the valley. It measures five
feet seven inches and a half in height, one foot ten inches in width
below the arch stone, and two feet at the sill. The thickness of the
wall is four feet.

In many of the most ancient semicircular-headed doorways we
find the head constructed on the regular principle of the arch, as in
the illustration of the doorway of the Tower of Oughterard, in the
County of Kildare, given on the last page, in which the arch is
formed of three stones; or, as in the doorway of the Tower on Tory
Island, off the north coast of the County of Donegal, in which the arch
is formed of a number of small stones, as shewn in the next illus-
tration.

The Tower of Oughterard was connected with a church of nuns,
founded in the sixth or seventh century by a Saint Bridget, a diffe-
rent person from the more celebrated saint of that name, of Kildare:
and the Tower on Tory Island was connected with a monastery
founded there in the sixth century by St. Columbkille.

I should have remarked that the quadrangular doorways of the
Towers never exhibit ornaments of any kind; but those which are
arched are often adorned,—and of these, the most ancient appear

to be those which are ornamented with a plain flat band or architrave, as in the annexed illustration of the doorway of the Tower of Roscrea, the internal construction of which I have already noticed.

And in the doorways of those Towers of better masonic construction, and, as there is every reason to believe, of later date, these bands are often ornamented with one, two, or three torus mouldings : such, for example, is the doorway of the Tower of Monasterboice, in the County of Louth, represented in the illustration on the next page, and which is further remarkable as exhibiting the idea of the cross by a connexion of the mouldings at the top and at each side.

That the Tower, in which this doorway is found, is of a different age from that of either of the churches at Monasterboice, would be at once apparent to any skilful observer, being obviously much more recent than the one, and more ancient than the other. In the oldest of these churches the doorway presents the usual horizontal head, and the whole masonry of the church is in a ruder style, and com-

posed of the limestone of the country. It may not, therefore, be considered an improbable conjecture, if we assign the erection of this Tower to that period in which the richly sculptured stone crosses were raised, which now impart such interest to this locality, and which can hardly be of a date anterior to the ninth century.   Of this fact

the representation of our Saviour crucified, which is found on both the crosses, might be deemed a sufficient evidence, for I do not know of any examples of such representation of a date anterior to that period ; but we have fortunately, in an inscription carved on one of these crosses, a sufficiently decisive evidence as to their age, and which will leave little, if any, doubt, that the cross was erected in the ninth or tenth century.   The inscription is as follows :

   " OR OO muiReOach ƶas i nOeRnaO in chrossa."
   " A PRAYER FOR MUIREDACH BY WHOM WAS MADE THIS CROSS."

   If then we find that there was an abbot of this name, Muiredach, at Monasterboice, the natural inference will be, that he was the

erector of this cross; but unfortunately we learn, from the Irish Annals, that there were two of the name, one who died in the year 844, and the other in the year 924, so that it must be a matter of some uncertainty, to which of these the erection of the cross should be ascribed. This is a difficulty, however, which, to my mind, is greatly decreased by the nature of the entries respecting those persons, in the Annals, and from which it clearly appears that the latter of these Muiredachs was a man of much greater distinction, and probably wealth, than the former, and therefore more likely to have been the erector of the crosses at Monasterboice, and, as I conceive, their cotemporaneous Tower. Thus, in the Annals of Ulster, the death of the first Muiredach is entered simply as follows:

" A. D. 844. Mupeдach, mac Flann, abbap Monιρτρech дuιcι mορcuuρ eρc."

" A. D. 844. Muiredach, son of Flann, abbot of Monaster Buiti, died."

While the death of the second is thus entered:

" A. D. 923, *vel* 924. Mupeдach mac Domnaιll, canupe ab Ципд macha, 7 aιд maeр Oa Neιll ιn дeρceιρc, 7 coṁaρba дuιcι, mιc дρóñaιᵹ, cenn aдcomaιρc feρ m-дρeᵹ n-uιle, ocaιb, cleιρchιb, quιñca дιe Kal Decembριρ uιca дeceρριc."

" A. D. 923, or 924. Muiredach, son of Domhnall, tanist-abbot of Armagh, and chief stewart of the southern Hy Niall, and successor of Buiti, the son of Bronach, head of the council of all the men of Bregia, laity and clergy, departed this life on the fifth day of the Calends of December."

The death of this Muiredach is similarly entered in the Annals of the Four Masters, except that they call him " the Stewart of the people of Patrick (Armagh), from Sliabh Fuaid to Leinster."

Moreover, the close resemblance between the subjects of the sculptures on this cross, and the style of their execution, to those of the great cross at Clonmacnoise, which I have shown to be of the early part of the tenth century, strongly corroborates the inference, as to its date, which I have drawn from the preceding historical notices.

It is to this period, also, that I would ascribe the erection of the neighbouring Round Tower of Donaghmore, in the County of Meath, the doorway of which is so remarkable in having a figure of our Saviour crucified sculptured in *relievo* on its key-stone, and the stone immediately over it. This doorway, which is placed at an elevation of twelve feet from the base of the Tower, measures five feet two inches in height, and its inclined jambs are two feet three inches

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asunder at the sill, and two feet at the spring of the arch. It will be perceived that there is a human head carved on each side of the door,—the one partly on the band, and the other outside it.

Some of the antagonists of the Christian origin of the Round Towers have asserted that this doorway "plainly appears, to an observing eye, to be an after work;" but there is not the slightest grounds for such an assertion; and, as Sir Richard Colt Hoare, a profoundly skilful antiquary, observes, this doorway furnishes " a decided proof that these buildings" [the Round Towers] "were not (as some writers have conjectured) built by the Pagans." To me, indeed, it establishes more, namely, that many of the Towers were erected not earlier than the tenth century. A similarly ornamented doorway, presenting a representation of the crucifixion, but with richer sculptures, is found in the Round Tower of Brechin, in Scotland, which, as I shall show in the Third Part of this Work, there is every reason to believe was erected about the year 1020, and by Irish ecclesiastics. The erection of the original church of Donaghmore, anciently called *Domhnach mor Muighe Echnach*, i. e. the great church

of the plain of Echnach, is ascribed to St. Patrick, who placed here his disciple Cassanus, whose relics were preserved in this church, and held in the highest veneration for ages after his death.—See *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 130, 131. Of this original church, however, there are now no remains, and its site is occupied by a church, in the pointed style of architecture of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

As a specimen of a doorway, which exhibits a more regular masonry than any of the preceding, and which there is every reason to believe to be of somewhat later age, I annex an illustration of the doorway of the greater Tower of Clonmacnoise ; and as I have treated so much of this Tower in several parts of this work, I also add a view of the Tower itself, which is finely situated on the brow of a bank on the south-east side of the Shannon, and amid scenery of a solemn and desolate character, which add greatly to its poetical interest.

This Tower is constructed of a fine sandstone, and its masonry is laid in regular courses, except about twenty feet of the upper portion, which is of coarse masonry of undressed limestone, and which,—

like the upper part of the Round Tower of Tullahcrin, in the County of Kilkenny, and some others,—is evidently the work of a later period than the lower part.   It rests, as usual, on a projecting circular plinth, and measures fifty-six feet in circumference at its base.   Its present height is but sixty-two feet, in addition to which, we must allow about seventeen feet for the conical roof, which is now wanting : but, there is no reason to doubt that it was originally one of the highest of its kind in Ireland, for, as I have already remarked, it was, obviously, not restored to its original altitude, when the present upper portion was re-erected.   The wall is three feet nine inches in thickness.   The interior exhibits rests for four stories, including that on a level with the doorway, and beneath which there was a fifth story, not lighted.   The second and third stories are each lighted by a

single quadrangular aperture ; and the upper story, as in the Tower
of Tullaherin, contains eight openings of the same form.   The door-
way is five feet three inches in height, two feet three inches in width,
immediately under the imposts, and two feet six inches, at the sill.
The key-stone, and those forming the imposts, extend the entire
thickness of the wall, as does the sill-stone also, which is five feet in
length.

I have now to notice the peculiarities of the upper apertures of
the Towers.   The apertures in the uppermost story are almost inva-
riably of larger size than those in the lower stories, including even
the doorways.   The apertures in the intermediate stories, between
the uppermost and the doorway, are usually of very small size.   In
many of the Towers, however, an aperture placed in one of those in-
termediate stories directly over the doorway, is, as I have already
remarked, little, or not at all inferior in size to the doorway.   In the
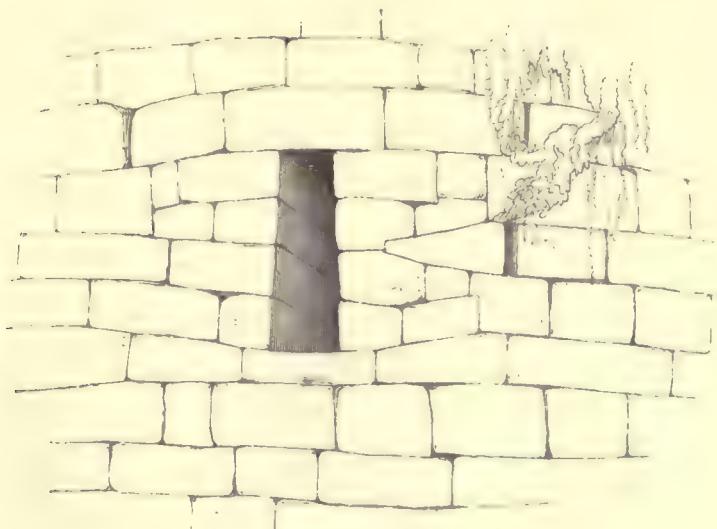
external forms of these apertures there are but three varieties,
namely, the quadrangular, the semicircular-headed, and the angular-
headed ; and the jambs, in all cases, incline : but, in their internal
construction, they present several varieties, which I shall presently
notice.   As an example of a horizontal-headed aperture, I have given
above an illustration of one of those in the Round Tower of Cashel,

which will be further interesting, as exhibiting the curious Etruscan
character of the masonry of this, and so many of the other towers and
churches, and which will be still better shown in the annexed speci-
men, from its base.

Of these three forms of aperture, we often find examples in the
same Tower, as in the three annexed examples, from the Tower of
Kells :

In many of the apertures, however, which exhibit semicircular
and angular heads, these forms are only external, and their internal
construction preserves the quadrangular form, by a lintel, more or
less recessed, which rests upon the jambs,—as shown in the two next
illustrations,—the first representing one of the angular-headed aper-

tures in the uppermost story of the Tower of Cashel, which is further
remarkable in having its angular head formed of a single stone; and
the second, a semicircular-headed aperture in the Tower of Dysert.

Moreover, many of the angular-headed apertures have recessed
semicircular arches, instead of the more usual horizontal lintels, such

arches being sometimes formed of a single stone, and at other times of
several stones, on the regular principle of the arch,—as in the prefixed

example, showing the large aperture placed directly over the door-
way of the Round Tower of Roscrea : and, I should further remark,
that these large apertures, or second doorways, are almost always of
this angular-headed form.   In one instance alone are the apertures
recessed, namely, those of the small
Tower attached to the church called
Teampull Finghin, at Clonmacnoise,
—a building obviously of much later
date than the generality of the Round
Towers, and which presents an equally
singular peculiarity in the construction
of its roof, as compared with those of
the other Towers, namely, its ma-
sonry being of that description called herring-bone, or, rather, herring-
bone ashlar, and the only instance of such construction which these
buildings now exhibit.   Having treated of this church so much in
detail, and given its ground plan at p. 267, I am induced here to
annex an illustration exhibiting its present state.

This Tower, as well as the church with which it is connected,
is wholly built of ashlar masonry, of a fine sandstone, laid in hori-

zontal courses, and is of unusually small size; its height, including the conical roof, being but fifty-six feet, its circumference thirty-nine feet, and the thickness of its wall, three feet. Its interior exhibits rests for five floors, each story, as usual, being lighted by a small aperture, except the uppermost, which, it is remarkable, has but two openings, one facing the north, and the other, the south. These openings are also remarkable for their small size ; and, in form, some are rectangular, and others semicircular-headed.

Since the preceding sheets were written, the search for interments in the Towers has been prosecuted with great zeal, not only in the southern but in the northern counties of Ireland ; but the results have not been such as to require any further observation in this place, though I shall notice them, hereafter, in connexion with my descriptions of those Towers, where I shall prove that, whatever may have been the ages of the bones stated to have been found beneath them, the Towers, at least, had no pretensions to an early antiquity. And yet, these discoveries have been deemed so conclusive, as settling the antiquity and uses of the Towers, that the northern and southern antiquaries have each set up their respective claims to the honour due to first discoverers, and entered into a controversy which may yet rival, if not throw into the shade, the celebrated contention of the Irish bards of the seventeenth century, for the rival glory of Leth Cuinn and Leth Mogha, or the northern and southern halves of Ireland. With this controversy, however, I have nothing to do,—though, as a native of the intermediate province of Leinster, I think I might claim from both the honour of, at least, originating these investigations for my own locality, as I believe it cannot be questioned that Sir William Betham's statement as to the discovery of a pagan urn, filled with burned bones, in the Tower of Timahoe, gave the first hint to these laborious investigators, both in the south and north. And on this statement of Sir William Betham I am advised to make a few comments, though, in truth, it appears to me scarcely worthy of such notice. This discovery, long since put forward by Sir William Betham, in various ways, has been finally thus stated, in the second volume of his *Etruria-Celtica :*

" The reliques of Buddhist saints, even a tooth, or collar bone, were held in such great sanctity and veneration, as to induce the pious zeal of kings to erect towers over them. In this respect our Irish towers also are singularly identical.

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" Some years since, Mr. Middleton, who lives in the neighbourhood of Timahoe, in the Queen's County, told me that a peasant having frequently dreamed that treasure was hid in the round tower of that place, induced two others to join him, and went at night, and having removed the earth, came to a flag-stone, which they raised, and discovered an urn with bones therein. Mr. Middleton assured me he had often conversed with those men, and had no doubt, whatever, of the truth and accuracy of the statement. I mentioned this fact to Mr. George Petrie, but he repudiated the idea, as utterly unworthy of belief.

" Some years afterwards I became acquainted with Mr. Moore, of Cremorgen, near Timahoe, and I requested him to inquire into the facts. Shortly after I received from that gentleman a letter, of which the following is a copy, fully bearing out Mr. Middleton's statement :—

" ' My dear Sir,—When I was last in town, you expressed a wish that I should make some inquiries respecting the Round Tower of Timahoe, in the Queen's County ; I have accordingly done so, and find that about fifty years ago, some persons were tempted to dig within the Tower in search of money, when, having gone as deep as three feet, they found a flag, and over it a very large rib, which they supposed to be that of a horse, on finding which, the search was discontinued till many years after, when some persons again commenced digging in the Tower, when having gone down about three or four feet farther than the former persons they found a flag (stone), and under it an earthen vessel filled with bones, having the appearance of being burned. This circumstance caused no surprise in the persons searching, as in almost every sand-hill in the neighbourhood (of which there are a great number), similar earthen vessels, filled with bones, have been found, at from four to eight feet down. I received this account from eye-witnesses, on whom I could depend.

" ' Believe me to be, your's very truly,
" ' PIERCE MOORE.'

" This letter, in my mind, demolishes the notion of these buildings being belfries, or even Christian buildings. Cremation, so far as history informs us, never obtained as a mode of sepulture among Christians, therefore, urns and burned bones being found buried within the Tower of Timahoe, demonstrates an earlier period for the erection of the Round Towers."—*Etruria-Celtica*, vol. ii. pp. 200, 201.

On this statement, then, I have in the first place to remark, that I acknowledge that it is quite true, that when Sir William Betham first acquainted me with this alleged fact, I did "repudiate the idea, as utterly unworthy of belief;" and now that it is, as Sir William Betham supposes, proved by Mr. Moore's letter, I must say, without imputing anything like intentional misrepresentation to that gentleman, that I totally reject the tale of his informants. If a pagan urn were found in this Tower, how comes it that, after all the recent explorations of so many other Towers, no second urn has been found ? And, if the discovery of cremated bones be necessary to prove the pagan origin of the Towers, how comes it that none of the bones found

in the other Towers were burned?—for, as to the urn said to have
been found in the Round Tower of Brechin, I think I may say,—to use
a favourite phrase of Sir William's own,—I have demolished that.
And even if an urn were found within this Tower of Timahoe, would
it necessarily follow that all the Towers were built as pagan sepul-
chres? And might not the wall of the tower have been built around
one of those low sand hills, which, Mr. Moore says, are so numerous
in its vicinity, and of which each has similar sepulchral deposits? Is
a question of this nature to be thus disposed of by a hearsay story,
of more than fifty years' standing, in opposition, as Sir William
Betham himself acknowledges, to the evidence of the authentic annals
of the country? Has this story even one circumstance connected
with it, that would entitle it to credit? Does it condescend even to
give the name of the finder of the urn, or to offer evidence of any
kind that it was a pagan sepulchral vase, and not a specimen of
that characteristic, but more modern *glazed* pottery, found in the
Tower of Brechin? The truth is, that it would be difficult, as I
know from experience, to find a peasant, or even farmer in Ireland,
who would know what the word *urn* means, or who, if they saw such
a thing, would apply any other term to it than *crock*. And, I should
add, that there is scarcely a ruined tower, castle, or abbey in Ireland,
of which a similar story is not related. It is one of the popular
legends of the country; the *crock of goold* seen by night being always
converted by the " good people," or " gentry," into a *crock of bones*,
—burned or unburned the legend sayeth not,—in the light of day.

But—to be more serious, if possible—Sir William Betham has
been unhappy in his selection of this Tower of Timahoe, as the
monument, in which the alleged discovery was made which was to
set, what he calls, " the long agitated *quæstio vexata*" at rest for ever,
for, unfortunately, it so happens, that this very Tower is, as I have
already shown, one of those which is proved, by all its architectural
features, to be a building not earlier than the ninth or tenth century;
and though Sir William Betham has not hitherto been able to per-
ceive this fact, I need have very little apprehension that it will now
be acknowledged by the true antiquary everywhere. In truth, the
Christian architecture of this Tower is so incontrovertibly marked,
that even the discovery of a pagan urn in it, if such were established,
would no more prove it to be a pagan Tower, than the finding a

purse of ancient Roman money in a man's pocket, would prove that man to be an ancient Roman, or "the Wandering Jew."

There is one other statement in this work of Sir William Betham, which it is necessary I should notice. It will be recollected by those who have read the First Part of this Inquiry, that the advocates of the several erroneous theories advanced, have each found, or supposed they found, a name for the Towers in the Irish language, which proved the truth of their hypothesis. But it remained for Sir William Betham to discover, that not only all these theorists were in error, but, also, that the whole body of Irish writers, annalists, law commentators, hagiologists, and poets, were alike ignorant of the form and meaning of the name applied to these Towers in their own language, and which, according to Sir William Betham, signified nothing else than *monuments for the dead*. But I must allow Sir William Betham to speak for himself :

> "I shall, however, remark upon a vulgar error which has had great currency among Irish antiquaries, who have asserted that they were called cloꞇꞇeaċ, *steeples, belfries*. Bells are of comparatively recent introduction into Ireland, and *clocks*, from which the word has evidently been derived, still more modern. This blunder has arisen from ignorance of the language. I have a memorandum in an Irish MS., that they were called by the people leacꞇaıꝺ, that is, *monuments of the dead*, the sound of which has been mistaken by those who but imperfectly knew the language; many writers have been misled by this. An error once promulgated by an antiquary of reputation, takes such hold on public opinion, that it soon becomes an established dogma, to question which, even although palpably erroneous, is sure to provoke almost persecution."— *Etruria-Celtica*, vol. ii. p. 210.

As I should be sorry that Sir William Betham should include me in the list of his persecutors,—for I have had, unfortunately, myself, some experience of the unamiable courses to which persecutors, on account of difference in speculative opinions, can sometimes resort,— I shall allow this reference to a memorandum by an unknown hand, in a nameless manuscript which has not yet seen the light, to pass without comment; but, in the hope that it may induce him to bring it forward, and permit us to judge of its age and real value, I shall conclude by submitting to his serious attention the following extract from the work of a historian and critical antiquary of deserved celebrity; and which, I am obliged to acknowledge, expresses an opinion, but too well founded, as to the want of literary honesty exhibited by some writers on Irish subjects :

"Vague references to MSS. of vague antiquity form the main chicane of Irish authors; who are so dull, as not to discern that this is never allowed in such questions, but that if a MS. be quoted, its age, place where kept, page, and column, are always accurately marked by the antiquaries of all other countries, and the words themselves always produced, with a literal translation."—*Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 20.

SUBSECTION IV.
HOUSES.

AMONGST the minor edifices which were required in the ancient religious establishments of the Irish, the houses or cells of the abbot and brotherhood require a short notice. To those whose eyes have been familiar with the great monasteries of the Continent and the British islands, erected in the twelfth century, and which usually exhibit, in one great structure, the various accommodations necessary for a wealthy religious community, it always excites feelings of surprise when they find nothing of the kind at any of the places celebrated in Irish ecclesiastical history, as the abodes of large numbers of religious persons; and it has necessarily led to much scepticism as to the authenticity of those authorities relied on for the facts. At Glendalough, for example, where, from its secluded situation and desertion, such buildings, or vestiges of them, might naturally be expected to remain, if they had ever existed, there is not even a trace of such buildings to be found within the ancient city. The fact, indeed, seems to be, that prior to the close of the twelfth century, there were no great architectural structures designed to give accommodation to the brotherhood, as found in those erected subsequently to that period. It is clear, however, that in the earliest monastic establishments in Ireland, the abbot, clergy, and monks, had each their separate cells, which served them as habitations, and that such other houses, as the house for the accommodation of strangers, the kitchen, &c., were all separate edifices, surrounded by a cashel, or circular wall, and forming a kind of monastery, or ecclesiastical town, like those of the early Christians in the East, and known among the Egyptians by the name of *Laura*. Such monastic establishments are noticed by our own Adamnan, in his celebrated work, "*De Situ Terræ Sanctæ*," as in the following passage:

"*De Monte Thabor.*

"* * * * * in cuius amœna summitate ampla planities, sylva prægrandi circumcincta, habetur. Cuius in medio campo Monachorum inest grande Monasterium, et plurimæ eorundem cellulæ. * * *

" In eâdem quoq ; superiori plateâ, non parui ædificij ternæ fundatæ sunt Ecclesiæ celebres; * * * Itaq; suprà memorati monasterij, et trium Ecclesiarum ædificia, cum cellulis Monachorum, lapideo omnia circumueniuntur muro."—Lib. 2, cap. xxiv. pp. 85, 87.

Thus also in Venerable Bede's abstract of Adamnan's work, a similar establishment is noticed, which is not found in the printed edition of the original :

" In superiori montis Sion planicie, Monachorum cellulæ frequentes Ecclesiam magnam circumdant illic (vt perhibent) ab Apostolis fundatum, eò quod ibi Spiritum Sanctum acceperit, ibiq; sancta Maria obierit."—Cap. iv.

The origin and antiquity of this kind of monastic establishment, which appears to have been so general in Ireland, is well explained by Bingham, the learned author of the *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, in his VIIth Book, Chap. ii., which treats " *Of the several Sorts of Monks and their Ways of living in the Church.*"

" Sect. 2.—The first, called *Anchorets*, ' Ἀναχωρηταί.' "

" The first sort were commonly known by the name of anchorets, from their retiring from society, and living in private cells in the wilderness. Such were Paul, and Anthony, and Hilarion, the first founders of the monastic life in Egypt and Palestine, from whom other monks took their model. Some of these lived in caves,—ἐν σπηλαίοις,—as Chrysostom[a] says the monks of Mount Casius, near Antioch, did; and others in little tents or cells. Ὀικίσκοι, Evagrius[b] calls them; and Chrysostom, Σκήναι, *tabernacles*. When many of these were placed together in the same wilderness at some distance from one another, they were all called by one common name, *Laura ;* which as Evagrius[c] informs us, differed from a *Cœnobium* or *community* in this, that a *Laura* was many cells divided from each other, where every monk provided for himself ; but a *Cœnobium* was but one habitation, where the monks lived in society, and had all things in common. Epiphanius says[d], *Laura* or *Lubra* was the name of a street or district, where a church stood at Alexandria ; and it is probable, that from thence the name was taken to signify a multitude of cells in the wilderness, united, as it were, in a certain district, yet so divided as to make up many separate habitations ; whereas a *Cœnobium* was more like a single house for many monks to dwell in."

Such collections of anachoretical cells are often distinctly noticed in the lives of the Irish saints,—as in the following passage from the Life of St. Carthach, or Mochuda, of Lismore, published in the *Acta Sanctorum* by the Bollandists, Maii, Tom. 3 :

" Cunctis ergo Deum in Sanctis laudantibus, ad locum eis concessum, scilicet Lismorum nomine, pervenerunt, ac cellulas contemplationi aptas sibi construxerunt."— pp. 377, 378.

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[a] " Chrysos. Hom. 17, ad Pop. Antioch. p. 215."   [b] " Evagr. lib. i. c. 21."

[c] " Evagr. ibid."   [d] " Epiph. Hær. 69, n. 1."

And, that such too was the kind of arrangement in the monastic establishments founded by the Irish ecclesiastics on the Continent, appears from several passages in the lives of these distinguished persons,—as in the following notice of the monastery founded by St. Gall at Brigantium, or Brigents, given in the life of that saint by Wallifrid Strabo, as published by Messingham :

"Illis igitur illuc ire cupientibus, parauit Presbyter nauiculam et imposuit remiges. Venerabilia autē Abbas cū comitibus Gallo et quodam Diacono nauē conscendens, invocato nomine Domini ad locum desideratum via recta peruenit. Egressi de nauicula, Oratorium in honorem Sanctæ Aureliæ constructum adierunt, quod postmodum B. Columbanus in priscum renouauit honorē. Post orationē cum per gyrum oculis cuncta illustrassent, placuit qualitas illis et situs locorum. Deindè oratione præmissa, circa oratorium mansiunculas sibi fecerunt."—Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 259.

And such an humble establishment, as we also find from the same work, was the original monastery of St. Gall, which afterwards became so celebrated for its wealth and splendour.

" Tempore subsequenti cœpit virtutum cultor eximius Oratorium construere, mansiunculis per gyrum dispositis ad commanendum Fratribus, quorum iam duodecim Monastici sanctitate propositi roboratos, doctrina et exemplis ad æternorum desideria concitauit."—Ib., cap. xxv. p. 270.

That such structures, in the northern and eastern parts of Ireland, were usually of perishable materials, such as wood or clay, we may well infer from the fact, that few vestiges of them remain to us. But, in the western and southern portions of the island, in which the custom of building with stone seems to have prevailed far more generally, we have still remaining abundant examples, not only of such detached monastic habitations, but of all the other buildings necessary in these early establishments. From these remains it appears, that the ecclesiastical houses for the various ranks, and for every purpose required, were usually of a round or oval form ; and, that they differed in nothing from the ordinary buildings in use among the inhabitants generally : nor do I think that there was any other difference, than that of material, between these and the houses usual in the other parts of Ireland ; and, indeed, we have evidence, in a few examples still remaining, that ecclesiastical houses were occasionally erected of stone in those parts also, as in the cell of St. Kevin, now dilapidated, situated at a little distance from the Rifert church at Glendalough, and which is so accurately pointed out in the life of that saint, published by the Bollandists, as being erected by himself,

" constituit mansiunculam ibi in loco angusto, inter montem et stag-
num sibi, ubi erant densæ arbores et clari rivuli."—See the whole
passage quoted at p. 172. And such, we may well believe, was the
tugurinm or hut of St. Columba, at Iona, which is mentioned in the
ancient lives of that saint, by Cumian and Adamnan. Of such stone
buildings I have already given sufficient specimens to serve as illus-
trations, in Section II. of this Inquiry, pp. 130, 131.

These houses, with the exception of the houses of the abbots, and
those for the accommodation of strangers, are usually so small as to
be only fit to accommodate a single person; and from the absence of
any building sufficiently large for a refectory, it may be inferred, that
these establishments were usually of that anachoretical kind, described
by Bingham, in which,—in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of
the Synod, called of St. Patrick,—the monks, without earthly pro-
perty, led a solitary life, under the authority of a bishop or abbot.
In one instance only have I discovered, in such monastic establish-
ments, the ruins of a building which would have been large enough
to serve the purpose of a refectory. It is situated near the monastic
churches of St. Colman Mac Duach, at Kilmurvey, in the great island
of Aran, and is an oval structure, without cement, of fifty by thirty-
seven feet, external measurement, with a wall of six feet in thickness.

Of such anachoretical, or, heremitical establishments, one of the
most interesting and best preserved in Ireland, or perhaps in Europe,
is that of St. Fechin, on Ardoilen, or High Island, an uninhabited and
almost inaccessible island off the coast of Connamara, on the north-
west of the county of Galway. Of this curious monastic establish-
ment I transcribe the following account from my notes, made in the
year 1820, when I visited the island, in the summer of that year, with
my respected friend, Mr. Henry Blake of Rinvile.

"Ardoilen, or High Island, is situated about six miles from the
coast of Omey, and contains about eighty acres. From its height,
and the overhanging character of its cliffs, it is only accessible in the
calmest weather, and even then, the landing, which can be only made
by springing on a shelving portion of the cliff from the boat, is not
wholly free from danger: but, the adventurer will be well rewarded
for such risk; for, in addition to the singular antiquities which the
island contains, it affords views of the Connamara and Mayo scenery,
of insurpassable beauty. The church here is among the rudest of

the ancient edifices which the fervour of the Christian religion raised on its introduction into Ireland.   Its internal measurement, in length and breadth, is but twelve feet by ten, and in height ten feet.   The doorway is two feet wide, and four feet six inches high, and its horizontal lintel is inscribed with a cross, like that on the lintel of the doorway of St. Fechin's great church at Fore, and those of other doorways of the same period.   The east window, which is the only one in the building, is semicircular-headed, and is but one foot high, and six inches wide.   The altar still remains, and is covered with offerings, such as nails, buttons, and shells, but chiefly fishing hooks, the most characteristic tributes of the calling of the votaries.   On the east side of the chapel is an ancient stone sepulchre, like a pagan kistvaen, composed of large mica slates, with a cover of limestone.   The stones at the ends are rudely sculptured with ornamental crosses and a human figure, and the covering slab was also carved, and probably was inscribed with the name of the Saint for whom the tomb was designed, but its surface is now much effaced; and as this sepulchre appears to have been made at the same time as the chapel, it seems probable that it is the tomb of the original founder of this religious establishment. The chapel is surrounded by a wall, allowing a passage of four feet between them; and from this, a covered passage, about fifteen feet long, by three feet wide, leads to a cell, which was probably the abbot's habitation.   This cell, which is nearly circular and dome-roofed, is internally seven feet by six, and eight high.   It is built, like those in Aran, without cement, and with much rude art.   On the east side there is a larger cell, externally round, but internally a square of nine feet, and seven feet six inches in height.   Could this have been a refectory?   The doorways in these cells are two feet four inches in width, and but three feet six inches in height.   On the other side of the chapel are a number of smaller cells, which were only large enough to contain each a single person.   They are but six feet long, three feet wide, and four feet high, and most of them are now covered with rubbish.   These formed a Laura, like the habitations of the Egyptian ascetics.   There is also a covered gallery, or passage, twenty-four feet long, four feet wide, and four feet six inches high, and its entrance doorway is but two feet three inches square.   The use of this it is difficult to conjecture.   Could it have been a storehouse for provisions?

" The monastery is surrounded by an uncemented stone wall, nearly circular, enclosing an area of one hundred and eight feet in diameter. The entrance into this enclosure is at the south-east side, and from it leads a stone passage, twenty-one feet in length, and three in width. At each side of this entrance, and outside the great circular wall, were circular buildings, probably intended for the use of pilgrims; but though what remains of them is of stone, they do not appear to have been roofed with that material. Within the enclosure are several rude stone crosses, probably sepulchral, and flags sculptured with rude crosses, but without letters. There is also a granite globe, measuring about twenty inches in diameter.

" In the surrounding ground, there are several rude stone altars, or penitential stations, on which are small stone crosses; and on the south side of the enclosure there is a small lake, apparently artificial, from which an artificial outlet is formed, which turned a small mill : and, along the west side of this lake, there is an artificial stone path or causeway, two hundred and twenty yards in length, which leads to another stone cell or house, of an oval form, at the south side of the valley in which the monastery is situated. This house is eighteen feet long, and nine wide, and there is a small walled enclosure joined to it, which was probably a garden. There is also adjoining to it, a stone altar surmounted by a cross, and a small lake, which, like that already noticed, seems to have been formed by art."

That the monastery on High Island was an Eremitical establishment, can be proved from historical evidences; and that it was so considered by the learned O'Flaherty, will appear from the following notice of the island, extracted from his account of the Territory of West Connaught, written in 1684, and preserved in MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

" In the Western Ocean beyond Imay, three smaller islands appear, viz. Cruagh-ar-ne-may, called by Sir James Ware, *Insula Cuniculorum*, for its store of rabbits.— (Ware Antiq., cap. 28, p. 287). It is a bane to dogs, which die on the spot or soon after coming out. The next is Olen na mbrahar, or the Friar's Island. The furthest off is is Ard olen, the high island (Colgan, 20 Jan. p. 135, cap. 22), anciently called Innishiarthar, i. e. the West Island. It is unaccessable, except on calm settled weather, and so steep that it is hard, after landing in it, to climb to the top, where there is a well called Brian Boromy (King of Ireland) his well, and a standing water, on the brook whereof was a mill. There is extant a chappell and a large round wall, and also that kind of stone building called cloghan, wherein yearly an Eyrie of Hawkes is found.

Here St. Fechin founded an abbey, as he did at Imay. It is also celebrated for the eremetical retirement of St. Gormgall, a very spiritual person and of renowned sanctity, who died the 5th of August, 1017, and was there interred, together with diverse other holy hermits, that lived with him. Ten of them are named by Father Colganus out of an ancient poem in his Praise extant (Colg. 21, Marcii. cap. 7, at Vit. St. Endei, page 715, ad finem)."

In a note on the passage here referred to by O'Flaherty, relative to the foundation of this monastery by St. Fechin, Colgan writes as follows:

"*In aliâ Insulâ, quœ olim Inis-iarthuir, hodiè Ard-oilen*, c. 22, hæc Insula est etiam in Oceano, distatque paucis leucis versus Occidentem ab Immagia, eamque post S. Fechinum suâ anachoresi, et arctissimâ vitâ plurimum nobilitauit S. Gormgalius, vir celebratæ sanctitatis, qui obijt an. 1017. die 5. Augusti, quo die iuxta Marianum eius seruatur natalis; de cuius encomijs et reliquijs extat pænes me B. Corrani, qui eodem tempore floruit, elegans et pijssimum poëma. Vide Quatuor Magistros in Annalibus ad annum 1017. quo dicunt Beatum Gormgalium Archisinedrum, siue principalem Patrem spiritualem totius Hiberniæ obijsse."—*Acta SS.*, p. 141, n. 13.

And again, in his account of the churches on the Aran islands,— where, by a strange mistake, he confounds this island of Ardoilen with Inis Airthir, the smallest of the islands of Aran,—he preserves to us the names of several of the hermits who resided here with St. Gormgall, about the close of the tenth century.

"*Ibidem etiam colitur S. Gormgalius die 5. Augusti: De quo Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus ad annum* 1017. *scribūt*, S. Gormgalius de Ard-oilen, præcipuus Hibernorum Synedrus, siue Spiritualis Pater obiit: *Memorat etiam Beatus Cororanus eiusdem sœculi author in suo Panegyrico de S. Gormgalio ibi quiescant Sancti, Mœlsuthunius, Celecharius, Dubthacus, Dunadach, Cellachus, Tressachus, Vltanus, Maelmartinus, Coromacchus, Conmachus, et alij plures.*"—*Acta SS.*, p. 715.

The preceding facts leave little doubt, I think, that this monastery on High Island was for monks of the hermit class; and it seems very probable that most of the monasteries in similar insular situations, of which the ruins still remain, in Ireland, were of the same description. But it is obvious that there were at the same time in Ireland almost innumerable cœnobitic establishments, in which vast numbers of monks lived in communities, and had every thing in common,—as at Bangor, where, it is stated, there were no less than three thousand monks; and Rahin, where St. Carthagh had eight hundred and sixty-seven monks, who supported themselves by the labour of their own hands. Yet it seems certain that such communities, unlike those in the East, of whom Epiphanius speaks, did not dwell in any single

building, but in a multitude of separate cells, arranged in streets in
the vicinity of the church; and hence tradition points out to this day
the situation of such streets, adjacent to the abbey churches, and
called such in many parts of Ireland. Such communities would,
however, require at least one large building, to answer the purpose
of a common refectory; and that they had such is proved by innu-
merable references in the Irish annals, and in the oldest of the Irish
ecclesiastical authorities. It will be seen that the name of such a
building was *Proinnteach*, or dining-house, as in the following example
from an ancient poem in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 131, *a. b.*, called the
Rule of Mochuda, of Raithin:

> " Riaġail pʀoinnciġe ıaʀ ʀın,
> Hı len oıa ʀaó ;
> Iſ la h-abbaó co ſeıb ʒʀaó,
> Meıʀ caıch ıaʀ na nʒʀaó.
> In can benaıʀ cluıcíne,
> Pʀoinnciʒe nach oíʀ,
> Ha bʀaċaıʀ ʀoſ cluıniċeʀ,
> Cıaʒaıc ulı ſʀıʀʀ."

> " The Rule of the proinntech after that,
> Not miserable to be mentioned ;
> And with the abbot of good dignity,
> The dish of all is according to their grade.
> When the little bell is rung,
> In the proinntech which is not small,
> The brothers who hear it,
> Let them come at it [i. e. at its sound]."

The following references to refectories occur in the Annals of
Ulster :

" A. D. 911, or 912. Muʀeóach mac Coʀmaıc, pʀıncepſ Oʀoma Inaʀclaınn, 7
pıʒoomna Conaıllı, .ı. Ʒaıʀbıċ, mac Maılmoʀóa, oo oʀcaın ſʀı oaıʒıó ı pʀoıncıʒ
Oʀoma.

" A. D. 911, or 912. Muredach, son of Cormac, chief [abbot] of Druim Inasclainn,
and the heir-apparent of Conailli, i. e. Gairbit, son of Maelmordha, were destroyed by
fire in the refectory of Druim" [Inasclainn].

" A. D. 971. Ceallach h-Ua Huaóac oo maʀbaó oo Ʒhallaıb ı n-ooʀuʀ ın
pʀoınncıʒı."

" A. D. 971. Ceallach Ua Nuadhat was slain by the Danes in the doorway of the
refectory."

And, that such buildings must have been in use from the intro-
duction of Christianity into Ireland, would appear from the following
reference to the Rule of St. Patrick's refectory, given by Colgan, in

his account of St. Patrick's writings, and which he ranks amongst the literary works of that saint.

" *Regulam aliam* Rieguil Prointige Patric, id est, *Regulam Refectorij Sancti Patricii*, *vulgò, nuncupatam :* quæ extat Londini inter Codices MS. Nobilissimi viri Dom. Fingini Carthæi, ut ex litteris nostri Patris Brendani Connor, qui opus perlegit, accepi."— *Trias Thaum.*, p. 214.

I may add that, from the preceding reference, we may, with every probability, consider as the *proinnteach*, or refectory, the building at Armagh, called, in St. Evin's Life of St. Patrick, *ædificium sive aula major*, and which is described as being thirty feet in length.—See the passage given in full at p. 384.

Such buildings, however, though probably differing in form from the cells,—which, as I have already stated, seem to have been of a round figure, while these were probably quadrangular,—were, like the smaller houses, generally, if not always, erected of perishable materials, and would, consequently, leave no vestiges to present times. And hence the occurrence of so many notices, in the Annals, of the burnings, not of any single structures called monasteries, but of the various and distinct houses which constituted such establishments in those times. As an example of such notices, I may refer to the account of the burning of Armagh, already given at page 151; and, as an additional example, I take the following record, from the Annals of the Four Masters, of the burning of Kells, at the year 1156 :

" A. D. 1156. Cenanóup óo lopccaó, cιζιb cemplaιb, o cpoιp óopaιp upóoιm co Sιoϝoιcc."

" A. D. 1156. Kells was burned, both houses and churches, from the cross at the door of the *urdom* to Siofog."

In these great cœnobitical monasteries, it is probable, also, that the houses of the abbots were of a quadrangular form, and more than the ordinary size. The Irish annals furnish us with several references to such buildings, as in the following example from the Annals of the Four Masters:

" A. D. 1116. Copcac mop Mumȧn, Imleac Iubaιp, óepceach Mhaoιlιopa h-I óhpolchȧιn, Acaó bo Caιnóιζ, Cluaιn Iopaιpó, ceach n-abbaó mop Apóa Macha, co b-ϝιcιc ceζ uιmme, 7 bloó mop óo Cιop móp Mochuóa óo lopccaó ι ó-copac Copζaιp na blιaóna po."

" A. D. 1116. The great Cork in Munster, Imleach Iubhair [Emly], the oratory of Maoliosa O'Brolchain, Achadh bo Cainnigh [Aghaboe], Cluain Ioraird [Clonard], *the great house of the abbots* at Armagh, with twenty houses about it, and a large portion of Lismore of Mochuda, were burned in the beginning of the Lent of this year."

In like manner the great house of St. Bridget, or house of the abbess, at Kildare, is referred to in the same annals, at the year 962, and in those of Ulster at 963, as already quoted at page 231.

It is most probable, however, that such buildings, like the smaller cells of the monks and nuns, were usually, in most parts of Ireland, constructed of wood, as no remains of them have been preserved, unless such stone buildings as that called St. Columb's House at Kells, and that called St. Kevin's House at Glendalough, both of which combined the purpose of an oratory with that of a habitation, may be considered as examples of such structures.   That these buildings, which are so similar, in most respects, to each other, are of a very early antiquity, can scarcely admit of doubt,—indeed I see no reason to question their being of the times of the celebrated ecclesiastics whose names they bear ; and, as they may be said to form a distinct class among our ecclesiastical structures, a notice of them will not, I think, be out of place here, even though the fact as to their having

been abbots' houses, may not, in the absence of historical evidence, be satisfactorily proved.   I shall first notice St. Columb's House at Kells, of which I prefix an illustration.

This remarkable building is situated immediately outside the boundary wall of the cemetery, on the north side, and is, in its ground-plan, of a simple oblong form, measuring, externally, twenty-three feet nine inches in length, and twenty-one feet in breadth, and the walls are three feet ten inches in thickness. It is roofed with stone, and measures in height, from its base to the vertex of the gable, thirty-eight feet; and, as the height of the roof and width of the side walls are nearly equal, the gables form very nearly equilateral triangles. The lower part of the building is arched semicircularly with stone, and has, at the east end, a small semicircular-headed window, about fifteen feet from the ground; and, at the south side, there is a second window, with a triangular or straight-lined head, about the same height from the ground, and measuring one foot nine inches in height. These windows splay considerably on the inside. The present entrance doorway of this building, which is placed in the south wall, is obviously not original, or ancient; and the original doorway, which is now built up, was placed in the west end, and at a height of eight feet from the ground. The apartment placed between the arched floor and the slanting roof is six feet in height, and appears to have been originally divided into three apartments, of unequal size, of which the largest is lighted by a small aperture, at the east end. In this chamber there is a flat stone, six feet long, and one foot thick, now called St. Columb's penitential bed.

The building at Glendalough, called St. Kevin's House, might appear, on a hasty inspection, to have very little in common with the building at Kells; for, having had a chancel and sacristy attached to it, together with a small round turret belfry springing from its west gable, it would be at once considered as altogether designed for a church. But, on a more careful examination of the building we plainly discover that all these features, though of very great age, are but adjuncts of later date to the original body of the building. The recent wanton destruction of the chancel has enabled us to perceive that the latter, as well as the sacristy connected with it, had formed no part of the original building, which, like St. Columbkille's house at Kells, consisted only of a nave, or large apartment, arched, below, and a small croft immediately under the roof.

By a reference to the annexed view of this building, as it exists at present, looking nearly due west, it will be at once seen that both

the chancel and the sacristy were subsequent structures, the masonry of the walls not being, in any place, bonded into that of the larger and original building, in which, it will also be observed, that a deep semicircular groove was chiselled to receive the roofs of the two subsequent structures, and thus prevent the admission of water at those junctions.   It will be observed, also, that the chancel arch is equally of subsequent formation; for its semicircular head is not formed on the principle of the arch, but by the cutting away of the horizontally laid stones of the original wall, in which operation a portion of the original semicircular-headed window placed in this wall was destroyed, and the remaining portion of the aperture built up with solid masonry.   I may further observe, that, even before the destruction of the chancel, the earlier antiquity of the larger building was so

evident, that it was noticed by the artists sent by Colonel Burton Conyngham in 1779 to make drawings of the antiquities at Glendalough, in whose notes, as published by Archdall, we find this remark:

" The walls of the double building are separated from those of the larger, and, though undoubtedly very ancient, yet the inferiority of the materials and workmanship, evidently show that this work was posterior to the former, and erected by much less skillful builders."

That the small round turret belfry on the west gable, is an addi-

tion cotemporaneous with those already noticed, is, if not certain, at least in the highest degree probable; for its masonry, like the former, is of an inferior character to the building on which it rests; nor would such a belfry have been necessary, till the building had been converted to a place for public worship in the manner already described.

When divested of these subsequent additions, we find that St. Kevin's House differs but little in size, and still less in plan, from that called St Columb's House, at Kells. Like the former, it is a simple oblong building, having a high pyramidal stone roof, with an arched apartment below, and a small croft between it and the roof. In external measurement, it is twenty-nine feet eleven inches in length, and twenty-two feet three inches in breadth, and the walls are three feet seven inches in thickness. In height it is, at present, thirty-one feet to the ridge of the roof, the side walls being eleven feet, and the roof twenty feet in height; but it must have been originally at least two feet more, so that, as in St. Columb's House at Kells, the gables form, if not exactly, at least very nearly, equilateral triangles. The side walls are finished by a projecting string course, or cornice, which is carried round the faces of the end walls. Internally the lower or vaulted chamber is twenty feet in height, and the upper croft seven feet six inches. The lower part was entered by a doorway placed in the centre of the west side, and lighted by three small apertures, of which two are plain, and placed in the east end, one over the other, and the third in the south wall, about eight feet from the south-east angle. Of the former, the upper is an oblong loop, and the lower had a semicircular head, formed of a single stone. The south aperture, or window, was also semicircularly-arched, but was altogether of a different character, for, according to the notes of Colonel Conyngham's artists, " it was ornamented with an architrave elegantly wrought, but being of freestone, it was conveyed away by the neighbouring inhabitants, and brayed to powder for domestic use." I may observe, however, that I consider this window to have been a subsequent insertion, and, most probably, cotemporaneous with the other remains of ornamental architecture in the vicinity. The upper croft is lighted by two small oblong loops placed, one at the east, and the other at the west end. The doorway is of a quadrangular form, and is so similar in construction to that of the great church, as to leave

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no doubt of their being cotemporaneous works, if not actually built by the same workman. It is two feet eight inches wide at top, three feet two inches at bottom, and in height, six feet eight inches. The stones of which it is composed are mostly of large size, and most of them extend the entire thickness of the wall. The lintel, which, like the rest, is of mica slate, is five feet eight inches in length, and eleven and a-half inches in height. It is ornamented with a rude cornice, four feet ten inches in length, six inches in breadth, and projecting five inches from the face of the stone. And, as in the doorway of the cathedral, the weight is taken off the lintel, by a semicircular arch, and the pediment is filled by a single stone, as shown in the annexed outline.

Having now described the original features of this building, it may be desirable to notice in detail, those subsequently added; and first, of the small round belfry placed on the west gable. This is

nine feet in height, from the ridge of the roof to its conical roof, which is six feet in height, so that the entire height, from the level of the ground, is forty-six feet. Its interior diameter is four feet six inches. It has four quadrangular apertures, each about four feet six inches in height, which face the cardinal points, and another aperture of smaller size on the east side. The entrance to this tower is from the croft, or upper apartment, already described.

The chancel was internally eleven feet three inches in length, and nine feet three inches in breadth, and was lighted by two semicircular-headed windows, one placed in the east, and the other in the south wall, the heads of which were formed in a single stone. They were two feet three inches in height, and eight inches wide in external measurement, but splayed considerably on the interior. The chancel arch is eight feet ten inches in height to its vertex, and five feet three inches in width. The sacristy measures, internally, ten feet by seven feet nine inches, and is lighted by a round-headed window placed in the east wall, and similar in every respect to those in the chancel. The doorway, which is quadrangular, is five feet in height, and, in width, two feet at the top, and two feet three inches at the bottom. These buildings were, both, stone roofed and of equal height, namely, nine feet to the set-offs of the roofs, and twenty feet to the ridges; and they were ornamented with a string-course or cornice, similar to, and in imitation of, that on the original building.

I have described this curious building thus minutely, not only to preserve a record of its original character, but also on account of its very great antiquity, which, as remarked by Colonel Conyngham's artists, is proved no less by its own style and features, than by the very ancient character of those found in the additions subsequently made to it; and indeed it is highly probable that these additions were made not very long after the erection of the original building. That this building, in its original state, was at once the habitation and oratory of the eminent ecclesiastic to whom the religious establishment of Glendalough owed its origin, I see no reason to doubt; and it is highly probable that it received, shortly after his death, those additions which were necessary to make it a church, fit for the worship of those who would be led thither from reverence to his name; and in this opinion I am strengthened by a very valuable record in the Annals of the Four Masters, which proves, that this building was

known by the appellation of *Cro Caoimhghin*, or St. Kevin's House, in the middle of the twelfth century. The passage is as follows :

"A. D. 1163. Ꝼleann ꝺa locha ꝺo loꞃccaꝺ, ım Cꞃó Cıaꞃáın, ım Cꞃó Caoımᵹın, aᵹuꞃ ꞃeᵹléꞃ an ꝺá Sınchell."

"A. D. 1163. Glendalough was burned, with *Cro Ciarain, Cro Caoimhghin*, and the church of the two Sinchells."

These names are, indeed, no longer remembered, the Irish language having ceased to be spoken in the district for the last century; and even the buildings, with the exception of St. Kevin's House, can now scarcely be traced. But, very fortunately, I am enabled to determine their position, from a ground-plan of the various buildings at Glendalough, made for Colonel Conyngham, by the artists above alluded to. In this plan we find marked, in the immediate vicinity of the building called St. Kevin's House, the ruins of three other buildings, or churches, the first to the north of it, at the distance of two perches and ten links ; the second to the south of it, about the same distance, and the third, which is called St. Kieran's church,—the others not being named,—to the south-east of it, at the distance of about eight perches, and about six perches from the southern church, and measuring about twenty-seven feet in length. It appears to me, therefore, as scarcely admitting of a doubt, that three of these buildings must be those referred to by the annalists, not only on account of their proximity, but because two of them retained, in a translated form, the names given by the annalists; and we should search in vain for the ruins of any other buildings at Glendalough, with which to identify them. Moreover, supposing the fire to have been, as there is every reason to believe, an accidental one, it will be at once seen, that from the situation of the two last buildings to Kevin's House, they would be exposed to the danger of ignition in their combustible portions, if the wind had blown from the north-west. And hence I am disposed to conclude, that the un-named church, marked as to the south of St. Kevin's House, is that called by the annalists " the Regles of the two Sinchells." I may further add, that we may infer, with every appearance of probability, that all these buildings were of cotemporaneous age, and that, if not erected by the persons whose names they bore, those called after Kieran, and the two Sinchells, were erected by St. Kevin in their honour, as though they were all cotemporaneous, and Kevin was the dearest friend of St.

Kieran of Clonmacnoise; he survived both him and the Sinchells, more than sixty years, having lived, according to Tighernach, to the extraordinary age of one hundred and twenty years. St. Kieran and the two Sinchells died of the plague, which raged in 549, and Kevin lived till 618.

I think, therefore, we have every reason to believe, that the buildings called St. Columb's House, at Kells, and St. Kevin's House at Glendalough,—buildings originally so closely resembling each other in every respect,—were erected by the persons whose names they bear, and that they both served the double purpose of a habitation and an oratory. I am further of opinion, that the building at Killaloe, called St. Flannan's House, which I have already minutely described and illustrated, and which, in its original state, was so perfectly similar to these buildings, was one of the same class, though of somewhat later age. And lastly, as another example of this class of buildings, I may point to that called St Molaise's House, at Devenish, a building which, though unfortunately no longer remaining, we have evidence to show to have been exactly similar to these structures in every thing but the superiority of its masonry. Of this building I shall treat more fully in connexion with its cotemporaneous Round Tower; but respecting its antiquity and use, I gladly avail myself of the concurrent opinion of a very distinguished antiquary, the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, namely, that " this was certainly the original chapel, and perhaps the habitation of the saint who first sought retirement in this island." Nor can I conclude this section in more appropriate words than those of the same writer, in relation to this class of our buildings, our Round Towers, and sculptured crosses. That, " although monastick architecture may fall short, both in design and good execution, and be obliged to yield the palm of superiority to the sister kingdoms, yet Ireland, in her stone-roofed Chapels, Round Towers, and rich Crosses, may justly boast of singularities unknown and unpossessed by either of them."

SUBSECTION V.

ERDAMHS.

IN the First Part of this Inquiry, p. 53, it became necessary to controvert the opinion of Dr. O'Conor, that the word *erdam* had been used by the Irish annalists synonymously with *cloictheach*, to denote

a belfry; and I then stated that I would prove incontrovertibly that the word *erdam* signifies a building attached laterally to another building, as a sacristy, and not a belfry, as Dr. O'Conor supposed. On this point we have the decisive authority of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cullenan, who thus explains the word in his Glossary:

"Ɑuṗoom, .ı. uṗoom .ı. auṗceȝoaıṗ, no ḟṗıa ceȝoaıṗ aneċċaıṗ."

"Aurdom, i. e. *urdom*, i. e. side-house, or against a house externally."

I should further state that the word is variously written *aurdom*, *urdom*, *erdom*, *irdom*, and *urdom*, and is obviously compounded of the words eaṗ, end, limit, and ṽam, or ṽom, a house. A similar ancient compound of the prefix *ir* with *teach*, a house, is explained by O'Clery by the modern compound *cuilteach*, i. e. back-house. But, though we have thus distinct evidences of the literal meaning of the term, and though it occurs very frequently in the Irish Annals, and other ancient authorities, as applied to a building, or portion of a building, it is unfortunately very difficult to form any accurate idea of the kind of building it designated. Thus, in the earliest notice in the Annals, in which the word occurs:

"A. D. 825. Loṗcuo Muıȝe bıle, co n-a eṗoaımıb, o ȝeıncıb."—*Chron. Scot.*

"A. D. 825. The burning of Magh-Bile, with its *erdams*, by the Gentiles" [Danes].

From this passage we learn, at least, that there was more than one *erdam* at Magh Bile; but, we are left in the dark as to whether they were attached to the church or not.

The next notice in which the word occurs, relates to the *erdam* of St. Kieran, at Clonmacnoise, and is equally unsatisfactory.

"A. D. 1070. Ɑn clochán ó Cṗoıṗ Eṗṗcoıṗ Ecchen co h-Iṗoom Cıaṗaın, oo oenaṁ h-ı ȝ-Cluaın mac Noıṗ la Maoılcıaṗaın Mac Cuınn na m-bochc, aȝuṗ an clochan ó Cṗoıṗ Choṁȝaıll co h-uluıo na ṽ-cṗı ȝ-cṗoṗ, aȝuṗ uaıo ṗıaṗ ȝo bél na ṗṗaıoe."—*Ann. Quat. Mag.*

"A. D. 1070. The causeway from the Cross of Bishop Etchen to the Irdom of St. Ciaran, at Clonmacnoise, was made by Maolciarain Mac Cuinn na m-bocht, and also the causeway from the cross of St. Comgall to the carn of the three crosses, and thence westwards, to the mouth of the street."

From this passage it might be supposed that the *erdam* at Clonmacnoise was a distinct building; and such a supposition would be strengthened by another notice of this *erdam* in the *Chronicon Scotorum* at a later period.

"A. D. 1113. Eṗoam Cıaṗaın oo cumoaċ ecıṗ ṗlınn ocuṗ benncobaṗ."

"A. D. 1113. The Erdam of Ciaran was covered both shingles and *benncobar*."

The same impression would also be made by the passage already quoted, at p. 52, from the Annals of Ulster, relative to the burning of Armagh, at the year 995, and which, for the convenience of the reader, it may be desirable to repeat here :

"Ɑn. ᴅᴄᴄᴄᴄxᴄv. Ꞇene ᴏιᴀιꞇ ᴅo ʒaʙáιl Ɑιᴘᴏmacha, co ná ꝼaᴘcaιʙ ᴅeᴘꞇech, na ᴅamlιacc, na h-eᴘᴅam, na ꝼιᴏnemeaᴅ ann cen loᴘcaᴅ."

"A. D. ᴅᴄᴄᴄᴄxᴄv. Lightning caught Armagh, so that it did not leave a *duirteach*, or *daimhliag*, or *erdam*, or *fidhnemead* there without burning."

But such a conjecture is not only proved to be groundless, by the fact, that no distinct building to which the name could be applied, now remains in Ireland,—for Dr. O'Conor's supposition, that it was applied to a Round Tower, has been proved groundless,—but also from the decisive passages relative to the stealing of the celebrated Book of Kells, out of the western *erdam* of the great church of Kells, already quoted at page 53, and which is here repeated :

"A. D. 1006. Soιᴘccel móᴘ Cholaιm Chιlle ᴅo ᴅuʙʒoιᴅ ιꞃ ιn oιᴏce aᴘ ιn eᴘᴅom ιaᴘchaᴘach a n-ᴅoιᴍlιacc móιᴘ Cenannᴘa, ᴘᴘιm mιnᴅ ιaᴘéaιᴘ ᴅoᴍaιn, aᴘ aoι an chumꞇaιʒ ᴅaenᴅa, aʒuᴘ a ꝼaʒʙaιl ᴅιa ꝼιcheꞇ aᴏaιʒ ꝼoᴘ ᴅιʙ mιᴘaιʙ, ιaᴘ nʒaιꞇꞇ ᴏe a oιᴘ, aʒuᴘ ꝼoꞇ ꞇaιᴘιᴘ."

"A. D. 1006. The great book of the Gospels of St. Columbkille was stolen in the night out of the western *erdam* in the great church of Kells, the chief relic of the western world, on account of the singular cover, and was found, after twenty nights and two months, its gold having been stolen off it, and a sod over it."

The same entry is given in the Annals of Ulster, as published by Dr. O'Conor; and it is worthy of remark, that though he has previously insisted that the word *erdam* was synonymous with *cloictheach*, and has subsequently translated it by the word *turris*, in this, his last work, he renders it by the word *sacellum*. His translation and copy of the original are as follows :

"*Ann. M. vi. Soiscela mor Col. c. do dubgaith isind aidci as ind airdom iartarach in Daimliacc moir Cenannsa, prim mind iartair domain arai in comdaigh doendai. In Soiscela sin do foghbail dia fichetan dar dib misaib iarngait de aoir 7 fottairis.*"

"Evangelium magnum S. Columbæ furtive direptum, tempore nocturno, ex *inferiori Sacello* Ecclesiæ magnæ Cathedralis Kellensis. Præcipuum erat istud pretiosarum reliquiarum Occidentalis mundi, propter eximium operimentum. Codex iste inventus est postea sub cespitibus, post duos menses, exutus auro, et cœlatione."

But, though it is thus certain that the *erdam* was an inferior building attached to a large church, and that there were, at least occasionally, more than one such inferior structure attached in this way to the

larger building, it is by no means easy to determine the nature or purpose of such buildings.

I have, however, discovered in an ancient Irish authority, an example of the use of the word, which will materially assist in this inquiry, and, as I hope, ultimately determine the question. It is a passage in which the word *erdam* is used to express the Latin word *porticus*, and occurs in a translation of Venerable Bede's abstract of Adamnan's work, *De Situ Terræ Sanctæ*, &c., which is preserved in the celebrated MS. called the *Leabhar Breac*. The original passage in Bede is as follows:

> "In platea, quæ Martyrium & Golgotha continuat, exedra est, in quâ calix Domini scriniolo reconditus, per operculi foramen, tangi solet, & osculari. Qui argenteus calix duas hinc et inde habens ansulas, sextarii Gallici mensuram capit: in quo est & illa spongia Domini potus ministra: Lancea militis inserta habetur in cruce ligneâ, IN PORTICU MARTYRII, cujus hastile in duas intercisum partes, a tota veneratur civitate."—Cap. II.

In the *Leabhar Breac* the following translation is given, of which I add a literal translation, for the use of the English reader:

> "Iſ inci-ſiꝺe [.i. in eclaiſ Muiſe] ατα coilech in Choimꝺeꝺ iaſ n-a ċumτaċ, 7 cleċτaiτ ꝺoine a ċaꝺall 7 a póccaꝺ τſia ċoll ſil i ſaſcli na comlaꝺ; 7 coilech aſꝅaiτ h-é, 7 ꝺi ꝺſolam ꝺa ceċ leτ aſſ, 7 cuτſuma ſſia ſeſſa h-e; 7 iſ in colech ſin no ċanaꝺ Iſu h-iꝺſaiſτ 7 oiſſſenꝺ. Iſ in lucc ceꝺna beoſ ατα in machꝺual aſ a τucaꝺ in ꝺeoch ꝺo'n Choimꝺiꝺ, .i. ſinaiceτ, 7 ꝺomblaſ iaſ na cumaſc. Ocuſ iſ ann ſoſ ατα ꝅoi in mileꝺ ꝺiaſ ꝅonaꝺ cſiꝺe in Choimꝺeꝺ, iaſ n-a inoſma iſ in cſoich cſainꝺ ſil a n-iſoum na h-eclaiſi. Iſ amlaiꝺ ꝺin ατα cſanꝺ in ꝅoi ſin aſ n-a ſoinꝺ aſ ꝺo, 7 iſ móſ anóiſ 7 caꝺuſ na ſanꝺ ſin oc in caτſaiꝅ ſin uli."—Fol. 79, *b.*, now fol. 69, *b.*

> "It is in this [i. e. in the church called Golgothana], is the chalice of the Lord being covered, and people are accustomed to touch and kiss it through a hole which is in the door; it is a silver chalice, with two handles, one on each side, and it is of the size of a *sextarius*. It is in this chalice that Jesus made sacrifice and offering. In the same place, also, is the sponge, out of which the drink was given to the Lord, that is, vinegar and gall mixed. It is there, also, is the lance of the soldier,—by which the heart of the Lord was wounded,—inserted in the wooden cross, which is in the ERDAM of the church. The shaft of this lance is divided into two parts, and these things are in high honour and veneration with the whole city."

Having thus ascertained that the word *erdam* was used by the Irish in the same sense with the Latin word *porticus*, as understood in the middle ages, it follows that if we can define the sort of porch, or other building, to which the latter was applied in the descriptions of churches, we shall have a tolerably correct idea of the sort of

structure to which the former was applied by the Irish. Now, as the word *porticus* is of very frequent occurrence in the notices of ancient Saxon churches, given by Venerable Bede and later Saxon writers, and as it is in the highest degree probable, that the ancient Irish and Saxon churches were often very similar to each other, it might naturally be expected that the inquiry would be attended with little difficulty; but this, unfortunately, is far from being the case, for the word is so variously applied that it is extremely diffi- cult, if not impossible, to understand what particular part of the church it was intended to designate. And hence we find writers of the highest ability utterly opposed to each other as to its appli- cation. For example, the Rev. J. Bentham,—in the admirable Re- marks on the Saxon Churches, prefixed to his History of the Cathedral Church of Ely,—finding that the word was applied to some apart- ment, or division, within the church, yet distinct from the church itself, has come to the conclusion, that it designated the side aisles of the church, or that, sometimes, it may be a particular division of it, consisting of one arch with its recess. But, until it be more fully established than it has hitherto been, that the Anglo-Saxon churches were decorated with side aisles, this conclusion can only be taken as an ingenious conjecture. At all events it could not be understood as applied in this manner to Irish churches, as there is not, I think, the slightest evidence to be found in favour of the sup- position, that any of them had ever been so constructed. On the other hand, Mr. Wilkin,—in his able Description of Melbourne church, Derbyshire, published in the XIIIth Volume of the Archæologia,— while he concurs with Mr. Bentham that the porticoes were within the church, repudiates the supposition that they were the side aisles, or any portions of them; and expresses his opinion that the Saxon churches, in Bede's time, probably had neither pillars nor side aisles. But, finding that in the church at Melbourne,—a church which he believes to be of the seventh century,—a portion of it at the west end was divided off from the nave, and subdivided into three parts, he concludes, that these divisions were genuine specimens of the porticoes described by Bede and the other Saxon writers, and that they should be denominated as the north, south, and middle porti- coes. But, few, I believe, will now be found to concur with Mr Wilkin in his opinion as to the antiquity of this church, which has

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both pillars and side aisles, and which is so totally unlike in plan to the church of Dunwich, which in a former Essay (Archæologia, vol. xii.), he had described as a genuine Saxon building, having neither pillars nor side aisles, and which is divided into three apartments, which he calls the ante-temple, the temple, and the sanctuary. Mr. Wilkin, indeed, himself perceived this want of agreement in his two opinions, and tried to get over it by the statement that it is probable that the ante-temple, which in this instance (Dunwich) is the greatest portion of the church, is the part which Bede names the *porticus*. But on opinions so contradictory no reliance can be placed, and till the Saxon antiquity of the church of Melbourne be fully established, Mr. Wilkin's conclusion as to the nature and situation of the porticoes, must be considered merely as an ingenious conjecture; nor would it, if established, throw any light on the nature or situation of the Irish *erdams;* as there are not the slightest grounds for believing that any of the ancient Irish churches had such a division at their west end as the church of Melbourne presents. Neither will the conjecture of Mr. Collier, who, in his Church History, understands the word *porticus* as applied to the porch, which, in Gothic, and even occasionally in Norman churches, is found in front of the entrance doorways, for nothing of this kind occurs in connexion with any of the Irish churches, nor, I believe, in any of the English churches, ascribed, with any appearance of probability, to the Saxon times. Thus we find that the meaning of the word *porticus*, as used by Bede and other Saxon writers, remains still to be determined, and so, perhaps, must the Irish word *erdam*, till more distinct evidences be discovered. We have indeed ascertained that the Irish word *erdam* and the Latin word *porticus* were similarly applied, and hence that the former was a porch of some description. And this fact seems to be corroborated by the following passage in the Vision of Adamnan, an Irish work ascribed to that distinguished person, and preserved in the *Leabhar Breac;* for though the writer only describes imaginary things, yet the words employed in the description of objects must have been previously applicable to objects that had a real existence. The writer, after describing the situations of the different classes of the righteous in heaven, relatively to the position of the Lord, thus writes :

" Ⱥⱦⱥ ⱦⱦⱧ ⱦⱨⱥⱦⱦ ⱥⱦⱥⱦⱦⱥ ⱦⱦⱦ ⱬⱦⱦⱦ ⱦⱦⱦⱦ, ⱨⱥⱦⱦ ⱦⱥⱦⱦ-ⱦⱦⱦⱦ; ⱦ ⱦⱦⱥⱦ ⱬⱦⱦⱦⱦⱦⱦ

ecuppu, 7 epoao ópoai ppip anepp, ocup cpicpioe imanaicecpum oelba ocup popcuo muincipe nime."—Fol. 127, b.

" There is an illustrious Lord before their face off from them to the south-east; a glass veil between them, and a golden *erdam* to the south of him, and through it they see the countenances and shade of the people of heaven."

This passage is, no doubt, obscure enough, but the writer seems obviously to have had in his mind some such separation between the Deity, with the heavenly choir and the souls of men, as existed between the laity and clergy in the larger churches, where the latter were separated from the former by the veils which hung from the arch of the sanctuary, and that the heavenly choir were seen through a porch on the south side.

In a subsequent passage the writer, after having stated that an angel conducted Adamnan's soul from heaven to hell, and returned with him, thus proceeds :

" Rucao iap pin in animm la bpapao pula cpep an epoam n-ópoa, ocup cpep an pial nglomioe, co cip na noem."—Fol. 128, a.

" The soul was borne in the twinkling of an eye through the golden *erdam*, and the glass veil, to the country of the saints."

In this description the idea of an arched or open porch is also distinctly indicated ; and, if we chose to understand it in the sense of an entrance porch, as found in the Norman and later churches in England, such a supposition would receive support from a passage which occurs in a very ancient, satirical extravaganza preserved in the same MS., and which was written to ridicule the luxury and inhospitality of a certain abbot of Cork, named Manchine, who flourished in the eighth century.

" ba h-ampa cpa in oipepc i m-baoup ann. * * * Comla zepeo ppipp, 7 zeppceno mapoci puppi. Acomcuipechep puap bom ap mo echap, op Mac Conzlinni, co bopup epoaim, im bopup in bunaio oia n-echcaip."—*Leabhar Breac.*—Fol. 109, b., now fol. 100, b.

" Admirable was the hermitage that was there. * * * It had a gate of suet to it, with the short head of a *maroc* upon it. I went up out of my boat, says Mac Conglinni, to the door of the *erdam*, at the door of the *dun* on the outside."

But though this passage so distinctly shows an acquaintance with the use of an entrance porch, we have, as already observed, no existing example of such in any ancient Irish church ; nor were it otherwise, would it prove that the word *erdam* was applied exclusively

to a porch of this kind; because, without dwelling upon the fact that the church of Kells must have had more than one *erdam*, we can hardly believe that the Book of Kells, the most valuable treasure of that monastery, would have been kept in any porch open externally. In our present state of knowledge on the subject, therefore, the safest conjecture to be hazarded would seem to be that the word *erdam*, like the word *porticus*, in the middle ages, was variously applied to any extraneous or side-building, of any kind, attached to a greater; and, that the *erdams* noticed in the Irish annals were most probably sacristies, or other lateral apartments, entered from the interior of the church. Of such structures there are several examples remaining, as at Glendalough, Inis Cathy, the church on the island at Killaloe; and in the cathedral of Killaloe there is a remarkable instance of a porch of this kind, entered from the interior of the church, through a magnificently sculptured archway, within which, according to the tradition of the country, Turlough O'Brien, King of Thomond, was interred,—a circumstance quite in unison with the use of such porticoes, as noticed by Bede.

SUBSECTION VI.

KITCHENS.

IT appears from the oldest authorities, that from the introduction of Christianity in Ireland, one of the group of buildings, constituting a monastic establishment, was that called cuicin, or coiccenn, and sometimes cuili, all which denote a kitchen, with which word the two former, at least, are cognate, and seem to be of the same Indo-Germanic origin, while the latter is obviously cognate with it, if not derived from the Latin *culina*.

In the list of buildings enumerated in St. Evin's Life of St. Patrick, as having been erected by the saint at Armagh, "*juxta formam et modum ab angelo præscriptum*," the *culina*, or kitchen, is stated to have been of the length of seventeen feet; and in notices which occur in the Irish annals of the buildings which existed subsequently at Armagh, the kitchen is alluded to as a separate building, as in the passage already quoted at p. 147, from the Annals of Ulster, at the year 915. And that this was the usual measurement of such buildings, may be concluded from the account of the buildings previously erected by St. Patrick at the Ferta, near Armagh, as thus stated in

a fragment of the old Irish Tripartite Life of the saint, preserved
in the Library of Trinity College; Dublin, H. 3, 18, p. 527 :

" Iſ amlaið ono ðoſoimſi Paꞇſaic in Feſꞇa, .i. ſecꞇ ꝗꝗ.ic ꞇſaiꝛeð iſ in liſ, 7
ſecꞇ ꞇſaiꝛeð ꝗꞇ.ic iſ in ꞇiꝛ móiſ, 7 ſecꞇ ꞇſaiꝛeð ꝗ. Iſ in cuili, 7 ſecꞇ ꞇſaiꝛeð iſ
ino aſeꝛal, 7 ba ſamlaið ſin ſo ſoꞇaiꝛeð ſom na conꝛbala ðo ꝛnéſ."

" It was thus Patrick measured the Ferta, viz., seven score feet in the *Lis*, and
seven and twenty feet in the great house, and seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven
feet in the *aregal;* and thus he was always accustomed to build the congbhals" [eccle-
siastical establishments].

We have notices of the kitchen of St. Columba, at Iona, in some
of the Lives of that saint; of the kitchen of St. Bridget, at Kildare,
in the Life of that saint, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac ;* and of the
kitchens of many other saints, at their various establishments. But, as
I have met with no remains of any building of this class, of an age an-
terior to the close of the twelfth century, I do not deem it necessary
to dwell further upon this subject, which I have thus lightly touched,
as elucidating some passages in the oldest authorities, relative to our
ancient architecture, not previously explained, and in the hope that
it may possibly guide future investigators to the discovery of remains
of the buildings themselves.

<center>SUBSECTION VII.</center>

<center>CASHELS.</center>

I HAVE lastly to notice the circumvallations, or circular enclo-
sures, which usually encompassed the group of buildings constituting
the very early ecclesiastical establishments in Ireland. These cir-
cumvallations, which were but imitations of the sorts of fortress in
use among the pagan Irish, were sometimes of stone, and sometimes
simply of earth; at other times of stone intermixed with earth, and
occasionally of earth faced with stone; and they were all more or
less circular in their plan. When of earth only, they were deno-
minated by the terms *Rath*, or *Lis*, words synonymous with each
other; and when of stone, or of earth faced with stone, they were
denominated *Cathair*, or, more usually, *Caiseal*, words also synony-
mous; and all these terms had been applied by the pagan Irish to
their fortresses of earth and stone; and I may add, that the term
dun was applied indifferently to both.

Of such circumvallations, but few specimens have remained to us ;

and these are chiefly of stone, and situated in remote and thinly-inhabited places, where ancient manners, customs, and feelings, have been longest preserved. Moreover, the ecclesiastical *Raths* and *Lises*, from the value of their materials for agricultural purposes, presented a greater temptation to their destruction, and have rarely escaped; but the ancient Irish authorities have preserved notices of many such, as having existed in localities where not a vestige of them is now to be found. Such, for example, was the Rath Ardmacha, or Rath of Armagh, which enclosed the original ecclesiastical buildings erected there, and of which so frequent mention is made in the Irish annals, as already quoted, and more distinctly in the following passages in the Annals of the Four Masters:

" A. D. 1091. An leiċ iaṙċaṙach do Raiċh Aṙdamacha do loṙccaḋ."

" A. D. 1091. The western half of the Rath of Armagh was burned."

" A. D. 1092. Raiċh Aṙda macha, co n-a ċemploiḃ, do loṙccaḋ an ceċṙamaḋ Kal. do Sepċ., 7 ṙṙeċ do ċṙiun móṙ, 7 ṙṙeċ do ċṙiun Saxon."

" A. D. 1092. The *Rath* of Armagh, with its churches, was burned on the fourth of the Calends of September, and a street of *Trian mor*, and a street of *Trian Saxon*."

See also the same annals, at the year 1112.

Such, also, was the great Rath or Lis, called Lismor, or *the great fort*, erected around the church and cells by St. Carthagh, or Mochuda, at Lismore, in the now County of Waterford, as thus stated in the second life of that saint, published in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, 14 May:

" Deinde gloriosus Pontifex cum suis per quemdam campulum, Scotico nomine Maghsgiats, Latino autem Scuti-campus, ad locum sibi prædestinatum à Domino, oblatum autem à supradicto Duce Nandesi, exivit, & castrametati sunt in eo. Postea loco benedicens sanctus Pontifex cum ceteris Sanctis, circulum civitatis assignarunt : & venit ad eos quædam virgo, quæ cellulam habebat in eo agro, nomine Cornelli : & interrogavit eos dicens : Quid vultis hic agere servi Dei ? Respondit ei S. Mochuda : In Dei voluntate paramus atrium modicum sepire circa sarcinas nostras. Et ait sancta Virgo: Non parvum sed magnum erit. Sanctus Pater Mochuda ait: Verum erit, quod dicis Christi ancilla. Nam ex hoc nomine locus semper vocabitur Liassmor Scotice, Latine autem Atrium-magnum."—p. 388, col. a.

In like manner we find, from the fragment of the ancient Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, already alluded to, that the earlier group of churches, founded by St. Patrick, at the Ferta, near Armagh, was similarly encompassed with a *Lis*, or earthen enclosure, measuring one hundred and forty feet in diameter; and as this is stated to be the

measurement adopted by Patrick in all such works, we may very fairly infer it was that of the Rath of Armagh, and not the length of the wall of the church, as Colgan supposed, in his translation of the passage of the Tripartite life, describing the buildings at Armagh.

I have already noticed, at page 128, the interesting example of the custom of the Irish clergy, in erecting such circular walls, preserved to us by Venerable Bede, in his description of the ecclesiastical establishment founded by St. Cuthbert, in the island of Farne, in Northumberland ; and from this account it may be inferred, that the object of erecting such enclosures, of which the wall externally was not more than the height of a man, was less for defence, than, by shutting out the view of external objects, to prevent the thoughts from rambling and confine them to religious meditations. And such, indeed, would appear to have been the purpose, in many instances, where the wall was of no greater height, as in the Cashel at St. Fechin's establishment, on High Island, already described ; and in the fine example of such a circumvallation, partly of stone, and partly of earth, till recently preserved to us at Rathmichael, in the County of Dublin, but of which, unfortunately, only a few stones of the gateway now remain. But that these enclosures were not always erected without any view to defence, however the ecclesiastics might have trusted to the religious feelings of the people for protection, is proved from the greater height and strength of some of the circumvallations remaining ; and, indeed, in very many instances, the religious houses were built within the pagan fortresses given up to the clergy by the Irish princes, on their conversion to Christianity, or shortly afterwards. Thus, we learn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, that one of the very earliest churches erected by that saint in Meath,—the church of Donaghpatrick, at Tailtenn,—was built where the house of Conall, the king's brother, was situated, and which was given up to him for the purpose : I have already given the passages relating to it at pp. 161, 162. So, in an extract from the Life of St Benen, or Benignus, published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaum.*, p. 204, it is stated that the church of Cill Benen was erected within the *arx*, or fortress called Dun Lughaidh, from a lord of the country, who, with his father and four brothers, having been baptized by the Saints, Patrick and Benen, gave up their *dun*, or fortress, for the purpose.—See the

passage quoted in the notice of the church and Round Tower of Kilbannan, in Part III.

A similarly striking example of the resignation of a pagan fort for the use of a Christian community, occurs in the Life of St. Caillin, in the Book of Fenagh,—of which there is a copy on parchment in the Collection of Irish MSS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, made from a copy of the original still preserved at Fenagh, and which was transcribed for the abbot O'Rody, in the year 1517, from the original book now preserved in the British Museum.

It is there stated, in an ancient poem attributed to Flann, the son of Flann, concerning the history of Fenagh, that the chief of the country of Breifny, Aodh Finn, the son of Feargna, on his conversion to Christianity by St. Caillin, gave up to him his *Cathair*, or stone fortress, in order that he might erect his monastic buildings within it; and of this *Cathair*, which was one of great extent, there are vestiges still remaining.

It further appears, from the same poem, that this *Cathair* had been of a very great antiquity, as well as importance, as its erection is attributed to Conaing Begeglach, or the Fearless, the sixty-fifth monarch of Ireland in the Irish regal list, and who flourished, according to the corrected chronology of O'Flaherty, nearly four hundred years before the Christian era. This fact is stated in the following stanzas:

> "Ɗun m-baili pɩʒbaɩlea caɩʒ,
> Popt cup tɩʒóɩp plaéa Faɩl,
> Ɔan ba pɩ cpoɗa cpeéaé
> Conaɩnʒ beoɗa beʒeʒlaé.
> Conaɩnʒ, mac Conaɩll calma,
> Ir tpen po teét m-ɗanba,
> Co n-ɗepna Capɩul caeṁ cloch
> Ɑp Maʒ Réɩn ɩc Loé Saloch.
> *   *   *   *   *
> Ɗun m-ɗaɩlɩ aɩnm ɗo'n chatpaɩʒ,
> Ocup nɩ ʒepp ɩn athuɩʒ,
> O pé ɩn Conaɩnʒ mett nʒopa
> Co Feapʒna, mac Feapʒopa."

> "*Dun* Baile, royal town for all,
>   A fort to which the chiefs of Fail were wont to come,
>   When the vigorous Conaing Begeglach
>   Was brave *and* plundering king.

Conaing, son of Conall the brave,
Who mightily consolidated Banba,
And built a beautiful *Casiul* of stone
On Magh Rein, at Loch Saloch.

* * * * *

Dun Baili was the name of the *cathair*,
And not for a short time,
From the time of Conaing of great valour
To Feargna, son of Fergus."

Again, in mentioning the resignation of this fort and the sur-
rounding district to St. Caillin by Aodh Finn, the son of Feargna,
the following curious reference is made to the door of the *cathair*,
which was closed by a huge stone:

"Ꞇⁱᵹ Ꝏⁱeꝺ cuꞃ ⁱⁿ caⁱṗéⁱ amach
I pꞃⁱm ꝺoꞃuꞃ na caéꞃach,
Co ꞇuᵹ ann ꞃⁱn ꝼeaꞃanꝺ ꞇꞃa
Ꝺo Chaⁱllⁱn, ꝺ'á anmchaꞃa."

"Aedh come out to the rock
In the chief door of the *cathair*,
So that he gave land
To Caillin, his spiritual friend."

Indeed, in many instances, we find the group of religious build-
ings within fortresses of the greatest celebrity in Irish history, as in
the great fortress of *Muirbheach Mil*, in the great island of Aran,
erected by a prince of the Firbolgs, about the commencement of the
Christian era, the interior of which is occupied by the two churches,
and the numerous round houses of the monks of St. Mac Duach.
When I visited Aran, in the year 1821, nearly half of this fortress
remained, and the wall was in some parts twenty feet in height, and
thirteen feet thick at its summit.

In the ancient poem just quoted, the three terms, *dun*, *caiseal*,
and *cathair* are used synonymously in the description of a fort erected
in pagan times: and the nature of such stone enclosures is well illus-
trated in the Irish translation of Venerable Bede's abstract of Adam-
nan's account of the sacred places in the Holy Land, in which the
three circular and concentric walls which surrounded the church of
the Resurrection is translated " three cashels":

" Ꝺclaⁱꞃ ċꞃuⁱnꝺ eꞃⁱꝺe co ꞇꞃⁱ caꞃlⁱꝺ ⁱmmꞃe."

" This is a round church with three *cashels* around it."

But, as I have already remarked, the cashels erected by the ecclesiastics themselves were often of such a height as would necessarily imply that they were intended, as much at least for defence, as for any other object; and a passage in the Irish annals, relative to the erection of a cashel at Derry, in the twelfth century, very distinctly alludes to this object. This cashel was erected by the abbot Flaithbheartach O'Brolchain, as a protection to the churches of Derry, which, having been greatly injured, he was about to enlarge and repair, as stated in the following passage in the Annals of the Four Masters:

" A. D. 1162. Eᴘᴘcᴀᴘτaᴅ na ᴅ-τιᵹeᴅ ó ᴄempull Ꝺoιᴘe ᴅo ᴅénaṁ la coṁaᴘba Coluιm Cιlle, Ꝼlaιᴄbeᴘτach Ua Ꝺᴘolchaιn, ⁊ la Muιᴘᴄeᴘτaᴄ Ua Ꝝochlaιnn, la ᴘιᵹ Eᴘenn, ⁊ ᴘo ᴄóᵹbaιᴄ oᴄṁoᵹaᴄ τeaᵹ, no nι aᴘ uιlle, aᴘ ιn maιᵹιn ι ᴘabaᴄᴄaᴘ, ⁊ Caιᴘeal an uᴘlaιᴘ ᴅo ᴅénaṁ la coṁaᴘba Coluιm Cιlle beoᴘ, ⁊ ᴅo beᴘᴄ mallaᴄᴄ ꝼoᴘᴘ an ᴄι no ᴄιcᴘaᴅ ᴄaιᴘιᴘ."

" A. D. 1162. The separation of the houses from the church of Derry was made by the Comharba of Columbkille, Flaithbhertach O'Brolchain, and by Muirchertach O'Lochlainn, king of Ireland; and they removed eighty houses, or more, from the place they were; and *caiseal an urlair* was erected by the comharba of Columbkille, and he pronounced a curse on the person who should come over it."

One of the finest ecclesiastical cashels now remaining, and in which strength was obviously intended, is that surrounding the ecclesiastical establishment of St. Molaise, on Inishmurry, an island in the bay of Sligo. It is of an irregular round form, and nearly 200 feet in its greatest internal diameter. The wall varies in thickness, from five to seven and eight feet, and in height from twelve to sixteen. It is built of calp limestone, undressed, and without cement; and, where not shaken by the storms of the Atlantic, exhibits a considerable degree of rude art. Its gateway is quadrangular, and measures six feet two inches in height, four feet in breadth, and seven feet six inches in its jambs; and such is the usual size and form of gateways found in such buildings, as well as in the more ancient cashels of pagan times. There are instances, however, of gateways of a larger size, as that of the cashel at Rathmichael, which is eight feet wide, and which was most probably arched. But the most remarkable gateway belonging to such structures now remaining, is that at Glendalough,— a monument unique in its kind, and which, from want of care, unfortunately, will soon cease to exist. The general character of this gateway, and its great resemblance to the Newport gate, at Lincoln,

built by the Romans, will appear from the annexed sketch; and its measurements at the base will be seen in the ground-plan following:

This gateway is in form very nearly a square, being sixteen feet internally between the side-walls, and sixteen feet six inches, between the perforated, or arched walls. It is built of undressed blocks of mica slate, except in the arches and pilasters, which are of granite blocks of larger size, and chiselled. The external arch is formed of twenty-six stones, of which the lower are two feet six inches in height; the upper stones average one foot three inches on the face, and two feet six inches on the soffit. The inner arch is formed of twenty-seven stones, which measure two feet seven inches in the jambs and soffit. These arches are of equal height, namely, ten feet to the soffit of the key-stone, and five feet to the chord. This gateway supported a tower, the floor of which was of wood, as appears by the corbel stones remaining in the side walls. Of this tower there are now but slight remains; but from a print in Fisher's Views,
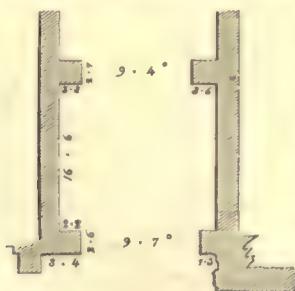
Dublin, 1795, we find that it had a narrow oblong aperture in the external wall, directly over, and about two feet from, the key-stone.

Of the cashel, or wall itself, which enclosed the monastic establishment, there are but slight vestiges remaining, but these are sufficient to show that it was built without cement, and of a very irregular figure, in consequence of the inequality of the surface along which it passed, and the great extent of the area which it enclosed.

From a ground-plan preserved among Sir James Ware's MSS. in the British Museum, we find that the wall which surrounded the churches and cemetery at Clonmacnoise was equally irregular in its figure as that at Glendalough; and from a similar cause,—the inequality of the surface over which it passed; but as cement was used in its construction, there is little doubt that it was of much later age than that of Glendalough. It had three gateways, one of which, at least,—that at the west, leading to the nunnery,—was arched; but of this gateway there are now no remains.

It seems certain, also, that the great monastery at Kells was similarly enclosed, and had more than one entrance gateway, as the one called *Dorus Urdoim*, or the gate of the Urdom; or, as Colgan translates it, *Porta, Dorus Urdhoim appellata*, is referred to in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1157.

SUBSECTION VIII.

WELL COVERINGS, TOMBS, AND MILLS.

In addition to the several classes of buildings treated of in the preceding subsections, and to which references occur in the Irish authorities, it appears that the Irish ecclesiastics also employed stone architecture, at least occasionally, in the erection of Mills, the Tombs of the founders of Churches, and as coverings to their sacred Wells, though but few historical references to such structures have been hitherto found. There appears, however, to have been no uniformity of plan in such structures, as their remains sufficiently evince. Thus, in some instances, the wells were simply enclosed with a circular wall of large masonry, as at St. Mac Duach's well at Kill Mac Duach, St. Mochua's wells at Balla, in the County of Mayo, &c.; and it is worthy of remark that we are told in the life of this latter Saint, as published by Colgan, at the 30th March, that the place, which had

previously been known by the name of Ros Darbreach, or, as it is latinized, *Nemus Darbrecum*, received its new name, Balla, from the walls or enclosures with which the saint enclosed the fountains— " non procul esse fontem, nunquam ibi anteà visum cinctum ballâ, id est loricâ. Vnde oppidum, nouum nomen Balla, & etiam Mochua cognomen Ballensis accepit." This St. Mochua, according to the Irish Annalists, died in 637. It is also worthy of remark that we find from the same Life of the Saint, that he was eminent himself as an architect, and was the builder, not only of his own church,— and, as we may well conclude, its decidedly cotemporaneous Round Tower,—but also of the celebrated mill of St. Fechin at Fore. And yet this name Balla has been such an *ignis fatuus* to modern Irish antiquaries, that they have almost unanimously adopted General Vallancey's etymology of the word,—" Ballagh, *i. e.* Beilagh, the Fire of Fires,"—and considered it as a proof demonstrative of the pagan origin of the Towers, though they had the authority of the Author of the Mayo Survey, himself a disciple of their school, that " in the walls of the small plain church (of Ballagh), the stones and workmanship are the same as those of the Tower."

In some instances, however, when the well was of small size, it was covered by a small stone-roofed building, exactly resembling a stone-roofed oratory, as in a well at Tobar na Druadh, near Sheeps-town, in the County of Kilkenny ; St. Brigid's well at the Faughard, in the County of Louth, still remaining ; and the well called the Lady's Well near Dundalk, of which an engraving is given in Wright's Louthiana, but which has since been rebuilt.

In like manner, the tombs of the early saints present a variety of forms ; as in those on Aran, which are often rude sarcophagi, some-what similar to pagan cromleacs or kistvaens, while, at other times, they are small cairns, enclosed by a circular or quadrangular wall. But, though the usual practice appears to have been to mark the grave of Christians simply by unsquared flag stones, marked with a cross, it appears certain, that, in many instances, the sepulchres of very distinguished persons were honoured with tombs of a more architectural character, and which, like the coverings of the wells already alluded to, had a striking resemblance, in every thing but size, to the small stone oratories. Of such structures, however, I have discovered but few remains, and none in a perfect state, but

those which are situated in the County of Londonderry,—namely, the tomb of St. Cadan,—the Catanus of Patrick's Lives,—beside the church of Tamlaght Ard ; the tomb of St. Muireadach O'Heney, near the church of Banagher, of which he is the reputed founder; and the tomb of the founder of the church of Bovevagh, whose name is now forgotten.

Of two of these curious monuments I have thought it desirable to append illustrations; and of these the first is an east view of the tomb of St. Muireadach O'Heney, exhibiting the sculptured *relievo* of this saint, with which it is ornamented. This tomb is wholly faced with ashlar masonry of sandstone, and measures ten feet in length, four feet nine inches in breadth, eight feet in height to the gable ridge, and four feet to the eaves.

Respecting the age of this tomb I can only speak conjecturally, as I have not been able to discover any historical reference to the ecclesiastic to whom it was raised. But, as his church,—which was a building of considerable architectural beauty,—seems obviously a structure of the latter part of the eleventh century, or the commencement of the twelfth, we may fairly assign this monument to that period.

The next illustration presents a west end view of the tomb of

the reputed founder of the church of Bovevagh, which, like that of
St. Muireadach, is faced with ashlar masonry of sand-stone, but
appears to be of earlier date. It measures nine feet in length, and
seven feet six inches in height.

The tomb of St. Cadan is also built of ashlar masonry, and is
obviously of much higher antiquity, but it is so covered up with
earth by the adjacent interments that no sketch of it could be
obtained.

Remains of similar tombs are found in other parts of Ireland,
some of which would appear to have been of greater size and impor-
tance, but they are usually in a state of great dilapidation;—such, for
instance, was the tomb of St. Colman Mac Duach, at Kill mac Duach,
which was constructed of very large blocks of squared limestone,
and measured ten feet in length and five in breadth.

I have only to add that, few as these remaining examples of the
ancient tomb architecture of the Irish are, they are valuable, as pre-
serving to us the probable type of the tomb of St. Columba, and the
more celebrated monuments of the kings, at Iona, which Sacheverel,
Martin, and Pennant notice, as described by the Dean of the Isles as
" built in form of little chapels;"—and, perhaps, also, the tomb of
St. Patrick, formerly preserved at Glastonbury " of the Irish," which
is noticed, by Camden and Sammes, as being of a pyramidal form.

Of the ancient mills erected by ecclesiastics, in connexion with their monasteries, we have several notices in our historical authorities, some of which I have referred to in my Essay on the Antiquities of Tara. But, though there are several mills in Ireland of very early antiquity, I have not hitherto met with any in connexion with the churches that appear of coeval date, and consequently deserving of further notice in this place.

I have now brought this Second Part of my Inquiry to an end. That occasional errors of opinion—where opinion has been ventured on—may be found in it, I am prepared to expect; but I indulge in the hope that such errors will be deemed of little importance, or at least insufficient to invalidate, to any extent, the conclusions I have arrived at as to the antiquity and uses of the various classes of ecclesiastical edifices of which I have treated; and, if I do not much deceive myself, such conclusions will be strongly supported by the descriptive and historical notices of the ancient religious edifices remaining in the several counties of Ireland, to which the next Part of this Inquiry will be devoted.

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THE END.